

THE WORLD OF
ANCIENT ROME



JAMES W. ERMATINGER

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The World of Ancient Rome

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ARTS TO FOOD
AND DRINK

The World of Ancient Rome

A Daily Life Encyclopedia

James W. Ermatinger



GREENWOOD™

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To Mona,
Thanks for continually encouraging me.

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Preface

The World of Ancient Rome: A Daily Life Encyclopedia provides readers with a quick guide on various topics associated with daily life in ancient Rome. This work covers primarily the Republican period, 509–31 BCE, with a few articles from the Monarchy, 753–509 BCE, and the early Empire, 31 BCE–79 CE, since this period saw the rise of the Roman state militarily, politically, culturally, economically, and socially. During the Republican period most of the intellectual developments which influenced Rome either had come to fruition or had their origins. The Roman world during the Republican period provides the best examples of daily life in an ever changing society. Exploring 10 topical areas—Arts, Economics and Work, Family and Gender, Fashion and Appearance, Food and Drink, Housing and Community, Politics and Warfare, Recreation and Social Customs, Religion and Beliefs, and Science and Technology—this two-volume work provides individual users with a plan for study of Roman daily life, especially during the Republic. Each topic area opens with an introduction showing the interconnections between the various topics that comprise the section entries. Each section contains between 24 and 27 entries. Each entry gives an in-depth analysis of the topic, has a “See also” line listing cross-references to other related entries in these volumes identified by topic section, and concludes with a bibliography of additional print and electronic information resources. Some entries also contain sidebars, which cover an interesting related topic. The different sections are meant to both stand alone and intersect with each other.

Arts. This section explores not only the visual arts, such as portraiture, sculpture, and decorations, but also the literary works of authors such as Cicero, Caesar, Virgil, and Livy in diverse genres, such as prose, poetry, and drama.

Economics and Work. The entries in this section deal with policies (e.g., taxation) and structures (e.g., agriculture, industry) as well as with specific occupations, such as leather making, milling, and shipbuilding. The section also discusses the various types of labor, from the work of slaves to that of merchants.

Family and Gender. These entries describe the various social structures in the household, from the *Paterfamilias* to the household slave. Entries also explore sexuality, family planning, education, and death. For the Romans, ceremonies surrounding death and the treatment of the dead were often more important than their treatment of the living.

Fashion and Appearance. This section explores different types of clothing, from the formal citizen garb, the *toga*, to the rural slave or peasant *tunic*. Entries examine not only the types of clothing different groups wore in different regions but also other accouterments, hygiene, and shopping.

Food and Drink. Food was important to sustaining life; and it varied based upon wealth and status. This section delves into the different types of grains, vegetables, meats, fruits, and so forth available to the different classes in the Roman world. Accompanying these entries are topics on drinks, serving, and storage of food and drink necessary for a robust society to function.

Housing and Community. Housing is often so ubiquitous that it does not even register on our minds. Like modern society, Roman communities had various structures and plans based upon wealth. For example, the wealthy lived in *villas*, while the urban poor had apartments or *insulae*. There were also various types of constructions, layouts, gardens, and so forth that show how Roman cities and towns were planned and developed.

Politics and Warfare. These entries not only refer to the development of the government and how society was ordered but also examine what Rome did with its power. This section explores the political evolution of the Senate, magistrates, and the law; how Rome developed its military to fight its never-ending wars; and how it organized its foreign possessions.

Recreation and Social Customs. In Rome, ways of recreation were in general not much different than they are in modern society. While the gladiatorial combats were bloodier than modern boxing or organized sports such as football or soccer, they were still meant to entertain. Roman recreation also focused on games children played, retirement, vacations, and cultural events, all topics familiar to modern society.

Religion and Beliefs. Religion is a fundamental part of all societies. Unlike other ancient states, Rome had a great toleration of foreign beliefs, even co-opting them into their religious philosophy. While Roman state religion resembled the classical Greek system, the Romans also accepted Near Eastern ideology, Carthaginian gods, and mystery religions.

Science and Technology. This section examines the innovations the Romans made in a wide variety of areas, such as agriculture, engineering, and shipping. The entries explore how important the calendar reform of Julius Caesar was to the Romans as well as the development of roads, aqueducts, and medicine.

The 264 entries included in these volumes are aimed at high school and college students, as well as at interested general readers. Taken with these entries, the other valuable features presented in these volumes provide readers with a complete view of the ancient Roman world. These additional features include a chronology of important events in the Roman Republic and early Empire, an introduction that examines why this period is so crucial to modern society, 11 primary documents with introductions that give examples of how Romans viewed individuals and ideas, sidebars that provide expanded information on a particular subject, illustrations, and a general bibliography of important modern information sources, both print and electronic. A detailed subject index help readers access information in the entries. The first truly great multicultural, ethnic, and geographical empire developed from the Roman Republic, and these volumes offer a glimpse of what Roman society was like from its literary, artistic, and archaeological remains.

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Introduction

When the Emperor Domitian proclaimed he was “*Dominus et Deus*” or “Master and God,” meaning he had complete control over all individuals, his statement could be seen as a fact of life for most Romans. This political nuance did not occur overnight or in a vacuum. In fact, this phrase could easily have been spoken by a Roman father in the early Republic as he was punishing his daughter or son for immoral acts or for a crime; he could, in fact, sentence them to death, since he had that power and not even the magistrates could stop him. The Roman Republic and Empire (in the west) lasted nearly 1,000 years from 500 BCE to 500 CE and influenced modern Western society with its government, political structures, language, and military. The Roman Republic was born in 509 BCE after the elites expelled their Etruscan kings. The Etruscan monarchs had held power for nearly two centuries and had introduced engineering, public works, and religious structure to the city of Rome. After the expulsion, the Romans instituted a Republic in which power was held jointly by two men, the consuls, for a term of only one year. The Romans believed this system would prevent one man from gaining absolute power. The small city began its slow conquest of Italy, 509–263 BCE, by constantly waging war and increasing its power. Unlike their Greek counterparts, who attempted to bring neighboring states into confederations, the Romans experimented with citizenship and decided upon a system whereby its conquests became part of the city of Rome. To control their new areas, the Romans sent out colonists who, unlike the Greeks, remained citizens with a voice in the government. Throughout this period, Rome never ceased to fight and engaged in constant warfare in Italy. After defeating the Greek invader Pyrrhus in 272 BCE, Rome became master of Italy.

The second phase of the Roman Republic, 263–31 BCE, saw unprecedented expansion and wealth for Rome. The period began with the conquest of Sicily, continued with wars against Carthage (Punic Wars) and operations in the east, especially in Greece and Syria, and concluded with the conquest of Spain and Gaul and, ultimately, the establishment of the Empire. By the end of this period,

the agricultural base of the Roman state had changed from family farms to large estates or *latifundia*, which used slave labor and grew cash crops. With the establishment of the Empire under Augustus (formerly Octavian), Roman politics changed, but daily life continued as before. While many works have focused on the political and military might of Rome, fewer have discussed the 99 percent of the population that built the Roman world and lived not in the palace but in the streets. *The World of Ancient Rome: A Daily Life Encyclopedia* shows how both the 1 percent elites and the other 99 percent lived in the Roman Republic.

What was life really like for ordinary people in Ancient Rome? These two volumes examine the culture of Ancient Rome, mainly as it existed during the Republic from 500 to 44 BCE, but with supplements, when needed, to the early Empire (ending ca. 67 CE). This long period saw the development of Rome from a small village on the Tiber River to a thriving multinational, multiethnic city that was the capital of a thriving empire. This growth produced dramatic changes in Roman, Italian, and Mediterranean cultures. The period was often tumultuous with war and civil discord, but it also produced periods of unprecedented growth and opulence. This work examines how the daily life of Romans developed and changed throughout the Republic. Central questions of everyday life include the following: What did they eat? What did they wear? What did they believe and think? The answers to these questions provide us with insight into how they behaved both at home and in public. Moreover, Roman society changed from a relatively simple rural society into a complex urban society with different groups having different mores. While the major evidence comes from literary sources, often written by or for the wealthy and showing their habits, many of the archaeological remains deal with the great unknown masses of society and provide evidence for how they lived their lives.

An important question that arises is how did the Romans raise their children? By examining their daily life, one is able to understand how individuals were raised in a culture that stressed communal responsibility and rights. For example, what kind of games did children play; what were the types of clothes that people wore; what type of medical services did people have? These questions allow for an understanding of how society and individuals interacted with one another and how constant from period to period individual lives remained. Games children played in Ancient Rome are still acted out today in one form or another. This in turn led to another fundamental question: How did the Romans interact with their government? Examining Roman society, mainly the upper class, one can see how crucial personal involvement in the running of the government became. The competition between families not only allowed for the growth of the Republic leading to the Empire but also led to the downfall of powerful families and the rise of Julius Caesar. These changes ultimately produced the Empire under Augustus after 31 BCE,

but most Romans did not see a negative change in their lives; quite the contrary, they probably were more secure and comfortable than in the previous centuries.

The lives of individuals and their families often revolved around the following question: What did they value? Attempting to assert modern values into ancient societies is not appropriate. In addition, the period from 500 BCE to 67 CE is longer than the period from Columbus to the present, and our society has changed so dramatically. Roman religion changed dramatically during the Roman Republic and early Empire. Rome's state religion was not for individuals but rather for society. This disconnect with the individual life and afterlife gave rise to personal or family rites at death and a change in philosophy by many to a belief in the afterlife. This change allowed different beliefs to gain a foothold, including the worship of Mithra, Isis, and Jesus. Associated with this change is the following question: What did they do for fun? While modern views of ancient Roman life is surrounded by gladiators and races, much more can be discovered to show that Roman society was not just one sided. Like modern society, the wealthy could afford lavish vacations and retire from the day-to-day hard existence.

The World of Ancient Rome explores the lives of average people of a particular time and place through the examination of social, cultural, and material history. While this material is often weighted to the upper class, extensive evidence from literature, inscriptions, and archaeology can provide insight into all members of Roman society: slaves, rural peasants, urban poor, middle-class merchants, and aristocratic leaders. The entries in these volumes are supported by the most current research in Roman society and examine broad topics in the following 10 categories: Arts, Economics and Work, Family and Gender, Fashion and Appearance, Food and Drink, Housing and Community, Politics and Warfare, Recreation and Social Customs, Religion and Beliefs, and Science and Technology. These topics provide a background to the Roman Republic and the lives of its citizens. By examining these topics, it is easy to see why Rome continues to influence modern societies even 2,000 years later.

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Chronology: From the Founding of Rome (753 BCE) to the Death of Marcus Aurelius (180 CE)

753 BCE	Traditional date for foundation of Rome by Romulus; first year in Roman Chronology written as AUC or Ab Urbe Condita meaning “from the founding of the city,” Rome
753–509 BCE	Regal Period of seven kings: Romulus (753–716 BCE); Numa Pompilius (716–673 BCE); Tullus Hostilius (673–641 BCE); Ancus Marcius (640–616 BCE); Tarquinius Priscus (616–578 BCE); Servius Tullius (578–534 BCE); Tarquinius Superbus (534–509 BCE)
509 BCE	Foundation of Republic, Battle of Lake Regillus
508 BCE	Lars Porsena, Etruscan king of Clusium attempts to restore Tarquinius Superbus in Rome but fails
494 BCE	Office of Tribune of the Plebs is established
477 BCE	Destruction of Fabian Gens at Veii
458 BCE	War with the Aequians, dictatorship of Cincinnatus
451–450 BCE	Decemviri and the Laws of the Twelve Tables established
396 BCE	Capture of Veii by Camillus
387 BCE	Defeat of Rome by Brennus at Battle of Allia River and the sack of Rome
387 BCE	First Latin colonies established
367 BCE	Licinian Rogations, restoration of consulship to Plebeian class
353 BCE	Caere established as first municipium, that is, a conquered town incorporated into the Roman state with limited rights of citizenship
343–341 BCE	First Samnite War
340–338 BCE	Latin War
338 BCE	Antium established, first Roman or maritime colony
326–304 BCE	Second Samnite War
321 BCE	Roman defeat at Caudine Forks by Samnites

298–290 BCE	Third Samnite War
295 BCE	Battle of Sentium, Rome victorious over Samnites, Etruscans, Umbrians, and Gallic allies
283 BCE	Defeat of Etruscans at Lake Vadimonis
281–272 BCE	Invasion of Italy by Pyrrhus from Greece
280 BCE	Battle of Heraclea, Pyrrhus defeats the Roman consul Publius Laevinus
279 BCE	Battle of Asculum, Pyrrhus defeats the consul Publius Mus but suffers heavy casualties
275 BCE	Battle of Beneventum, Rome and Pyrrhus fight to a draw
272 BCE	Rome defeats Tarentum and controls Italy
268 BCE	First divorce in Rome
264 BCE	First exhibition of gladiators
264–242	First Punic War against North African city of Carthage
260 BCE	Carthaginian fleet ambushes Roman fleet at Lipara Harbor; Roman naval victory over Carthage at Mylae
257 BCE	Battle of Tyndaris, inconclusive naval engagement between Carthage and Rome
256 BCE	Battle of Cape Encomus, Roman fleet under Regulus defeats Carthaginian fleet off coast of Sicily, largest naval battle of war
255 BCE	Regulus victorious in Africa at Aspis and Adys, but defeated at Tunis; Regulus urges Romans not to sue for peace and is executed by Carthage
251 BCE	Plautus (251–184 BCE), Roman comic playwright, born
249 BCE	Battle of Drepana, Carthage defeats half the Roman fleet; storm destroys the other half; Rome without a fleet for seven years
241 BCE	Romans under Catulus defeat the Carthaginian fleet at Aegates Islands, Carthage sues for peace
239 BCE	Ennius (239–169 BCE), Italy's first poet and historian, born in Rudiae, a town where Oscan, Greek, and Latin languages are spoken
237 BCE	Romans in violation of truce with Carthage seize Sardinia and Corsica; Romans establish system of provinces outside Italy
229 BCE	First Illyrican War
222 BCE	Battle of Telamon, Gallia Cisalpina is formed in northern Italy
220 BCE	Hannibal takes over Carthaginian army in Spain after death of his father Hamilcar
219 BCE	Siege of Saguntum in Spain; first Greek physician in Rome
218–202 BCE	Second Punic War against Carthage

218 BCE	Hannibal defeats Rome at battles of Ticinus and Trebia in northern Italy
217 BCE	Hannibal destroys Roman army under Consul Gaius Flaminius at Battle of Lake Trasimene
216 BCE	Hannibal defeats Rome at Battle of Cannae, Rome's worst defeat
214–205 BCE	First Macedonian War
212 BCE	Capture of Syracuse by Rome; death of Archimedes
207 BCE	Scipio defeats Hasdrubal at Baecula, Spain; Hasdrubal defeated and killed at Metaurus River
202 BCE	Scipio (Africanus) defeats Hannibal at Zama, Africa; Carthage sues for peace
200–197 BCE	Second Macedonian War; Rome announces freedom for the Greeks
198 BCE	Rome defeats Macedon at Battle of Cynoscephalae
194 BCE	Terence (194–159 BCE), Roman slave playwright, born in North Africa
190 BCE	Rome defeats Syria under Antiochus III at Magnesia
185 BCE	Senate forbids permanent theater
184 BCE	Censorship of Cato the Elder (234–149 BCE), height of Roman conservatism
183 BCE	Death of Scipio (Africanus) in Italy; death of Hannibal in Bithynia (Turkey)
171–168 BCE	Third Macedonian War
168 BCE	Victory by Consul Aemilius Paulus over Macedonian king Perseus, end of Antigonid Kingdom
167 BCE	Greek historian Polybius in Rome as a hostage; he acts as tutor of Aemilius Paulus' son
161 BCE	Philosophers and rhetoricians expelled from Rome
155 BCE	Three Greek philosophers in Rome
149–146 BCE	Third Punic War against Carthage
149 BCE	Death of Cato the Elder
146 BCE	Destruction of Carthage; Destruction of Corinth in Greece
143–133 BCE	Numantine War in Spain
134–132 BCE	First Servile War in Sicily
133 BCE	Death of Tribune Tiberius Gracchus, who is murdered by political opponents
129 BCE	Death of Scipio Aemilianus
123–121 BCE	Gaius Gracchus, brother of Tiberius Gracchus, becomes Tribune

121 BCE	Death of Gaius Gracchus, who is murdered by political opponents
118–104 BCE	Jugurthine War in Africa
106 BCE	Cicero (106–43 BCE), Roman politician and writer, born
103–102 BCE	Second Slave War in Sicily
102 BCE	Marius defeats Teutones at Aquae Sextiae in Gaul
101 BCE	Marius defeats Cimbri at Vercellae in Gaul, Sulla distinguishes himself
96 BCE	Lucretius (96–55 BCE), Roman writer and philosopher, born
91–88 BCE	Social War in Italy
90–82 BCE	Civil War is fought between forces of Marius and Sulla
87 BCE	Sallust (87–35 BCE), Roman historian, born
86 BCE	Death of Marius
86–84 BCE	Sulla campaigns against Mithridates in Greece/Asia Minor
84 BCE	Death of Cinna, protégé of Marius
82 BCE	Catullus (82–52 BCE), Roman poet, born
81–79 BCE	Dictatorship of Sulla
80–72 BCE	Sertorius holds Spain in defiance of Republic
72 BCE	Assassination of Sertorius
73–71 BCE	Spartacus leads Third Slave War against Rome
72–67 BCE	Lucullus fights against Mithridates in Asia Minor
70 BCE	Virgil (70–19 BCE) Roman epic poet, born
67 BCE	Pompey defeats pirates in the east
67–63 BCE	Pompey's conquest territories in the east
65 BCE	Horace (65–8 BCE), Roman lyric poet, born
63 BCE	Cicero's consulship
62 BCE	Cicero defeats of Catiline's conspiracy against the Roman state
59 BCE	Consulship of Julius Caesar, First Triumvirate, comprising Caesar, Pompey, and Crassus, is formed
59 BCE	Cicero banished; Cato the Younger sent to Cyprus; Livy (59 BCE–17 CE), Roman historian, born
58 BCE	Free grain provided for Romans in city of Rome
58–49 BCE	Caesar wages campaign of conquest in Gaul (roughly modern France)
57 BCE	Recall of Cicero; return of Cato
53 BCE	Crassus defeated and killed in Syria by Parthians
52 BCE	Murder of Clodius by Milo; Pompey's consulship; death of Pompey's wife Julia (Caesar's daughter)

50 BCE	Propertius (50–10 BCE), Roman elegiac poet, born
49 BCE	Caesar crosses Rubicon River, which starts Civil War; siege and capture of Ilerda, Spain
48 BCE	Defeat of Pompey by Caesar at Pharsalia, end of Civil War; murder of Pompey in Egypt
47 BCE	Caesar elevates Cleopatra to throne of Egypt; Caesar returns to Rome
44 BCE	Murder of Caesar (March 15); start of new Civil War
43 BCE	Second Triumvirate comprising Octavian, Antony, and Lepidus, is formed; murder of Cicero; Ovid (43 BCE–17 CE), Roman poet, born
42 BCE	Battle of Philippi, defeat of Caesar's assassins, Brutus and Cassius, by Octavian and Antony
36 BCE	Battle of Naulochus, defeat of Sextus Pompey by Agrippa, Octavian's admiral
31 BCE	Battle of Actium, victory of Octavian over Antony and Cleopatra, end of Civil War
27 BCE	Octavian changes name to Augustus and establishes the Empire
5 CE	Seneca (5–65 CE), Roman philosopher and advisor to Nero, born
9 CE	German defeats Varus in Teutoburg forest, ending Roman expansion
14 CE	Death of Augustus, Tiberius becomes emperor
29 CE	Crucifixion of Jesus occurs about this year; Pliny the Elder (23–79 CE), Roman author, born
37 CE	Death of Tiberius, Caligula becomes emperor
39 CE	Lucan (39–65 CE), Roman poet, born
41 CE	Murder of Caligula, Claudius becomes emperor
46 CE	Martial (46–104 CE), Roman elegiac poet, born
50 CE	Juvenal (50–127 CE), Roman satirist, born
54 CE	Death of Claudius, Nero becomes emperor (last of the Julio-Claudians)
55 CE	Tacitus (55–120 CE), Roman historian, born
62 CE	Pliny the Younger (62–113 CE), Roman governor and author, born
64 CE	Great fire of Rome
68 CE	Death of Nero
69 CE	Year of Four Emperors; Vespasian (Flavians) made emperor; Suetonius (69–140 CE), Roman historian, born
70 CE	Destruction of Jerusalem by Titus, son of Vespasian

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79 CE	Titus becomes emperor; Eruption of Mount Vesuvius destroys Pompeii and Herculaneum
81 CE	Domitian becomes emperor (last of the Flavians)
96 CE	Assassination of Domitian, Nerva made emperor
98 CE	Death of Nerva, Trajan, adopted son of Nerva, made emperor
117 CE	Death of Trajan, Hadrian, adopted son of Trajan, made emperor
125 CE	Apuleius (ca. 125–ca.180 CE), Roman novelist, born
138 CE	Death of Hadrian, Antoninus Pius, adopted son of Hadrian, made emperor
161 CE	Death of Antoninus Pius, Marcus Aurelius, adopted son of Antoninus Pius, made emperor
180 CE	Death of Marcus Aurelius, Rome at height of its power and expansion

ARTS



INTRODUCTION

While everyday Romans may not have designed or created the arts that have survived, they nevertheless were heavily involved in their use and were influenced by them. These arts are varied and were meant to be enjoyed in different settings, whether in public or private. For example, while they may not have created the literary works, many scribes, often slaves, transcribed and copied the works for publication. They may have worked in the shops helping the painter, sculptor, or designer in their profession. Most Romans were influenced by these works through their everyday contact with them in the cities.

The arts may generally be divided by type (genre) or ethnic (regional) origin. Ethnic distribution means the region or society that created and influenced the genres or types. The major ethnic groups that contributed and heavily influenced the Romans were the Greeks seen in Hellenism, Jewish especially Jewish literature, and native Italians, including the Etruscan and Roman classical literature. The Greek and Jewish writers wrote in Greek, while early Roman authors wrote first in Greek and then in Latin. The Romans absorbed elements from all of these societies and produced their own form. In addition, all of these societies were in turn influenced by the Romans, what we may call *Romanitas*. These major ethnic groups produced their own literary types and were often attempting to explain their position to the Roman elites who either had conquered them or were threatening them.

The different types of genres may be seen in the specialized works such as agricultural treatises written in Latin but influenced by the Greeks and Carthaginians. These works were meant to be handbooks for the wealthy gentleman farmer, not for the everyday Roman peasant. The geographical treatises were also heavily influenced by the Greeks and Carthaginians. Most of the geographical works were written in Greek and were probably of interest for merchants and civic leaders. They attempted to explain regions either not known by the Romans or as practical

handbooks for sailing. Prose and satire were two Roman literary creations, prose being influenced by the Greeks while satire being developed by the Romans. The different literary genres were produced by writers who wrote in both Greek and Latin. These included Latin authors such as Caesar, Cicero, Livy, Lucretius, Pliny, Sallust, Seneca writing in Latin and the Greek Polybius, writing in Greek, who composed histories and philosophical works. Latin authors such as Catullus, Ovid, Seneca, and Virgil wrote in verse. These works were meant to be enjoyed either by reading or listening. Some authors such as Seneca wrote plays as well, which were meant to be performed as drama in the performing arts.

A major form of art was the visual arts, which can be divided into decorations, Etruscan arts, portraiture, pottery, and sculpture. These forms relied on the visual perception of the individual to understand and appreciate their context and often allowed individuals to collect art pieces or house art collections in their private residences or adorn public buildings. All of these works allowed all Romans to enjoy the arts, whether written, heard, seen, or performed.

AGRICULTURAL TREATISES

Three agricultural treatises written over the course of two centuries from ca. 160 BCE to 60 CE describe Roman agriculture and the organization of a Latin/Italian farm. As the ancient world's major economic force, agriculture was crucial. The writers attempted to provide concrete advice on how the farm should be successfully run.

The first writer was Cato the Elder, born Marcus Porcius Cato, living from 234 to 149 BCE who produced a work, *On Agriculture*, which is the oldest surviving complete piece of Latin prose. Cato owned several farms and viewed it as the noblest profession even if not the most profitable. His work is more a handbook rather than a piece of literature. In some ways it seems almost like random notes written down to instruct a caretaker who has little knowledge of a farm. In the first part, Cato describes how to purchase the land for a farm, including its location and setting, followed by how to outfit it farm and what buildings to build. He discusses the equipment needed for olive presses and vineyards. He then describes the equipment for general farming interjecting that one had to be a good neighbor to secure peace and help. Cato describes the harvesting of olives and grapes, the yearly planting and working schedule, digging of trenches, planting of fruit trees, feeding of cattle, storing of firewood, and so on (1–55). This introductory outfitting of the farmstead is followed by the outfitting of workers. Cato gives the rations for the various workers during the year, including clothing; he follows with

the needs for cattle (56–60). He then indicates the duties of the watchman and the general planting procedures, followed by caring for cattle (61–73).

Cato then provides a variety of recipes for bread, porridge, and fattening of birds (74–90); he gives the many uses of *amurca*, which is a watery residue left when the oil is drained from the crushed olives (91–103). It could be used for keeping mice out of grain to curing scabs on sheep. Cato then goes on to discuss wine, from wine making to recipes for mixing different types of wines (104–125). Then, he details sacrifices for appeasing the gods and terms for letting of property to share croppers (126–140); this is followed by the terms of business agreements such as overseer, housekeeper, milling and sale of olives, wine, pasturage (141–155). He then makes a digression on the uses of cabbage for one's digestive system (156–157), followed by other medicinal recipes and planting of asparagus and curing hams. Cato's value can be seen in the first practical Latin work on farming. His work was followed by that of Varro.

Varro, born Marcus Terentius Varro (116–27 BCE), was a follower of Pompey, who was pardoned and commissioned by Julius Caesar to create a public library. He was condemned by Antony but escaped and spent his remaining years pursuing scholarship. He wrote his work when he was 80 to his wife Fundania who had purchased a farm, and like Cato's work, it was meant to be a practical manual. It is divided into three books: the first on agriculture, the second on cattle, and the third on poultry, fish, and other delicacies.

The work starts out as a rhetorical dialogue about the difference between agriculture and grazing; however, it then describes agriculture. Varro discusses the types of soil, the pros and cons of vineyards, problems with measuring of land, the location of the farmstead, the description of a good barn and cattle stalls to help preserve oil and wine and protect cattle. The fences or protection of a farm are crucial and can be natural and manmade. Varro explains issues such as ensuring that the farm is planted with the correct types of trees for protection; soil conditions and their particular uses; and the use of contract labor, like physicians and artisans, whose cost was exorbitant. Varro then discusses the use of slave labor: the number needed and their roles. He compares his ideas with those of Cato's, showing a connection and familiarity with the earlier writer. He then indicates the number of oxen needed, dogs to be kept, and other supplies. He gives the rules for planting wheat and vineyards. He follows with a discussion on the seasons and the work to be done during each. Varro describes how long the plants are nurtured, when they are harvested, and how the crops are threshed and stored; he then discusses olives and their production as well as the uses of *amurca*, taking much from Cato.

The second book details cattle. Varro describes the purchasing of animals, the various types of oxen, and their uses in farming to sacrifices. He discusses the

caring of sheep and the proper flock followed by pasturage, feeding, breeding, and general health. He divides the discussion on the various types of cattle, sheep, goats, oxen, cows, horses, dogs, and slaves.

Varro's third book explores first the high profits some have made on their estates, such as from birds, and gives a description of aviaries built on estates for profit. The profits were exceedingly high, especially from the banquets and exquisite meals provided for the wealthy. Different types of birds are kept: peafowl, pigeons, geese, doves, chickens, and ducks. Varro continues explaining how to raise snails, dormice, and bees; again all of these were for the upper class.

The final work was by Columella, born Lucius Junius Moderatus Columella, in Gades Spain in 4 CE. His work *On Agriculture*, in 12 books, was the most complete work on agriculture in the Roman Empire. The work is very thorough. In book 1 he describes the location of a farm and the organization of the manor; book 2 explores the different types of soil and when they are to be plowed and planted. Books 3–5 describe the complete caring for vineyards, while book 6 discusses oxen, mules, horses, bulls, cows, and calves. Book 7 continues with sheep, goats, pigs, and dogs with book 8 describing fowl. Book 9 examines bee keeping and the making of honey and wax. Book 10, in verse, examines gardens. Book 11 discusses the times of the year, and book 12 about vegetables. He then added a book about trees, again concentrating on vines. Unlike Cato and Varro who produced works for the gentleman farmer, Columella envisioned his work for a professional farmer running an agro-business.

These works attempted to show the elites how the normal life of over 80 percent of the population actually lived. While the normal Romans did not necessarily follow their agricultural advice, they were directly involved in this endeavor.

See also: *Economics and Work:* Agriculture; Farming; *Latifundia*; Ranching; *Fashion and Appearance:* Rural Fashion; *Food and Drink:* Rural Peasant Diet; *Housing and Community:* Rural House; Villa; *Politics and Warfare:* Agrarian Reforms; *Science and Technology:* Agricultural Devices

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ART COLLECTING

Art collecting became fashionable for the Romans during the late Republic. These collections originated as state treasures confiscated from their defeated foes; ultimately, private individuals, usually generals, began to amass private collections of their own competing with one another. The earliest private collector was the Hellenized king, Attalus I of Pergamum who amassed a large collection of Greek works. He was followed by other Greeks who desired to show off their new-found wealth with bronze and marble statues.

Art collecting in antiquity should be seen as the natural extension of military activities by societies. The Romans followed the examples of earlier groups, the Greeks, Etruscans, and Carthaginians, whose conquering armies plundered cities and carried valuables back to their own states. The plunder included art work, often in the form of statues and jewelry, which were crafted of valuable metals and encrusted in jewels. Historically, plunder only occurred during times of formal war, and sacred precincts were not violated. The Persians were said to have been cursed for their plundering of the Acropolis in 480 BCE. Rome itself had been sacked by the Gauls in 387 BCE and was forced to pay a ransom for the Gauls to leave. The money they used to pay the Gauls was from the plunder the Romans had taken from the Etruscan city of Veii, so plunder became more plunder.

The Temple of Saturn became the treasury for Republican Rome and initial plunder found its way into the secured vaults below the *cella*. When Rome began its expansion into southern Italy they came into contact with Greek art, many were copies of classical Greek works. Initially, the Roman state controlled a sizable portion of the plunder. The sack of Syracuse in 209 BCE supposedly produced a great amount of plunder; unfortunately, the exact pieces were not remembered or retained. Cicero paints a comparison between the “positive” plunder by Marcellus at Syracuse and the “negative” depredations by Verres a century later. Polybius viewed that this contact and subsequent plundering made the Romans soft and distracted them from their main purpose, supporting Rome. Cicero in his prosecution of Verres, governor of Sicily, charged him with looting art from temples, public spaces, and shrines. Cicero was careful not to condemn the practice of plundering by the state during times of war; rather, he condemned Verres who stole works for himself and not the state.

Rome took these art pieces as plunder; they were often kept or sold by the generals who were entitled to a large percentage of the plunder. With the end of the Second Punic War and Rome’s extension of power into Greece and Asia Minor, more art work became available, including many original pieces. In 187 BCE, the Romans returned from Greece after their victory over the Aetolians with 785 bronze statues, 230 marble statues, as well as gold and silver crowns; the general, Fulvius, built a temple to Hercules of the Muses and outfitted it with part of his booty

creating a sort of Museum. Aemilius Paullus took the Macedonian's king library as his booty and when he returned to Rome he sailed up the Tiber in a ship arranged with the plunder from the war so that all could see, a sort of traveling exhibition. The triumph took three days to complete, with day one given over to statues and art work, some 250 wagons full. Later Lucullus and Sulla both plundered the east, especially Athens, and returned to Rome with a vast amount of booty. The Romans also began to copy many of the Greek pieces, not to produce fakes but rather to have these pieces for themselves. Cicero in a letter to a friend informs him that he has built some new reading rooms and would like to decorate them. These decorations could have been original statues of art pieces or contemporary commissions.

Like art collections, many Romans began to collect libraries. Taking as their archetype the Greeks, many Romans copied Aristotle's idea of the Lyceum with its carefully organized system. Athens did get a public library in the second century BCE, which was modeled on the Alexandrian library in Egypt. Ptolemy I established the museum and library at Alexandria, which were further enhanced by his son Ptolemy II who really established it as a center for research. The library became known for its copying of text and organized system for users. Another Greek library was at Pergamum established by its king, Eumenes II. It contained about 200,000 volumes, which Antony later gave to Cleopatra. Papyri from Egypt clearly show that libraries existed, but their exact composition is not known. Rome had, as part of its treasury, state archives that recorded deeds and laws, but the idea of a public library did not exist until the first century BCE when Lucullus made his private library open to many residents. As seen, Aemilius Paullus had a library, as did Cicero, Atticus, and Caesar. The first true public library was established by C. Asinius Pollio in the late Republic, while Augustus established two large libraries at temples on the Palatine and the Porticus Octaviae (named after his sister Octavia): one for Greek and the other for Latin works. The emperors Tiberius, Vespasian, and Trajan followed the same pattern of building twin libraries in sacred precincts. The growth of libraries continued until there were said to be 26 in Rome. Private individuals, such as Pliny the Younger, continued to amass their own libraries, and Seneca indicated that a proper gentleman needed a library as a bath house, something that every estate had. When Mt. Vesuvius exploded in 79 CE, a private library at Herculaneum, about twelve square feet had a reading table and ornamental bookcases and was preserved.

The collection of art and by extension books allowed for individuals to display their wealth and transmit art, culture, and learning to successive generations. While developing out-of-military conquest, art collecting became part of daily life for many Romans of the late Republic and early Empire. These collections like modern museums were occasionally available for all inhabitants.

See also: Arts: Cicero, Marcus Tullius; Pliny the Elder; *Economics and Work:* Money; *Fashion and Appearance:* Jewelry, Women, Jewelry, Men; *Housing and Community:* Floors, Wall Coverings; *Science and Technology:* Minting

ART COLLECTING IN THE EARLY EMPIRE

Pliny the Younger (62–ca. 113 CE) was a Roman lawyer, writer, and magistrate, whose large volume of surviving letters offers much insight into Roman social customs and legal/political practices. His two most famous letters describe the eruption of Mount Vesuvius that destroyed Pompeii in 79 CE (written ca. 104 CE) and ask Emperor Trajan from guidance in dealing with the Christians who are brought before him as governor of Bithynia-Pontus (written ca. 112 CE). In the following excerpt from an undated letter to his friend Annius Severus, Pliny, in describing a brass sculpture he has recently purchased, provides a vivid picture of the art collecting and patronage interests of a cultivated Roman gentleman of wealth in the early Empire.

I bought lately a figure of Corinthian brass, which, though small, is spirited and bold, as far as my taste goes; which taste, perhaps, in all matters, and assuredly in this one, is of infinitesimal value. However, this is a figure which even I can appreciate; for it is nude, so that its defects, if it has any, are not concealed, and its merits are fully brought to view. It represents an old man standing: bones, muscles, sinews, veins, wrinkles even, appear as of one breathing . . . The brass itself, to judge from its colour, which is of the right sort, must be antique. In short, everything about it is of a character to arrest the eyes of an artist, as well as to delight those who are not connoisseurs. . . . I have bought it, not to place in my house but for the purpose of setting it up in my native parts . . . in the temple of Jupiter.

(Lewis, 1890, 82)

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CAESAR, GAIUS JULIUS (ca. 102–44 BCE)

Julius Caesar was born in July 102 or 100 BCE in Rome and died on March 15, 44 BCE. Coming from the Julian gens or clan, he became one of Rome's greatest statesmen and military leader, ultimately controlling the Roman state and initiating numerous reforms.

Caesar's career had a profound political and social impact on Rome, hastening the end of the Republic and paving the way for the foundation of the Empire. Gifted and versatile, he was a skillful orator and politician, as well as a successful military leader. Supported by many of the common people of Rome as a defender of their rights against a powerful oligarchy, he was opposed by many among the aristocracy and political elite of the Republic as a dangerously ambitious demagogue. His influence upon Roman history and culture was so significant that in the Empire his name became a title bestowed upon emperors and their heirs. And from Rome, the name passed into the languages of later peoples, becoming a title for imperial monarchy, as in the word "Kaiser," used for German emperors, and



Granite bust of Julius Caesar, ca. 40 BCE now in Pergamum Museum, Berlin, Germany. Caesar and others desired to portray themselves as youthful and virile, even if not, to promote power and confidence. Caesar became the archetype of a great general, but his memory was ultimately pushed aside by the accomplishments of his successor Augustus. (Mauro Rodrigues/Dreamstime.com)

the word “Czar,” used for Russian emperors, into the 20th century. Caesar’s name also lived on in social contexts. The calendar used across much of Europe until the 18th century, was known as the Julian calendar because it was based upon reforms initiated by Caesar. Also, tradition long declared that the term “caesarean section”—a surgical procedure used to remove a baby in distress from its mother’s womb—derived from Caesar’s own birth in this manner. Although this story is false, disproved by the fact that Caesar’s mother survived the birth, the ready belief that it originated with Caesar demonstrates his lasting influence.

Born Gaius Julius Caesar, he counted as his relative Marius, an uncle through marriage; at 16 after his father died, he became head of the family and high priest of Jupiter. He married Cornelia, daughter of Lucius Cinna, an ally of Marius, whereupon Sulla’s return found himself in danger due to his connection with Cinna and Marius, enemies of Sulla. Sulla hounded him stripping him of his inheritance and his priesthood, which paradoxically allowed him to enter the military. Caesar’s family persuaded Sulla to relent who now pardoned him; with Sulla’s death in 78 BCE, Caesar returned to Rome, where he began to practice law prosecuting corrupt governors. In 69 BCE, he became military tribune starting his political career. In 63 BCE, he was elected *pontifex maximus* or chief priest and in 60 BCE consul for 59 BCE. At this time Caesar, Crassus, and Pompey, the three most powerful men, created the First Triumvirate or rule of three, which controlled Roman politics for the next decade. Caesar gave his daughter Julia to Pompey as a wife and Caesar married Calpurnia, a senator’s daughter closely connected with Pompey. At the end of his consulship he was awarded the provinces of Cisalpine Gaul (northern Italy), Illyricum (the Balkans), and Transalpine Gaul (southern France) for five years instead of the usual one while commanding a total of four legions.

Arriving in his province in 59 BCE, Caesar began the conquest of Gaul by attacking individual tribes in an attempt to prevent their unification. During the next nine years Caesar reduced northern Gaul, invaded Germany with a show of force, led two invasions of Britain, suppressed a serious rebellion by Vercingetorix who had united the Gallic tribes, and ultimately made a tentative peace with the remaining tribes.

With the death of his daughter Julia, Pompey’s wife, and Crassus’s defeat and death in the east, the Triumvirate came to an end. In 50 BCE, the Senate ordered Caesar to disband his army and return to Rome. Knowing that without the immunity of being a magistrate, and his guaranteed prosecution and probable conviction, Caesar in 49 BCE with one legion crossed the Rubicon, the boundary of his province and command; Caesar then marched on Rome to battle against Pompey and the Senate. Pompey fled east before Caesar arrived in Rome. Caesar marched first to Spain to secure his flank, where he defeated Pompey’s lieutenants and then moved to Greece defeating Pompey at Pharsalus. Pompey again fled further east before being murdered in Egypt. Caesar returned to Italy, where he was appointed dictator and then elected consul (resigning the dictatorship). Caesar traveled back

to the east and arrived in Egypt, where he sided with the Pharaoh's wife/sister Cleopatra defeating the young Pharaoh and installing Cleopatra as queen. Caesar now began his affair with Cleopatra with whom he had a son Caesarion.

In 48 BCE, Caesar was appointed dictator for a year. He began his conquest of the east against Pontus with great speed issuing his famous remark "veni, vidi, vici" (I came, I saw, I conquered). He then moved against Cato the Younger in Africa defeating him in 46 BCE. He was then appointed dictator for 10 years. He pursued Pompey's sons to Spain defeating them in 45 BCE at the battle of Munda.

Unlike Sulla, who had proscribed his enemies after his victories, Caesar pardoned them. The Senate bestowed honors, and games were celebrated over Caesar's enemies, ostensibly Gaul, Egypt, and the east. Caesar updated his will giving his legacy, including his name to his grand-nephew Octavian, and his second heir to Marcus Junius Brutus. Caesar embarked on a series of reforms, a census taking, calendar reform, building programs, extending citizenship, amongst others. In February 44 BCE, he was appointed Dictator for Life. On March 15, 44 BCE, Caesar was assassinated in a session of the Senate in the Theatre of Pompey.

While his political career is best known, his literary works provide an insight not only into his career, but into Roman military practice and the daily lives of his soldiers, as well as the political dysfunction of the late Republic and the role played in it by propaganda and the political manipulation of the Roman public. Caesar's writings also provide much of what we know today about the peoples and societies that inhabited Gaul (roughly modern France) and Britain in the first century BCE to his history and personnel political/military commentaries. His only surviving works are his war commentaries, the Gallic War Commentaries and his unfinished Civil War Commentaries. The Gallic Commentaries have been admired, even by Cicero Caesar's contemporary, as elegant. The Commentaries describe in detail Caesar's campaigns in Gaul and Britain in the 50s BCE.

The Gallic war commentary is unique in that it is written in the third person, as if by a detached neutral third party who is merely observing the campaigns. The work, however, was written by Caesar himself and clearly attempts to show how successful Caesar was. The work is never critical of Caesar and in fact glorifies his actions. His work was written in serial fashion, one book per year, written usually during the winter quarters when he could reflect on the past campaigning year probably using notes he kept during the campaign. The intent was to ensure that his allies in Rome could publicize his success and keep everyone cognizant of Caesar and his achievements, thus ensuring his popularity in the city and maintaining his political position there in his absence. The work is an example of clear Latin prose providing a vivid account of campaigns, geography, and local customs from the Roman point of view. When people read/heard the accounts, often forgetting that Caesar was the author, it increased Caesar's prestige and fame ensuring that everyone knew how great he was.

CAESAR'S COMMENTARII DE BELLO GALLICO (COMMENTARIES ON THE GALLIC WAR)

The Gallic War, Julius Caesar's (100–44 BCE) third-person account of his military campaigns in Gaul between 58 and 50 BCE, is one of the finest surviving examples from the late Republic of unadorned Latin prose. As such, it has long been a standard teaching text for educating students to read and translate classical Latin. Beyond its utility to Latinists, the work is a wealth of information regarding Roman politics and military practice during the late Republic, the geography and peoples of Gaul and Britain in the first century BCE, and the course of the Roman conquest of Gaul, a territory that encompassed most of modern France and portions of modern Belgium and Switzerland. The excerpt below is drawn from the opening of Caesar's work, which describes the three main tribal groups of Gaul.

Gaul is a whole divided into three parts, one of which is inhabited by the Belgae, another by the Aquitani, and a third by a people called in their own tongue Celtae, in the Latin Galli. All these are different one from another in language, institutions, and laws. The Galli (Gauls) are separated from the Aquitani by the river Garonne, from the Belgae by the Marne and the Seine. Of all these peoples the Belgae are the most courageous, because they are farthest removed from the culture and the civilization of the Province, and least often visited by merchants introducing the commodities that make for effeminacy; and also because they are nearest to the Germans dwelling beyond the Rhine, with whom they are continually at war. For this cause the Helvetii also excel the rest of the Gauls in valour, because they are struggling in almost daily fights with the Germans.

(Caesar, 1917, Book 1, 1)

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See also: Arts: Cicero, Marcus Tullius; *Politics and Warfare*: Imperialism; Roman View of War; *Science and Technology*: Calendar Reforms

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CATULLUS, GAIUS VALERIUS (84–54 BCE)

Catullus, probably the greatest Latin Lyric poet, provides a glimpse into the social order of the Roman elite. His extant works, 116 letters, show his passion and sarcastic wit concerning important people in Rome at the end of the Republic. Catullus had the ability to capture all aspects of feeling, love, sorrow, friendship, and intense hatred; however, as a poet his works show intense passion and depth. Catullus was part of the new movement, the “Neoteric,” which wrote not only epics or drama but also short poems with precision and clarity; they experimented with new meters, language, words, and themes.

Born Gaius Valerius Catullus in Cisalpine Gaul at Verona, probably in 84 BCE, he came from a prominent family as witnessed by his father’s ability to entertain its governor Julius Caesar. Catullus came to Rome and moved in the circle of elites, Cicero, Cornelius Nepos, Hortensius, and Cinna. He was never directly involved in politics but made reference to political events such as Pompey’s second consulship, Caesar’s invasion of Gaul, and others. While he owned properties in Tibur and at Lake Como, his ability to control his financial obligations and position were lacking since he was always in debt. He attempted to get out of debt by attaching himself to Gaius Memmius, the governor of Bithynia, through his friend Helvius Cinna, but this came to no avail. Although he immigrated to Rome, he found the peace of the north always welcoming, such as when he returned from Asia Minor in 56 BCE. He knew of events that had happened in 55 BCE, but nothing was presented after this date, indicating that he probably died in 54 BCE. His lifespan had been given by Jerome in the fourth century CE as 30 years, but he indicated his birth in 87 BCE and death in 57 BCE, which we know is inaccurate.

Catullus was apparently involved with Clodia, whom he calls Lesbia, the sister of P. Clodius Pulcher, the hated enemy of Cicero. She was the wife of Q. Metellus Celer, the governor of Cisalpine Gaul from 64 to 62 BCE who died in 59 BCE. She was 10 years older than Catullus and their relationship began at least by 59 BCE when Metellus had died, some saying by Clodia who poisoned him. Catullus moved in both circles, the camp of Clodia, and Cicero’s, hers and her brother’s hated enemy.

Catullus’s poems fall under three groups. The first group, poems 1–60, is composed of short poems often in lyric meters or in elegiacs. They had no concerted theme but rather discussed daily life, friendship, satires, love, or political attacks. For example, he makes fun of Asinius who has supposedly stolen a napkin from Catullus and who is now lampooned for it. The poems invite us into the world of the new aristocracy, men who are just finding their place in Rome. Asinius may sound like a buffoon, but his grandfather had fought against Rome in the Social War and his brother was a general and historian. The second group, poems 61–64, is longer and more detailed and mainly concern themselves about passion within a

mythological setting. Poem 62 is a wedding poem, and 63 is about Attis, a young man who in the ecstasies of Cybele regrettably emasculates himself. Poem 64 is a short epic about the marriage of Peleus and Thetis, and most of the poem is about the story of Ariadne. This was his longest poem but only had 400 lines. It began with the voyage of the Argos and its mortal sailor Peleus, who encounters the sea-nymph Thetis, where Catullus describes their marriage and yet their union would be unhappy for their child was Achilles, who would die at Troy. The poem then describes the arrival of guests where Catullus lays out a splendid description of the scene, especially the tapestry on the bed depicting Theseus and Ariadne beginning with her at Naxos longing for her lover, a scene depicting the Minotaur and how Theseus first met Ariadne; Ariadne at Naxos and her lover's abandonment; Theseus returning to Athens and his failure to change the sails from black to white so that his father Aegeus, assuming Theseus has died, jumps from a cliff; back at Naxos, the god Bacchus and his followers arrive and approach Ariadne; the ending of the story of course is left to the imagination, but every reader of Catullus knew that Bacchus would marry her and she would find happiness. The poem shows the Neoteric movement's characteristics, a disregard for chronology; the scenes follow a movement similar to that of art pictorials and probably show the influence of art on literature, and how a digression adds to the overall emphasis. Here, the Ariadne theme takes up nearly half of the poem but shows the emotions of love, abandonment, fear, and finally happiness. The final group of poems can be subdivided into the first four, 65–68, which are longer poems, while the second subgroup, 69–116 are mainly epigrams on a wide range of material.

The love poems of Catullus form the most interesting and passionate of his works. The poems suggest that he had a brief period of happiness with Lesbia, when she was attentive and encouraged him. This soon turned to her unfaithfulness, when she ultimately rejected him causing Catullus much pain. He then became obsessed with her, in modern terms, stalking her, and ultimately not being able to get over her and end his pain. He wrote 12 poems about Lesbia. This was a new genre for the ancients since the Greeks did not have this type of poem. The poems show something else about society, the importance of women in the public world. During the late Republic, we see how Roman aristocratic women have achieved a level of emancipation not seen before or later. Clodia (Lesbia) was not some ignorant peasant girl but rather a well-educated and sophisticated woman who could understand politics and culture. In addition, her relationship with Catullus and others indicate that she could be adventurous and daring.

The poems of Catullus show the emotion and passion that could be distilled into short epigrams, elegies, and poems about everyday life. Anyone could understand how love was discarded, or how people can annoy you, or how one finds happiness in the simplest of things. These are ideas and emotions that never change.

See also: Arts: Roman Classical Literature

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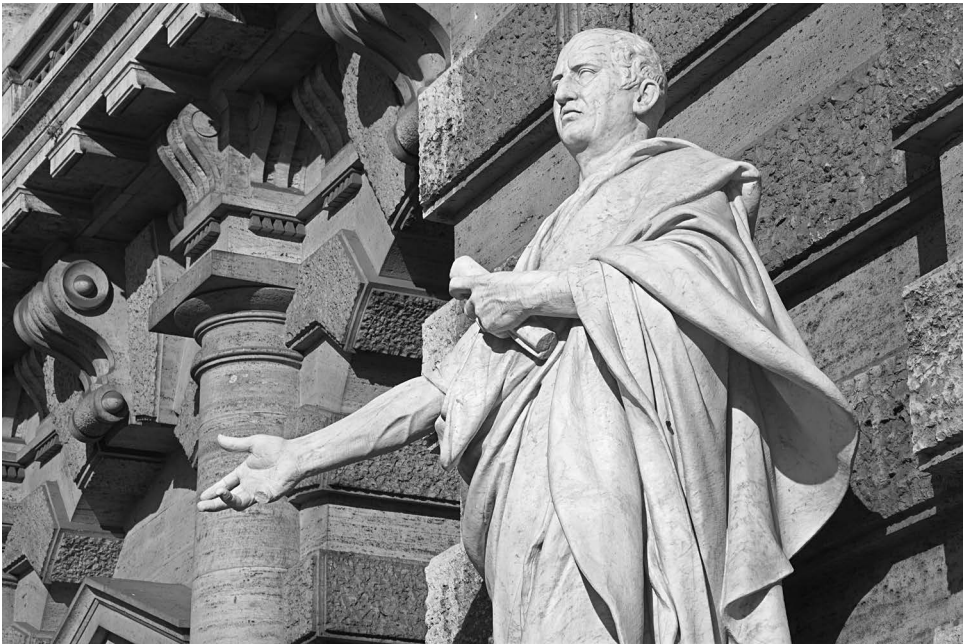
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CICERO, MARCUS TULLIUS (106–43 BCE)

Cicero, statesman, orator, writer, and philosopher, stands as one of the greatest figures in Roman history during the late Republic. His works not only show his passion for the state but also help record its conflicts and how he tried to navigate through them, ultimately without success.

Cicero's career is important as a rare example of a man of lower social rank achieving high political position in the class-conscious Republic. Cicero was born into an equestrian family, a lower order of the Roman nobility. He was a *novus homo*, meaning he was the first member of his family to achieve the consulship, the highest office in the Republic. By the late Republic, such new men were rare, Cicero being the first in three decades. His election in 63 BCE showed that such an achievement was still possible. He was also unusual in that he attained the office not through military success but because of his skill as an orator and lawyer. Never fully accepted by the Optimates ("best men"), the traditionalist faction of the Senate that spoke for the interests of the highest nobility, he drew political support from the rising equestrian class, whose members were to fill increasing numbers of civic offices in the early Empire.

Born Marcus Tullius Cicero in 106 BCE in Arpinum to a wealthy equestrian family, Cicero, along with his younger brother Quintus, received an excellent education in Rome. After his initial studies in the capital, Cicero traveled to Athens and Rhodes studying rhetoric. He married Terentia and had two children, a daughter Tullia and a son Marcus; after 30 years of marriage he divorced her and married his young ward, whom he divorced soon after. He was elected to successive offices and in 63 BCE became consul and had to deal with the conspiracy of the Roman noble Catiline. Although he successfully thwarted the conspiracy, his argument that the chief conspirators be executed without a trial would force him into exile a few years later. He refused to join with Caesar, Pompey, and Crassus to control the state, and



Modern statue of Cicero on the Palace of Justice, Rome, Italy. Cicero became the archetype of the great jurist in Western civilization based on his surviving classical speeches, usually given in defense of his friends. Cicero was remembered even in the Empire as a great patriot who saved the state from a coup. (Jozef Sedmak/Dreamstime.com)

without any support, was forced into exile in 58 BCE, returning in 57 BCE after a law granting his return. He was governor of Cilicia in Asia Minor in from 51 to 50 BCE, and upon his return to Rome, he witnessed the struggle between Caesar and Pompey; he supported the latter. After Pompey's defeat he was pardoned by Caesar. He retired from politics until the assassination of Caesar in 44 BCE when he railed against Marc Antony, which ultimately caused his execution in December 43 BCE.

Cicero's literary works, however, are noteworthy and may be divided into the following separate classes: speeches in defense of a client, political speeches, philosophical treatises and letters. These different genres occurred simultaneously over his lifetime giving an insightful picture of life in the turbulent last century of the Republic. Many of his works, although in the form of orations, were not publicly delivered but published.

His speeches in defense of his clients show the richness of his persuasive arguments. His first, *Pro Quinctio*, was a defense of *Publius Quinctius* over some land dispute, during which he argued against one of the great orators Hortensius, in 81 BCE. The following year he defended Sextus Roscius of murder, although successful, he had to implicate a follower of Sulla, the dictator, which may have

hastened Cicero's departure to study abroad. Upon his return he established himself as a great lawyer, and he argued for the property rights for M. Tullius in 72 BCE and he defended Aulus Cluentius in 66 BCE against the charge of poisoning his enemy. Since charges could be brought at any time Cicero defended C. Rabirius, an old senator, against a charge of murder, which had occurred some 30 years earlier. He defended his fellow consul L. Murena against bribery by Cato the younger (Cicero's friend as well) as well as defending Sulla (not the dictator) of involvement in the Catiline conspiracy. His talents were used to defend the poet Archias whose claim of citizenship had been attacked, and he defended Flaccus, a praetor, who had arrested some followers of Catiline. After his return from exile, Cicero used some of his defense orations to actually attack the First Triumvirate of Caesar, Crassus, and Pompey. He not only defended Sestius and Caelius against charges from Caesar's henchman Clodius but also realized the political power of the triumvirate and defended Balbus, a friend of the triumvirs, whose citizenship rights were questioned. He defended Plancius in 54 BCE as well as Rabirius Postumus, a friend of Caesar, clearly guilty of extortion; he defended Titus Milo against murdering Clodius, an example of a speech published different than the one delivered. In 46 and 45 BCE, Cicero defended Marcellus, and in doing so flattered Caesar; defended Ligarius who was hostile to Caesar, and King Deiotarus accused of trying to murder Caesar. These speeches were often given in defense of men clearly guilty; for the Roman jurors, knowing that many of the accused were actually guilty, the verdict hung on how well the defense or prosecutor spoke.

Cicero's political speeches were often cast as attacks against individuals often as a prosecution speech. One of his earliest was against the corrupt former governor of Sicily, Verres, who Cicero forced into exile in 70 BCE. His first true political speech was in 66 BCE when he spoke in favor of Manilius (a friend of Pompey) and his bill to give Pompey command of the east. His four speeches against Catiline detail Cicero's discovery of the plot, the plans to protect the city, how Cicero obtained evidence from the conspirators, and an argument for their execution, all delivered within the span of a month (November–early December). Upon his return from exile, he delivered four speeches detailing his thanks to the people and Senate and his case to retrieve his property that had been confiscated. Cicero also argued in favor of Caesar's command of Gaul in 56 BCE and two attacks on L. Calpurnius Piso, governor of Macedonia. Perhaps his greatest political speeches, called the *Phillipics*, 14 in all, were delivered after Caesar's death during 44–43 BCE against Marc Antony culminating in a praise of Antony's defeat at Mutina, only to have Antony reconciled with the victor, Octavian, which led to Antony ordering Cicero's execution.

Cicero's great influence on Roman and subsequent European culture arose from his literary works—his political and philosophical treatises, his speeches,

and his letters. His works are credited with transforming Latin from a spare, practical language into a literary medium capable of expressing complex philosophical concepts and abstractions with exacting clarity. His prose was much admired both in his times and by later writers, such as the early Church Fathers and ecclesiastical scholars of the Middle Ages. His speeches and writings have been considered the very highest expression of classical Latin for over 2,000 years.

Cicero's philosophical treatises were still mainly concerned with politics. He wrote a work on rhetoric that defined the terms and types of speeches an orator used (*De Inventione*) followed by a work on oratory (*De Oratore*) and a dialogue to teach his son on the divisions of oratory (*Partitiones Oratoriae*). Cicero continued his study on oratory with Brutus, which traced the history attacking the Attic school, which followed more logic than persuasiveness, and then in *Orator* he again examined what the ideal orator would be. His combination of political and philosophical ideologies occurred in *De Re Publica*, which is fragmentary, and *De Legibus*, a sequel but never completed, examining the laws mentioned in *De Re Publica*. With the death of his daughter Tullia he wrote a non-extant work On Consolation; and late in his life wrote a work *De Natura Deorum*, giving the different views of the gods, subdivided into Academic, Stoic, and Epicurean with sequels in Divination and Fates. His sense of mortality can be seen in these late works including On Old Age, On Friendship, and On Duties, his last, to his son dealing with virtues.

Cicero was also a great letter writer; over 700 letters to his friend Atticus, 16 books, to his other friends in 16 books, to his brother Quintus in three books, and two books to Brutus have survived. Cicero's literary works show not only the vitality and passion he had for the Republic but also his inability to understand how the world was changing. As an author he lived in the works he wrote without knowing how it would end. His death can be seen as an end to the concept of freedom in Republican Rome.

See also: Arts: Caesar, Gaius Julius; Prose; *Politics and Warfare*: Elections; Justice and Punishment; Roman Provincial Treatment

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DECORATIONS

Decorations, interior decorations of walls, floors, and ceilings both on public and private buildings, allowed for the expression of ideas and provided an ambiance for individuals. The major types of decorations were paintings on wall/ceiling and mosaics on floors. The Romans received most of their influence from the Greeks through southern Italy who had received training and influence from painters from Greece.

The evidence for Roman painting comes mainly from Pompeii, the city near Naples, which was destroyed and covered by ash from Mt. Vesuvius in 79 CE. Since paintings are fragile, they rarely survived elsewhere due to environmental damage. The paintings on interior walls often portrayed furniture and household furnishings and depicted with great realism providing a vibrant setting. The general development of Roman painting has often been called Pompeian style due to their survival from the city of Pompeii. The First style probably dates from the early second century BCE and shows the initial Greek influence. The decoration has imitation blocks of marble painted on walls usually as friezes on the top. The Second style began around 90 BCE as a development from the First style in



Roman marble decorations from Ostia, Italy, imperial age. Roman brick buildings were often finished in marble for aesthetic display. This picture shows both the brick foundation with the marble decorations on top. (William Perry/Dreamstime.com)

which the paintings are imitated marble panels but with three-dimensional (3D) architectural forms, such as doors, columns, and windows; later paintings in the Second style had landscape scenes and gave perceptions as if one was looking out a window onto a pastoral setting. The Third style began during the reign of Augustus when the style reverted back to treating the flat wall usually with minor architectural or abstract designs in a monochrome background instead of the elaborate 3D life scenes of the Second style. The Fourth style developed in the mid-first century CE combines the realism of the second with the elements of pattern in the third. The best example comes from Nero's Golden Palace (*Domus Aureus*), which Renaissance artists discovered and termed grotesque (from Grotto).

The Third style produced scenes often based on mythological pictures as the center of focus, and the Second style and its illusion of depth gave way to the strength of the wall. The walls were often highlighted with intricate design and not the full-fledged extravagant Second style. What made the Third style even more dramatic was the ability of the wall to feature copied Greek masters and the influence of Egyptian motifs. The scenes are related to Egypt, which Augustus had conquered, and displayed throughout Italy. Sphinxes, scenes of the Nile, cult figures of Isis often populate the paintings after 30 BCE. The Third style also gave rise to a peculiar Roman artistic creation, the "sacro-idyllic," in which a pastoral setting with a sacred object, temple, column, and others is displayed in rural setting attended by pastoral creatures. This type of painting seems to be an Augustan creation and may point to his era of calm and peace after the civil wars.

The paintings were mainly done *alfresco* on damp stucco. The various pigments known to the ancients included white, probably from silicate of magnesia or white lead, an artificial compound of carbonate of lead. Yellow was derived from yellow ochre and orpiment (trisulfide of arsenic). Red, one of the oldest pigments, came from red earth or calcining yellow ochre. Red could also be made from disulfide of arsenic, a deadly poison causing high mortality in the mines and often replaced by burning white lead. From Spain cinnabar was used; purple came from the purple secretion of the murex. Blue could be produced from a blue silicate of copper mixed with lime. An artificial way was by heating sand, carbonate of soda, and copper filings to produce "Egyptian azure" giving a deep sky blue color; another blue was lapis lazuli, a silicate of sodium, calcium, and aluminum or through carbonate of copper. Several green pigments existed such as malachite, ochre, and acetate of copper. Black was produced through burning things, such as resin and pine twigs. These pigments allowed the Romans, learning from the Greeks and Egyptians, to paint their walls in vivid color.

Akin to paintings was the floor decoration, mosaics. The original mosaics were two-dimensional (2D), geometric, and figured designs, mainly white on

black, using natural unshaped pebbles. Then they developed smooth flat surfaces (*opus tessellatum*) and later for 3D figures (*opus vermiculatum*); another type had large thin shaped pieces of marble used in floral or geometric patterns (*opus sectile*). *Opus Tessellatum* were larger pieces that were laid on site; this was the normal system used. *Opus vermiculatum* used very small tessera typically produced and constructed at the workshop and then transported to the site and glued in place. They were often small “pictures” or emblemata that were inserted into a wall or floor of more coarse design. The Hellenistic pattern created a picture that was meant to be seen from one vantage point, similar to an entry rug; later in Italy and North Africa, the trend developed so that mosaics were seen to cover the entire floor showing a picture from any side. Due to the nature of mosaics, dating is difficult and usually can only be made in connection with the date of the building. The ruins of Pompeii provide examples of Republican mosaics, many now housed in the Naples National Museum. The mosaics cover a wide variety of themes in great detail. Mosaics existed throughout the Empire and show the variety of workmanship within a classical setting. Workshops throughout the Roman world produced mosaics for both public buildings such as baths, basilica, and fountains (often with glass) as well as for private homes. The cost depended on the size of the tesserae to be used; the smaller the pieces, the more detailed and hence the more costly. These workshops not only used stock figures but also could customize the design for the owner. In the Christian and Byzantine era, mosaics were also used for wall paintings showing figures from the bible and other religious motifs.

The Romans used paintings and mosaics to decorate and orientate visitors to their homes and public buildings. Although not many examples of paintings survive, those that do show a richness of style and sense of perception. More common are mosaics that likewise show its popularity throughout the Roman world seen in everyday life and surroundings by all. These painting and mosaics were seen by everyone and show how the Romans, even those of the lower middle class, decorated their homes.

See also: *Arts*: Portraiture; Pottery; Sculpture; *Recreation and Social Customs*: Sumptuary Laws; *Science and Technology*: Roman Glass

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DRAMA

Drama is a subfield of the performing arts. The word is derived from the Greek meaning “to do” or “to act.” Roman drama developed from rural festivals, originally from short parodies or comedies usually farces, mimes, and dances. Atellan farces (*fabulae Atellanae*), named for the town of Atella, were popular in Rome during the third century BCE. About a century later the mime was introduced and developed which soon took over and ultimately eliminated comedies as the favored drama by the end of the Republic and developed it into licentious or lewd farces.

In addition to mimes, and initially developed at the same time, was Greek New Comedy, which was translated into Latin by Livius Andronicus in 240 BCE and then followed by Naevius. Unfortunately only fragments of Andronicus survive, but he seems to have dispensed with the Greek choral odes and instead produced *cantica*. Naevius’s works are also fragmentary. One set of surviving lines from *Tarentilla* has a young girl flirting with young men and is vibrant and witty. His major work was



Roman mosaic, tragedy and comedy theatrical masks, Tivoli, Italy, second century CE. The Romans used masks to highlight emotions of seriousness or buffoonery especially in the celebration of Dionysius. The major genres the Romans excelled at were mimes and situation comedies like those of Plautus. (A1977/Dreamstime.com)

the *bellum Poenicum*, which was an epic poem about the Punic wars, an original work and not merely a translation of Homer as others had done. Other Latin authors including Plautus, Statius, and Terence translated and adopted the Greek plays (*fabulae palliatae* or *Greek Cloaks*). These plays then gave rise to works by and about Italian life. As with other festivals, the comedies were replaced by mimes by the end of the Republic. The two greatest comedian writers were Plautus and Terence.

Plautus was a Roman comedy writer who lived from about 250 to 184 BCE. Plautus, from Umbria, was from a poor family who supposedly came to Rome and worked as a carpenter in the Roman Theater. Of the 130 plays attributed to him, 20 survive intact and are named by the later writer Varro as authentic. A twenty-first exists in fragments. His plays were Latin adaptations of Greek New Comedy, that is, developed in the Hellenistic Age in Athens that were divided into five acts each separated by irrelevant choral “commercials” not associated with the play. The actors wore masks and the political commentaries as seen in the Athenian Old Comedy were absent. The plots tended to be about common life experiences, our modern situation comedies, which had great appeal to the masses. Plautus adapted the Greek plays with its exaggerated humor. They were known as *fabulae palliatae* based upon the Greek dress. Plautus was successful in winning over the masses by recreating the Greek plays, often simplifying or reworking the plot to make it more clear. He often introduced scenes that would appeal to the masses such as the slave running onto the stage to deliver a message and playing it up and insulting the well to do, while a domestic slave would be nearby showing deference to the master to appeal to the wealthy. The numerous jokes, puns, alliterations and so forth, all pointed to Plautus success at knowing and entertaining the populace. Most of the plays centered on the tricks of a slave to help his master, usually a love sick boy, win his prize, a female slave who is actually a kidnapped noble, so they can live happily ever after. The plays centered on how individuals dealt with everyday issues and life, and his appeal lay in the fact that his characters were believable since he had observed so many different types.

A successor to Plautus was Terence, said to have been born at Carthage and taken to Rome as a slave, and who himself counted Scipio Aemilianus and C. Laelius as friends. His six plays were again derived from the New Greek Comedies, mainly adaptations of Menander. He adhered to the original Greek stories more closely than Plautus. Unlike Plautus’s caricature, Terence used portraiture, where the talk is more natural and not as boisterous. He was more refined and cultured than Plautus, probably showing his education and upbringing. He did not have the background prologue; rather, he used the play itself to insert the material. Unlike Plautus, his plays were not as popular, probably because they were not as farcical or boisterous.

Roman tragedy was also an adaptation of Greek tragedy and was also introduced by Livius Andronicus. His contemporary Naevius composed tragedies not

only on the Greek model but introduced Roman themes from Roman history and fables. The Roman tragedy did not seem to have as illustrious career as the Greek and by the end of the Republic had almost disappeared. Seneca the Younger wrote political tragedies under the Nero. Again he wrote on Greek themes, but he probably did not intend them to be performed. He wrote nine tragedies based on Greek authors, of which *Hercules furens*, *Medea*, *Troads* (Trojan Women), and *Phaedra* were based on Euripides; *Agamemnon* from Aeschylus; *Oedipus*, *Hercules Oetaeus*, and *Phoenissae* from Sophocles; and *Thyestes* whose origin is unknown. Seneca also wrote *Apocolocyntosis* or *The Metamorphosis into a Pumpkin* a work both in prose and verse about the process of deification. Roman emperors were often deified, or apotheosis, and this work is a play on words of apotheosis and *colocynta* meaning pumpkin. The play has the previous emperor, Claudius, Nero's uncle and adopted father known for his stammering and twitching (attributes the Romans incorrectly associated with stupidity), arriving in the heavens, where because of his stammering he cannot defend himself and the Emperor Augustus advises he be sent to Hades because of his murders. He arrives and is brought to trial by his victims and is found guilty without being able to defend himself and as punishment made a clerk to one of his own freedmen. An unknown author but probably contemporary with Seneca wrote *Octavia*. This work is the only surviving type of *fibula praetexta* or a piece of literature based upon an historical event. This event described the downfall of Octavia, daughter of the Emperor Claudius and wife of Emperor Nero, who banished her and then had her murdered in 63 CE. The manuscripts give Seneca as the author but the material, especially the prophecy uttered by Nero's mother Agrippina at the end of the play about her son's ultimate demise, shows that the play was written after Nero and Seneca's deaths.

Drama in the Roman period definitely favored the comedies, especially the farces. Nevertheless, during the Republic the Roman penchant for political satire continued. These plays were enjoyed by the masses.

See also: *Arts:* Performing Arts; *Family and Gender:* Education; Higher Education, *Recreation and Social Customs:* Actors; Music and Dance; Theaters and Odeon

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ETRUSCAN

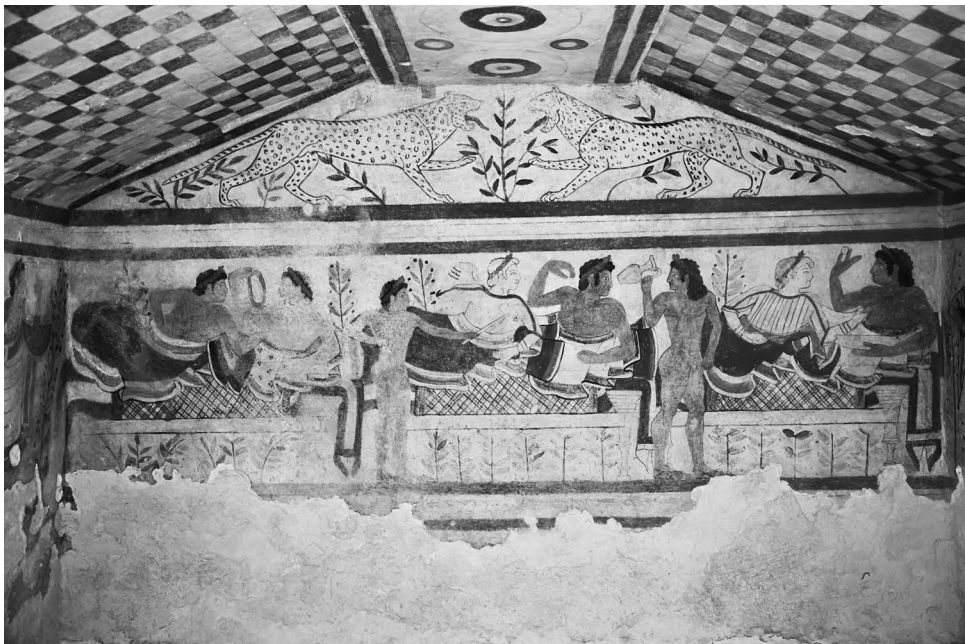
The term “Etruscan” refers to the tribe and culture of the people inhabiting the region stretching from the Tiber River north to the Arno River, an area corresponding to modern-day Tuscany. Most of our knowledge about the Etruscans comes from archaeology and Roman/Greek antiquarians. Dispute centers on the Etruscans’s origins with Herodotus in the fifth century BCE suggesting that they came from Lydia in Asia Minor and settled in northern Italy before the heroic age. Dionysius of Halicarnassus during the Augustan era stated that they were indigenous to northern Italy. At present, modern historians have moved away from Herodotus’s view toward Dionysius’s.

The Etruscan origins and influence center on three areas: language, culture, and political position. The Etruscan language is an unsolved mystery. There is evidence of Etruscan affinity in Asia Minor at Lemnos and appears to not be of Indo-European descent but perhaps indigenous Mediterranean. This does not solve the debate between Herodotus or Dionysius, since one argument could be that they were driven west from Asia Minor by the Indo-Europeans (Herodotus) or that they were similar to a group of indigenous Mediterranean inhabitants in Asia Minor while they thrived in northern Italy (Dionysius). Research into the Etruscan language as akin to Greek and Latin has not revealed their secrets. Recent internal examination together with examining contemporary religious formulas in Etruscan and other Latin sites may help open their secrets. The Etruscan alphabet that arrived through Phoenician merchants in Etruria ultimately had 20 letters and became the forerunner of the Latin, Oscan, and other Italian alphabets. The modern verdict is still out as to whether the language was indigenous or an intruder.

The Etruscan culture is mainly known from archaeology. The major Etruscan cities were near the coast at Caere, Tarquinii, Veii, Volaterrae, and Vulci. Their culture and power spread inland toward Umbria with cities at Arretium, Clusium, and Perugia in the Tiber valley and then beyond the Apennines. The culture was unbroken from the Villanovan or Iron Age inhabitants of Etruria indicating that their cultural origin did arrive from other parts of the Mediterranean. Nevertheless evidence from their tombs show a sudden influx of eastern influence, also influencing their religion and astrology; these probably relate more to their commercial contacts and willingness to absorb new ideas. By the seventh century BCE,

the different groups had aggregated into what is called the Etruscans with their own distinct culture and beliefs. Their cultural remains come mainly from graves, jewelry, and sculpture. Grave paintings from Tarquinii and other cities not only show banqueting, music, hunting, racing, dancing, and general merriment but also have contrasting views of fatalism and the underworld. Many of the scenes show men and women side by side, something Herodotus found distasteful. Their metalwork was of high quality and their bronze work, including furniture and other household goods, circulated widely. Their knowledge of metal work required the importation of tin from as far away as Britain. Sculptural masterpieces include the famous Capitoline She-Wolf which Rome appropriated and the Chimaera of Arezzo. The Etruscans were especially noted for their work in Terracotta. The grave paintings show a strong belief in the afterlife, more akin to the Orient rather than Rome. Their women, unlike the Greeks and Romans, were permitted to sit next to their husbands at banquets, own personal possessions, and took part in day-to-day politics, something the Greeks and Romans viewed as immoral.

Their political position dominated northern Italy by the sixth century BCE and they expanded south into Campania to establish Capua around 600 BCE. Their



Etruscan tomb, Tarquinia, Italy, 470 BCE. The tomb, located downstairs, was a rectangular burial room with sloping ceilings similar to an Etruscan home which the scene displayed. Many frescoes in these tombs display banquets and family events. The Etruscans excelled in engineering and architecture as witnessed in this tomb and at other sites. (Perseomedusa/Dreamstime.com)

governing system was a confederation of independent cities based upon a common religious system centered at Volsinii. They reached their zenith around 500 BCE controlling an area from the Po River in the north to Capua in the south including Rome. The last monarchs of Rome were the Etruscan Tarquins who were driven from Rome in 509 BCE according to legend. Etruscan power soon began to crumble when they were driven from Campania and defeated in a naval battle off Cumae in 474 BCE with the Samnites finally pushing them out of Campania for good. The Celts in the late fifth century broke Etruscan power in the north, and in 396 BCE Rome defeated the nearby Etruscan city of Veii. Since they were not a unified governing power Rome attacked their cities one by one during the course of the fourth and third centuries BCE. Etruscan power was eventually eliminated in the third century when Rome had conquered Etruria and had absorbed them. The sources that describe the Etruscans and their political life were mainly late Romans, hostile and contemptuous of their northern neighbors. Rome, however, received great cultural influence from the Etruscans, in religion, engineering, art, and architecture, and political systems.

Roman temples were based upon Etruscan design having a *cella* or room containing the cult statue on a platform or podium with steps only in the front (as opposed to Greek temples with stairs all around). The frontal symmetry directed the visitor first to an altar outside the temple, up the stairs through a colonnade, with an inscription overhead naming the god/goddess, into an enclosed walled room (*cella*) to gaze upon the god(s). The temples were meant to be houses for the gods where their goods (offerings) would be stored as opposed to Christian churches, which were meant for congregations to assemble. The Etruscans gave the Romans their most important deities Jupiter, Juno (Etruscan Uni), and Minerva (Etruscan Menrva), which made up the Capitoline Triad in Rome. The Roman haruspices were Etruscan diviners at Rome who interpreted the will of the gods by examining the entrails of sacrificed animals, unusual births, or lightening; although not having religious power like the augurs or college of priest, they nevertheless had immense influence over the superstitious Romans.

The Etruscans excelled in the area of engineering which influenced Rome and its inhabitants. The Etruscans had built well-planned and executed roads in a network connecting their cities with some towns having paved streets. The Etruscans also developed public works programs including the cloaca or sewers, which fed into the Cloaca Maxima in the Roman forum and then into the Tiber River. These subterranean sewers allowed the draining and elimination of sewage and marshes in the forum making the city inhabitable.

The Etruscans provided Rome with many of their infrastructures from religion to engineering and art. Their unique position, however, made them not only

political enemies but in many ways cultural foes. The expulsion of the kings in 509 BCE should not only be seen as an attempt to rid Rome of Etruscan political and military control but cultural dominance as well. The local inhabitants, while not necessarily remembering the Etruscans, were continually influenced by them in all aspects of their life.

See also: Arts: Pottery; Sculpture; Family and Gender: Inhumation

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GEOGRAPHICAL TREATISES

Geographical treatises are specialized literary works dealing not only with the geography of regions during the Roman period but also with the history, ethnography, political institutions, and mathematics of an area or people. The importance of these works lies not only in their geographical material but in how the Romans and others viewed the world, whether accurately or inaccurately.

The Romans inherited most of their early knowledge and technique from the Greeks. The Greeks did not use scientific measurements and equipment but rather merged their mythology with observations of the limited world. The classical and Hellenistic Greeks moved from an Homeric view of the world as a plane between the heavens and underworld to one in which the world was a sphere rotating on its axis with some even arguing that it revolved around the sun rather than the sun moving around the earth. Many of these views did not meet universal acceptance and soon geography became the study of inhabited zones, mainly covering topographical and ethnological descriptions.

Works were often commissioned by rulers for military and commercial purposes. For example, Alexander the Great instructed Nearchus to travel by sea from the Indus to the Euphrates and report on the capabilities of the region to

support commercial and military stoppages (which they could not). Hanno from Carthage wrote on the northwest coast of Africa to determine possible commercial sites. Caesar in his *Bellum Gallica* reported on regions of Gaul and Germany for military purposes. These works were usually written for particular regions analogous to guides from surveyors such as Isidorus of Charax whose *Parthian Stations*, describes the daily resting posts along the major trunk road into Syria. In addition, the numerous travelers' manuals depicting the coastal regions with stopping places for sailors called periploi such as the *Periplus of Pseudo-Scylax*, Arrian's *Periplus of the Euxine Sea*, and the *Stadiasmus Maris Magni*, which reproduces the sailing manuals of North Africa, Asia Minor, Crete, Cyprus, and the Greek Islands were common. What makes the latter work particularly interesting is that it details the regions from the view from the sea with practical information such as reefs, drinking water, and harbors. Under the Roman Empire, official itineraries existed; the most famous being the *Antonine Itinerary*, listing the roads with their mileage in each part of the Empire. It is probable that for each of these there were maps produced to not only help situate the region but also give practical advice. These works were either firsthand accounts, such as the voyage of Nearchus, or a compilation of material probably kept in archives or libraries such as the *Antonine Itinerary*. Arrian, for example, was governor of Bithynia and conducted a survey of the Euxine (Black) Sea as its naval commander; the work, however, should also be viewed as an ethnographical survey in addition to the topographical material.

A different type of geographical work was the overreaching treatise. These works may have been standalone works or part of a large work. For example, Herodotus in his *Histories* inserted small geographical treatises. He not only incorporated geographical material but also wove ethnographical and mythological materials such as his description of India and its gold digging ants. During the fourth century BCE Greek writers turned to writing books devoted solely to geography such as Timaeus who wrote on western Europe and Ephorus who wrote about historical geography. The conquest of the east by Alexander opened new opportunities for geographical works such as Megasthenes's description of the Ganges region.

All this previous knowledge now flowed into Rome during the third century BCE and became part of its evolution to understanding the Mediterranean and beyond. Polybius in the mid-second century BCE wrote descriptions of the western Mediterranean, while Diodorus of Sicily wrote several books on geography of various regions which he inserted in his history. The greatest geographical writer was Strabo who undertook around 10 BCE a description of the known world including its history, ethnography, and topography. His *Geography*, in 17 books is arranged as follows: books 1–2 were introductory discussing the previous geographers, especially Homer, criticisms of previous works that were not always appropriate,

cartography, and mathematical geography. He then began to describe the world moving from Spain clockwise around the Mediterranean, northern Europe, the Near East, and finally Africa. Book 3 examines Spain; book 4 Gaul and Britain; books 5–6 Italy, Sicily, and the general Roman Empire; book 7 examined north-east Europe and the Balkans, while books 8–10 describe Greece. Book 11 moves to the Euxine and Caspian Seas as well as Armenia, while books 12–14 describe Asia Minor (Turkey) before moving to India and then back again to continue clockwise to Persia (book 15); Mesopotamia, Palestine, and Arabia (book 16), and finally Egypt and North Africa (book 17). His work is by no means complete since his descriptions of northern Europe, Caspian, and Africa are incomplete. Strabo's information was based on his own ideas and misconceptions; for example, Homer is trustworthy, while Herodotus is not valued. He gave detailed accounts of customs, manners, political institutions, and topography. His work, however, is important since it gives an idea of what the Roman world viewed as important. Nevertheless, it became the principal geographical work of the ancient world and was used well into the Middle Ages. Other works that give a description of the Roman world included Agrippa's commentary on his map and Pliny the Elder's *Natural History*.

An ancillary of these geographical works are the ethnographical works; the most famous being *Germania* by Tacitus. The work is a description of the tribes on the Rhine and Danube. He incorporated ethnographical material from other sources that probably came from Julius Caesar's time and was therefore out-of-date since the tribes had already begun to change and form larger confederations. Rather, his work allowed him to launch into the problems of Roman society and its decay.

The final area of geography is mathematical geography. Authors such as Hipparchus who divided the world into 360 lines of latitude and began to plot places by latitude and longitude continued to advance the theory of mathematical geography. The best example was Ptolemy who wrote in the second century CE and drew upon previous centuries using latitude north from the Equator and longitude eastward from the Canary Islands.

These geographical works not only aided individuals such as merchants, travelers, and officials but also allowed the rich cultural material to be transmitted from the Greeks to the Romans down to modern times. While the typical Roman may not have read or even heard of these authors, many of their generals used them to lead campaigns. The average Roman soldier may have given their reports to their generals and were then written down for use by others.

See also: Arts: Pliny the Elder; Science and Technology: Engineering; Geography

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HELLENISM

Hellenism, the ideas of Greek culture and society brought to non-Greeks after Alexander the Great, made inroads into Rome during the third century BCE, which transformed Rome’s society and culture from purely Italian to Greco-Mediterranean. While Greek influence that had already made inroads into Rome during the fifth and fourth centuries BCE centered mainly on religion and art, it was not until the late third and early second centuries, especially after the war with Hannibal, that Greek culture or Hellenism took a firm hold. Rome received some of its early religious ideas, moving away from Italian *numina* or spirits to the anthropomorphic Greek gods/goddesses, mainly via the southern Greeks accompanied by their temple design. For example, the Romans imported the worship of Aesculapius (Greek Asklepios), the god of healing, in 293 BCE during a pestilence. The Romans received Greek influence initially through trade, as witnessed from the great volume of Greek pottery and art discovered in Italy, through the southern Greek colonies in Sicily and southern Italy. Greek literature was also imported through the south.

The influx of Hellenism increased during the period after the First Punic War and especially during and after the war with Hannibal. During this time the Romans established festivals both to Dis and Proserpina in 249 and 207 BCE, during the times of war. According to Polybius, it was after Rome had sacked and taken Syracuse (Sicily) in 212 BCE and after Rome defeated Philip V of Macedon in the next few decades that Greek art became desired. Not only did Rome carry off pieces of art, especially sculpture and paintings, but they also brought back to Rome and Italy a large number of slaves and hostages (like Polybius). With its new-found wealth, coinage, slaves, and art, Roman elites began to compete with



Statue of Laocöon and sons, Vatican, Rome, Italy, first century CE. The influence of Greece is often best seen in art, such as this statue, which is a Roman copy of a common Greek theme concerning Laocöon and his sons who were killed by a serpent when he warned the Trojans of the Greeks. The Romans during the Republic brought back Greek art, treasures, and literature. (Indos82/Dreamstime.com)

one another to show off their new luxury. Conquering generals used their booty and the slaves they brought back to build temples, public buildings, and other amenities for the capital and cities of Italy. Many of these structures were adorned with artwork taken from the conquered cities.

The greatest influence of Hellenism occurred in the educational growth in Italy using the Greek model. Traditional Roman upper-class education originally developed around the father and his friends teaching their sons the *mores* and beliefs of the family and the state. This early education was followed by military service starting at the age of 17, when the sons not only understood their duty to the state but also learned the arts of war and politics. The Classical Greeks, however, had a different type of education, built around the study of the arts, first through literature, then rhetoric, and finally philosophy. Roman generals, the elites, wanted their sons to understand the world beyond them since they had now been thrust into its leadership position.

Aemilius Paullus who defeated Macedon and returned home in 167 BCE with great wealth, especially slaves, provided his sons with Greek tutors and even the Macedonian Royal Library. One of their tutors was the hostage Polybius who wrote the history of Rome's war with Hannibal. It would take about a century for this educational system to take hold and yield the influence of studying rhetoric, where logic was used in the structure of arguments in Latin literature. This in turn influenced Roman authors giving them more logical and structured rhetoric to turn their poetry and prose into more than mere catalogues of information that had previously existed. Nevertheless, Hellenism became a driving force in the upper-class education in Rome.

Part of Hellenism was the experience of Romans traveling abroad. At first this came in the form of military service during which generals and soldiers conquered the east. More important was the later concept where Roman elites sent their sons to Athens and Rhodes in the second and first centuries to complete their education, undertaking the serious study of rhetoric and philosophy. Roman merchants also often sent their sons not only to Greece but also to Asia Minor and Alexandria, where they often studied in the state-run educational system. Roman elites seem to have viewed Alexandria with suspicion early on and it was only after Julius Caesar did Romans send elites to Alexandria for training. By the end of the first century BCE Rome had now surpassed the Greek east as the capital of culture, although it was still fashionable for Roman aristocrats to send their sons to Athens to complete their education often like modern American families sending their children to other countries in study abroad programs.

While it may seem that Rome openly embraced Hellenism, this was not always the case. Early in the second century BCE, Cato the Elder, an opponent of Scipio Africanus (conqueror of Hannibal) viewed men like Scipio as betraying their cultural heritage by adopting Greek manners and culture. Cato attempted to get Hellenism outlawed, and when that did not work, to heavily tax Greek products seen as luxurious and non-Roman. Cato argued, somewhat hypocritically, of the high price of Greek slaves, exotic foods, adorning ones house with statues, and learning Greek philosophy and language. Cato, however, in his writings and his building program as censor often ignored his own ideas.

Hellenism was also occasionally seen as akin to Oriental ideology, one with fanaticism and magic. For example, Greek medicine was not readily accepted as some viewed it as magic. The rise of popular leaders such as Scipio, Paulus, Sulla, and Caesar also gave rise of criticism of their attempt to set up an eastern-style monarchy, similar to that of Seleucids of Syria and the Ptolemies of Egypt. The criticism attempted to link Greek culture with politics; it would take the astute Octavian (Augustus) to realize that highlighting Roman political culture was the most important fact and that Greek artistic culture was secondary.

The importance of Hellenism is that Greek culture was transmitted to the west through Rome. The Romans absorbed Greek culture and transformed it into their own ideas. While initially the Greek cultural artifacts of art, literature, and exotic lifestyle seemingly dominated, by the end of the first century BCE, Roman culture had successfully transformed Hellenism into Romanism, a merger of traditional Roman ideas with Greek influence. This in turn allowed for the extension of Hellenism through Romanism into the west, where this fused Romano-Greek culture joined with local indigenous culture to create provincial Romanism.

See also: Arts: Jewish Literature; Portraiture; *Fashion and Appearance*: Greek Dress; Hair Styles; *Food and Drink*: Banquets; Dinner Party; Trade Routes

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JEWISH LITERATURE

Jewish literature during the Roman period provides us with a different perspective of society, one based on an identifiable group that did not embrace the religious and philosophical views of the Greco-Roman world. Most writers wrote in Greek and their subject matter usually centered on Palestine and/or particular Jewish questions.

Palestine had been conquered by Alexander the Great and for the next century and half was ruled by the Seleucids or Ptolemies, both Greek, before a native rebellion established home rule, with the influence and at times protection by Rome. To ensure continued home rule Herod the Great and his immediate successors walked a fine line between native nationalism and pro-Roman sentiments. The region, however, was thoroughly Hellenized by the time of Herod. In addition, this same period witnessed the Hellenization of the Jewish Diaspora in Egypt and Syria, especially after the establishment of Alexandria, where they became a significant minority. It was during this time that the bible was translated into Greek, now known as the Septuagint. The Jewish literature during the late Republic/early Empire attempted to show the Romans that the Jews fit into the Hellenistic milieu of the time. Two authors who epitomized the Jewish literature from this time were Philo and Josephus.

Philo hailed from a priestly family in Alexandria in 25 BCE. He can be seen as an excellent example of a Hellenized Jew, studying Platonic philosophy and other Greek works while still adhering to his Jewish beliefs, culture, and background including scripture. Philo attempted to reconcile Greek Platonic ideology with Judaism. His works show high moral and ethical standards of adherence to his religion full of enthusiasm and passion. His intersection with Rome occurred in 39 CE when he traveled to Rome as part of an embassy to argue before Caligula, to no avail, against the placing of a statue of the emperor in the synagogues. Philo describes the event in a speech that although incomplete is still extant.

What is of interest to us is his work on the Embassy to Gaius (Caligula). The works start out showing how at the accession of Gaius the Roman world was at peace and the treasury was full and there was no civil discord among the races and classes. Philo then describes how Gaius fell into illness and all prayed for his deliverance, but when it occurred he had changed, for the worst. Gaius had his co-ruler, the grandson of Tiberius, killed; he then had Macro, his commander of the guard who helped him gain power, killed; he had executed his father-in-law; he began to imitate the gods as if he was a god; finally, he ordered his statue be put in the synagogues which resulted in riots. Philo argues that for a long period Rome had ruled well under Augustus and Tiberius, but now, in so short of time, the Empire was strained. Philo then recounts how even Agrippa, king of Judea, and a close friend of the Emperor Gaius could not dissuade him. The work clearly shows the argument Philo makes, but it must have been written after Gaius's death in 41 CE and before Philo's in 50 CE since Gaius is criticized. The work must have been a recount of his failed embassy.

The second major writer was Flavius Josephus who was born in 37 CE. He was a Pharisee and priest from an ancient aristocratic family. His career, gleaned from his works, shows contradictions; he was later pro-Roman but took part in the Jewish rebellion; he argued that he saw war and resistance futile, but yet commanded the army in northern Galilee defending Jotapata until captured. He prophesized that the commander Vespasian would become emperor; and when this occurred he was freed. He remained with Vespasian's son Titus, witnessed the fall of Jerusalem, and settled in Rome receiving Roman citizenship and a pension. His first work, the *Bellum Judaicum* published in 79 CE, was originally written in Aramaic for the Babylonian Jews and probably sought to portray why they should not have rebelled. The work was translated into Greek and survives; written from his own notes, memory, and works by Vespasian and Titus, the *Bellum Judaicum* provides valuable insight into the mind of an individual on the losing side who had seen his homeland and capital destroyed. His second work, *Anitquitates Judaicae*, published in 93 CE is a history of the Jewish people from Creation to just before the Jewish Rebellion. He also wrote his *Vita* to counterattack his critics' view of his

role in the war and the *contra Apionem* where he justifies Judaism and counters anti-Semitic attacks and misinformation, occurring after the Jewish rebellion. His *Bellum Judaicum* is the most fascinating work as it was written by someone from the losing side who then “collaborated” with the victors and who had intimate knowledge of the war from both the sides.

Since Josephus was present at many of the events, his discussion is most poignant. The rebellion’s origin in Jerusalem started with the pro-Roman party of King Agrippa II and the former high priest Ananias who lost out to the revolutionary groups led by Ananias’s son Eleazar, Captain of the Temple, Menahem, son of Judas the Galilean, who then set himself up as Messiah and was soon killed by his opponents, and the Sicarii or assassins, some of whom were under Menahem’s command. The third group, the moderates were those who advocated for some action but not the excesses; they would support whoever won and were mainly from the middle class. This group included Josephus. The initial phase resulted in the capture of Masada, the rock fortress in the south, Agrippa ceased to moderate between the Jews and Romans, and the Jews stopped offering sacrifice for the health of the Roman Emperor. The rebellion breaks out and the Roman guards are killed and Jerusalem taken. The work then follows the success of the rebels in the north defeating the XII Legion; Josephus’s command in Galilee, which was resented by the locals since he was from Jerusalem; Vespasian then arrives and begins the assault on Galilee, captures Josephus who then predicts Vespasian to be emperor. During this time Josephus spent two years in prison writing about the war and when Vespasian became emperor, he was freed and adopted into Vespasian’s family taking the name Flavius Josephus. The work then focused on the power struggle in Jerusalem among the various factions. Although Josephus is sketchy here because he was in prison, upon the arrival of Titus at Jerusalem and Josephus being present, he could see the day-to-day siege taking place and interview survivors. The factions were led by Ananias, former high priest and leader of the moderates; Eleazar, son of Simon, leader of the zealots and perhaps the original Eleazar son of Ananias; John of Gischala, Josephus’s enemy in Galilee, also leader of zealots; Simon, son of Gioras who led the populace in the region and controlled much of Jerusalem. For the Romans, their greatest asset is the Civil War in Jerusalem among the various rebel factions. Weakened by internecine war, their ability to resist is lowered. The rebels united once they saw Titus and his army before Jerusalem, and from March to September 70 CE the city is besieged but ultimately taken and destroyed.

The Jewish writers of the first century BCE to end of first century CE attempted to map a course for Judaism between nationalism and pro-Romanism. The result was a hybrid, accommodation on political ideology but resistance on religious intimidation. Rome for its part was content with allowing this, but when Caligula

and Nero attempted to extend their ideology of state religion to Judaism, resistance and war followed. Although both emperors failed, Palestine itself was also ruined.

See also: Religion and Beliefs: Christianity; Emperor Worship; Judaism

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LIVY (TITUS LIVIUS) (59 BCE–17 CE)

Livy, one of Rome's greatest historians, attempted to present his material to teach those in the Augustan age about their ethical forefathers and how their virtues allowed Rome to conquer the known world, but when they abandoned this ethical plan, Rome floundered.

Titus Livius or Livy was born at Patavium (Padua) in 59 BCE, probably to a well-to-do family, but little else is known about his early life. Given that he arrived in Rome as an adult and gave public readings of his works, he probably received a strong education befitting someone of wealth. He was married and had at least two children, a son and daughter, but nothing else is known of his family life. His public readings brought him to the attention of the emperor Augustus and the two formed a lasting friendship. He did not run for public office but instead devoted himself to writing his history, “*Ab Urbe Condita*” (From the Foundation of the City) which he started in 29 BCE. The history went from the foundation of Rome down to the death of Drusus, a general and adopted son of Augustus, in 9 BCE. He would encourage the future emperor Claudius, son of Drusus to continue his studies in history.

His work survives in only parts, books 1–10, 21–40, part of 41, 42, part of 43, 44, and 45. In addition to these surviving parts, an epitome or summary, written perhaps during Livy's time (with surviving parts for books 37–40 and 48–55), which allowed summaries or abstracts of each book to survive (except 136 and 138), called *Periochae*. These *Periochae* are quite useful for the lost books. The

work appeared in installments and was well regarded by his contemporaries and beyond. Livy died in 17 CE in his hometown of Patavium.

His work was organized in pentads (sections of 5 books) and decads (sections of 10 books). As he indicated in his preface, his work was to commemorate the greatest state that ever existed, to describe their high moral standards that won an Empire, and how they degenerated so that by the end of the first century BCE they nearly destroyed themselves. His attempt was to educate through moral stories, and in this measure he was quite successful.

Livy attempted to teach the Romans of his days from an ethical point of view. He used the historiographical methods of the fourth century BCE Greek Isocrates in which it was important to tell the truth and be impartial. This truth telling included showing how the Romans were bested, but nevertheless they overcame their disasters to be victorious. The historian also needed to use literary devices to elaborate on the truth to ensure that the story was told. Livy practiced this aspect by inventing speeches and not caring if the stories, especially in the early foundations were true, since it was the ethics that mattered most. His hope, one endorsed by Augustus, was that Rome could return to its moral and ethical greatness by stripping itself of its decay. The stories of the greatness of Rome would allow Romans to see that it was possible.

Livy's work celebrates the success of the Republic, a problematic position to take when writing during the reign of Augustus, who came to power by defeating opponents who claimed to be defending the Republic. Thus, Livy's work tells us much about much about the political and social attitudes of his time, when the political forms and moral principles of the Republic were revered, even though the Republican government itself had given way to one-man rule. That Livy was never prosecuted for Republican sentiments, as were others under Augustus and his successor Tiberius, says much about the popularity of his writings. Well-told if historically suspect tales, his stories about the founding and early years of Rome became the basis of the beliefs the Roman public held about the origins and history of their country.

Livy was not the scientific historian like Thucydides or Polybius; rather, he might be seen as a Latin Herodotus, where the story was crucial regardless of the details. Livy used previous writers but did not seem to search out original sources. He is often mistaken or inconsistent, does not describe social or economic conditions, and he often recreates figures to suit his needs. Nevertheless, Livy stands as one of the great examples not only of Roman history but Latin Literature with a prose that flows naturally and vividly.

See also: *Arts: Romanitas; Politics and Warfare:* Government; Imperialism; Punic Wars, Roman View of War; Samnite Wars; Senate; Tribes; *Recreation and Social Customs:* Sumptuary Laws

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LUCRETIUS (TITUS LUCRETIUS CARUS) (98–ca. 55 BCE)

Lucretius, one of Rome's greatest poets, produced a philosophical work on the ideas of Epicurus attempting to explain and justify the ideas of the body and soul. Lucretius became one of the most important poets and philosopher of the late Republic.

Titus Lucretius Carus was born in 98 BCE and died probably in 55 BCE. Not much is known about his life. He probably came from a well-to-do family and clearly had a good education that included the study of philosophy and rhetoric. His only surviving work is *De rerum natura* "on nature," which is a didactic poem in six books of hexameters. The work is the best justification and discussion of Epicurus and his philosophical and moral system. The Christian Jerome indicated that he was poisoned and probably was insane, but the notion of insanity can be discounted due to Christian polemics. Lucretius's work was dedicated to C. Memmius, an aristocrat, perhaps his patron, who was also the patron of Catullus.

Lucretius's work *De rerum natura* attempts to provide a justification for individuals to free themselves from guilt and fear of death by showing that the gods and their intervention in human lives on earth and the future punishment of the soul after death is groundless. Lucretius argues that the soul is part of the mortal body and when the body dies so does the soul. This was Epicurus's view of the atomic theory of earlier philosophers and that all aspects of life are material. This of course led to the popular idea of Epicurus that pleasure is the goal of one's life, which is not really accurate.

The first book opens with an invocation to Venus. Lucretius not only shows that Venus is the founder of the Roman race, and as such deserves high praise, but she is also the goddess of pleasure, the central theme of Epicurus. He praises Venus for her giving the fruits of the earth and prays that she can make love to Mars, the god of war, and bring peace to the Roman world. The work then attempts to set the scene in the chaotic period of unrest during the time of Julius Caesar. Lucretius also argues that the universe is infinite.

In book 2 Lucretius describes the theory of atoms, how they are in motion and that occasionally they go off course; Epicurus's theory of swerve and collision for no particular reason or cause with other atoms to produce larger masses in turns build the universe. Lucretius argues that there are other worlds in addition to ours. Lucretius explains how Epicurus viewed pleasure, not as lust, but rather as absence of pain and suffering.

Book 3 describes that the soul is also made up of atoms and as such is mortal. This is a departure from the traditional religious views of the soul, which was viewed as immortal. This difference is the fundamental religious philosophy of Lucretius. Previous notions had the soul ending up in Hades where those who were evil ended up in Tartarus and suffered torments; or to Elysium where the virtuous souls lived in peace; finally there was the River Lethe, which the mystery religions of Orpheus and Pythagoras believed that those who were virtuous after a long period could drink of its waters, purge their souls of evil, and be reborn. Epicurus refuted this idea of the soul; instead, it was merely matter, rarefied, but still matter. This led Lucretius to argue that one should not fear death since there was no afterlife.

Lucretius in his fourth book explains the body and its biology, the meaning of dreams, and finally an attack on the pleasures of the body, which Epicurus stated destroyed the mind and its calm. Lucretius shows the ideas of perceptions such as views of the countryside from sea and its perceived motion (children still seeing a room spinning after they have stopped spinning). These perceptions are based upon the body and its functions.

Like the rest of his work, book 5 is a panegyric to Epicurus and his philosophy. Here Lucretius shows how traditional religion and its view of creation are wrong. The gods had nothing to do with the creation of the cosmos. Lucretius even goes on to say that the world has too much error: cold, desolation, and harsh environments, for the gods to have made it for humans. The earth had a beginning according to Lucretius and will ultimately end. He then goes on to explain the development of life, plants, and animals on earth, and perhaps with a glimpse of Darwinian ideology, the development of human life and ultimately the rise of civilization. Although he indicated that species came and went through survival, there is no real idea of evolution.

The final book, which is not as tight in a literary sense as the rest, and was probably just a rough draft before his death, describes a variety of topics such as unusual storms, natural phenomena, volcanoes, magnets, the plague at Athens. Lucretius wanted to argue that although these events were terrifying, and hence led to many seeing the gods at play, they were just natural occurrences, which although scary, were natural. The work ends abruptly with the plague of Athens in 430 BCE and a description of people fighting to throw their dead on others'

funeral pyres. Given that the beginning of the book started with a praise of Athens and hymn to Venus, it is probable that Lucretius intended to show how even these disasters do not take away from Athens's greatness or Rome's (Venus) glory.

The work of Lucretius illustrates the growth of interest in Greek philosophy among educated Romans in the late Republican period. Lucretius was the first writer to present Epicurean ideas to a Roman readership. His writings were widely read and admired. In a letter to his brother written in 54 BCE, Cicero remarks upon the genius of Lucretius' work. Lucretius clearly has an understanding of Epicureanism and how it relates to the idea of pleasure. From the work Lucretius argues that pleasure is not the physical aspect of sex, wealth, luxury, and so forth but the absence of pain and suffering. This was the moral view of Epicurus which Lucretius argued. Lucretius shows a compassion for nature and society with vivid descriptions of natural life. However, rather than crediting the Roman gods with the working of nature, he ascribes its functioning to Epicurean principles as directed by *fortuna*, the Roman notion of chance. He uses all the tools of a poet, alliteration, assonance, rhyme, and traditional constructions. He invents new Latin words to help his imagery and was admired by Virgil. His work survived in only two manuscripts and was seemingly ignored during the Middle Ages, no doubt due to his ideas of religion and morality. For the average Roman there was a misunderstanding of Epicurus believing it to be one of pleasure. Lucretius attempted to disprove this concept.

See also: Arts: Roman Classical Literature

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OVID (PUBLIUS OVIDIUS NASO) (43 BCE–17 CE)

Ovid was a poet who flourished during the late Republic and early Empire. His connection to the Emperor Augustus's family resulted in his rise and fall. He was the preeminent poet of Rome by 8 CE and his brilliance has continued to be recognized.

Born Publius Ovidius Naso in 43 BCE at Sulmo, he was from an old equestrian family and his father wanted him to find his way into the political world of Rome. He studied at Rome and became friends with poets and artists. He visited Athens, probably as part of the Grand Tour that young men undertook for their education and last gasp of freedom before settling down, in the company of his friend Macer, a poet as well. He returned and held some minor judicial posts before becoming a fulltime poet. His patron was Marcus Valerius Messala Corvinus (64 BCE–8 CE), a general who had served Augustus after serving Brutus at Philippi and later Antony. He built up a following of poets and authors similar to Maecenas. Ovid's warmest relation was with the poet Tibullus whom he composed an elegy at his death. He was married at a young age to a woman given to him by his father; he divorced and married again, also an unhappy marriage but producing a daughter. He married a widow of a noble family with connections to the family of Paulus Fabius Maximus. His marriage to her may have prompted him to write about important and serious materials, most notably the *Metamorphoses*. By 8 CE at the time of Messala's death he was the preeminent poet in Rome. In that year he was suddenly banished by Augustus to Tomis in modern-day Romania, a town at the edge of the Empire, not really Greek or Roman, and constantly opened to attacks by the barbarians. It is tempting to see his banishment as a result from Messala not being around to protect him. Ovid does not indicate why he was banished, and his constant pleas to the emperors Augustus and Tiberius were to no avail. He does go to great lengths to indicate that he did not commit a crime but rather had an indiscretion and perhaps also because of his work *Ars Amatoria*. One theory is that he witnessed an act by the younger Julia, Augustus's granddaughter, and either did not inform the emperor or prevent the act or discovery of it. Regardless, his act annoyed Augustus as a personal affront, at least according to Ovid. He appears to have died at Tomis in 17 CE, but it is not certain.

Ovid's works show great passion, ability, and breadth. His works can be divided into those before exile and those while in exile. When he began to devote himself to poetry, becoming intimate with Propertius he wrote a tragedy, *Medea*, now lost but well praised. He also at the same time began his earliest work, the *Amores*, which includes three books of love poems probably written in 20 BCE and revised over the next generation. His next work, the *Heroides* called by other authors and probably originally called *Epistulae Heroidum* was a series of poems published between the two editions of *Amores* and are letters to absent men, husbands, and lovers, from women. Although he called them letters, they were really rhetorical speeches. The second group (16–21) is in pairs with the girl answering the man's epistle. His third work (*Medicamina Faciei Femineae*) is fragmentary but also predates the *Ars Amatoria*, his fourth work, which caused somewhat of a scandal. This work is a didactic poem and is about the arts of seduction and

intrigue and became a sort of manual on how to obtain a woman and then keep her. The work originally contained two books for men, but a third was added for women after they requested for it. His next work *remedia Amoris* was really a justification of *Ars Amatoria*, in which Ovid attacked his critics. Since *Ars Amatoria* was written about 10 years before his exile, it is hard to see how that was the cause, although it may have been a stated cause. His work *Metamorphoses* is his greatest and everlasting work. The work is in 15 books in hexameters and describes the progress from chaos to order culminating in Julius Caesar's apotheosis and by extension Augustus's divinity. Ovid did not attempt to rival Vergil but rather complement him. The work shows how everything changes and that they are interwoven through connections at several levels. The work was probably started at around 2 CE and underwent constant revisions until he completed it after his exile. Supposedly when he completed it he put it into a fire when he heard of his exile; the work was rewritten from other versions. Another work, the *Fasti*, was also started at around 2 CE and was meant to be a celebration of the year, month by month of the festivals. When he went into exile it was only partially complete and only January through June survives.

His works in exile are clearly darker showing his despair and attempts to regain the good graces of the emperor. His work *Tristia*, written to his wife, Augustus, and probably everyone else, describes the journey to Tomis (book 1), a justification of his *Ars Amatoria* to the emperor, although not very convincing (book 2), and the hardships of his exile and pleading to return (books 3–5). His work *Epistulae ex Ponto* in four books was a collection of various poems from various dates, and *Ibis* is an attack on an unknown man. It is tempting to see this as an attack on the person who contrived for him to be sent into exile. He also wrote a eulogy to Augustus on his death in the Getic tongue, which has not survived.

Ovid was able to capture the emotion of human life as seen in *Amores* and *Metamorphoses*, which he received in his early training of rhetoric and oratory. Ovid was a master of linguistic and metrical forms. His work *Metamorphoses* should be seen a rival to Virgil. He is able to capture the sensuality of subject matter and its livelihood.

Ovid's career exemplifies a change in upper-class Roman society, as a new generation that grew up after the civil wars lost interest in the patriotism and morality promoted by the Augustan government. Ovid's poems little reference the glories of Roman history or the triumph of Augustus, tending instead to a self-indulgent individualism that offended Augustus and may have lain at the root of Ovid's banishment. Ovid's great influence on Roman and later Western culture was his gift for narrative and vivid description. His ability as a story teller, seen especially in the *Metamorphoses*, significantly influenced later Roman and European literary tastes.

See also: Arts: Roman Classical Literature

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PERFORMING ARTS

Performing arts refer to dancing and music that Rome adopted from the Etruscans and Greeks. Originally these acts were part of the rituals preformed at religious festivals and probably originated in the rural harvest festivals. Unlike drama, dancing and music were not always valued by the Roman elites and were seen as rustic and plebeian.

For the Romans dancing did not have the same reputation and value as they did for the Greeks. In Greek culture dancing was part of the normal social and religious mores. Homer relates how the suitors of Penelope entertained themselves with dance, and Xenophon relates how his men danced to celebrate and entertain themselves. Dancing was often part of their entertainment and examples exist of skilled acrobats such as on Crete with the bull dancing and jumping. Dancing was also part of the military training in Sparta and Crete so that soldiers could practice shared movements and perhaps develop agility. It was in the area of religion that Greek dancing was most pronounced. Choruses and dancing were part of most religious festivals during which the priest and priestess led participants in celebration. Unlike modern dancing, grown men and women did not engage in dancing together with partners.

Roman dance originally developed along the same line as early Greek with most celebrations being religious. In addition, legend had that the *belli crepasaltatio* (dance to the sound of arms) originated in the celebration of the capture of Sabine women. During the Republic, dancing was most commonly found in rural harvest celebrations probably to relieve stress and boredom. While it was looked down upon by Cicero and others who criticized when a free-born citizen would dance as if drunk, it was probably still common among the masses. It still formed part of the religious festivals and was probably still associated with weddings and harvest.

A form of dancing was the pantomime, which developed amongst the Romans, where a single dancer mimed a story playing all the parts. The display had singers and an orchestra to provide background ambiance. Introduced in Rome at about 20 BCE, the pantomimes told mythological stories and were performed both on the public and private stages. Since the stories were of mythological content and there were no voice parts other than the chorus, they were considered safe for performers and dramatist who may have feared imperial retribution. Pantomimes and its coarser cousin, mimes, dominated Roman dance and theater during the Empire and effectively ended drama. Mimes, introduced earlier in the third century BCE, developed into farces and allowed for lewd behavior that pleased the crowd. Unlike pantomimes, which did not have speaking parts, mimes did and were usually crude jokes and indecencies while at the same time allowed for dances. Aristoxenus in the fourth century BCE wrote a work *On Dancing in Tragedy*.

Music, like dancing, was valued more by the Greeks than the Romans. The Greeks used music in their religious festivals, marriage and funeral rites, rural festivals, dinner parties, and general social gatherings. Music was used in the recitation of poetry and there developed professional musicians and workmen who produced musical instruments. Since music and poetry were united it allowed music to be grouped in the poetic arts advocated by both Plato and Aristotle especially for moral education. The Romans received music from the Etruscans and Greeks with their own rural festivals producing native styles. The Etruscans appear to have used horns in military activities and the Romans adopted them into their army. Unlike Hellenistic poetry, Plautus used music much more and it became interwoven into the play. Musicians had organized themselves into guilds and in 311 BCE a strike occurred when the censors prevented the “flute players” from holding their festivals in the Temple of Jupiter left Rome to city of Tibur and no one was left in the city to play at the sacrifices; the Senate requested that the city of Tibur send them back, which they did after getting the musicians drunk and putting them in a wagon and returned them to Rome. At Rome they were granted the right to play at sacrifices and fed in the temples, which Livy reported was still allowed at his time. Cato the Elder, however, viewed music as another form of Greek degeneracy, something not to be pursued. Like actors, musicians were viewed as from the lowest social order, the *infamis*. The Romans nevertheless continued to employ musicians and by the end of the Republic they were regular participants at parties and banquets. Evidence also exists of the Romans organizing the musicians into large ensembles, something the Greeks had avoided.

There are some ancient works that describe music. Aristoxenus from Tarentum in southern Italy and living in the fourth century BCE wrote the *Principles and Elements of Harmonics* of which three books are partly preserved; the first

deals with notes, intervals, and scales; the second not only elaborates on book 1 but also examines melodies, and book 3 has theorems on the combinations of intervals and chords in scales. He also wrote the *Elements of Rhythm* of which book 2 dealing with the nature of rhythm survives. He also wrote other works including *On Music*, *On Listening to Music*, *On Auloi and Musical Instruments*, and *On Aulos-Players*. Later authors including supposedly Plutarch wrote works derived from Aristoxenus. A work by Cleonides in the second century CE was *Introduction of Harmonics*, which followed Aristoxenus's view of the Tetrachord. Before Aristoxenus the theorists were the Pythagoreans who were interested in music for the tracing of numerical relationships and the Harmonists who developed music in the practical sense. Aristoxenus was able to develop a theory that allowed for the classification of the melody. Unfortunately, Aristoxenus's work is not complete, his view of the interval is not sophisticated, and the harmony not fully explained nor the octave. Music nevertheless was an important part of the Roman life since it was officially used in worship first in singing and then with accompaniment.

The performing arts, developed from the local festivals became a full part of society. While some like Cato dismissed it, we should not necessarily view his ideas as being mainstream since he was opposed to many of the Greek ideas that were becoming popular in Rome during the second century BCE.

See also: *Food and Drink*: Banquets; Dinner Party; Festivals; State Banquets; *Recreation and Social Customs*: Actors; Music; Festivals, Private; Musical Instruments

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PLINY THE ELDER (GAIUS PLINIUS SECUNDUS) (23–79 CE)

Pliny the Elder was a diverse writer known for his encyclopedia of natural history. While not the only writer of an encyclopedia, Pliny became through chance its best representative and his work became a symbol of what was strong and weak in the Roman educational system.

Gaius Plinius Secundus was born in Comum in northern Italy in 23 CE to an undistinguished equestrian family. His father was Gaius Plinius Celer and mother was Marcella. Educated in Rome, Pliny entered the equestrian order during the reign of Claudius and was posted to the Rhine, where he served in the cavalry, becoming commander of a regiment. His first command was under Corbulo, the great general, and he commanded an infantry cohort. He then served under Pomponius Secundus, half-brother of Corbulo, as a military tribune; finally, he commanded the cavalry cohort under Pompeius Paulinus whom he did not like, who was said to have carried a 12,000 pound silver service to dine on, too extravagant for Pliny. It was during this time that he met Titus, a young man 17 years his junior. Pliny at the end of his military term probably became his mentor, somewhat like Pomponius was to Pliny. During this period he wrote a work about using javelins on horseback in his work *De iaculatione equestri* (not extant) as well as a work on the wars in Germany, *Bella Germaniae*, which Tacitus used in his works *Germania* and the *Annals*. He also wrote a work praising Pomponius Secundus, his patron, whom Pliny aspired to. After serving in the north for 12 years he returned to Rome at about 58 CE and retired from politics. This retirement may have been due to a lack of a patron or his disagreements with Nero and his government. Clearly Pliny did not want to attract the attention of Nero, which was said to be dangerous even during this period. During this time he may have been involved in legal issues as an advocate and Pliny wrote mainly on safe subjects like grammar.

During the reign of Vespasian, he found new opportunities to serve the state, perhaps through the recommendation of Titus, who knew his abilities. He held several governorships starting with Gallia Narbonensis in 70 CE; he probably went to Africa as procurator in 70–72 CE, where he saw the natural sites of rich oasis, poisonous toads, and walls made of earth; he then went to Hispania Tarraconensis in 73 CE, where he witnessed the gold mines and vibrant agriculture; finally, he was governor of Gallia Belgica probably in 74–75 CE. He returned to Italy and Rome, where he commanded the night watch or *vigiles*, a lesser but crucial posts and then became a confidant of Vespasian awaiting the emperor's orders and carrying them out probably as a personal secretary or official. He was finally commander of the fleet at Misenum near Pompeii, where he met his death on August 24, 79 CE (two months after the death of Vespasian) as he was observing the eruption of Mt. Vesuvius and organizing its relief when he was overcome by toxic fumes. Pliny the Elder did not marry and upon his death his nephew Pliny the Younger (son of Pliny's sister Plinia) became his sole heir.

His greatest legacy is *Naturalis Historia*, which is an encyclopedia of all things. Pliny probably began to collect information on different subjects and kept them updated and filed. Supposedly he had 160 volumes of material. It is conceivable that early in his career he decided to keep all of his notes when he wrote about a

particular subject matter, be that on Germany, horses, warfare, and other subjects. He then probably began to assemble them only after the reign of Nero, although it is conceivable that he had decided during that dangerous period to collect as much information as he could on the various subjects. He then probably wrote his work during his time as governor of various provinces. The work was dedicated to the Emperor Titus and he mentions his six consulships, the last being 77 CE, the book was therefore probably published between 77 and 79 CE. Pliny claims that he is the only Roman writer to cover all of the known knowledge, including such areas as zoology, geology, botany, and astronomy among others. It is also the only work that describes art, including the works of his day, and is still a reference work used today by art historians.

For example, in chapter 34 he describes the use of metals including the history of statues. For example, Pliny notes that the first statue made of brass was of Circe. Pliny goes on to explain that statues then began to be made of men and then covered in gold, which he believed to be of Roman origin. The statues were depicted in a *toga* or cuirass and were not naked like the Greeks, and the statues with chariots occurred under the late Republic. Pliny remarked how there were statues erected to women even though Cato the Elder attempted to prevent it. Pliny concludes this section with a discussion on the most celebrated artists and their works (34.19), a long and detailed listing.

In chapter 35, Pliny discusses painting and is a primary source for artists and their medium known. Pliny remarks that painting was formerly viewed as noble but that today (his time) it was subservient to marble and gold which now covers walls. Pliny laments how the ancient paintings that produced realistic portraits have been replaced by statues that are idealized and inaccurate. Pliny relates how in the fourth century BCE shields were painted with the likeness of ancestors and placed in public spaces for all to see and honor. This process then moved into the private houses during the first century BCE. Pliny then goes on to relate the stories of the foundation of painting, from the Egyptians (which he incorrectly discounted) to the Greeks. Pliny then gives a history of Roman painters and tells how the emperors, especially Augustus, adorned the walls of temples and other buildings with paintings. Pliny finally finished the section describing the art of painting as well as pigments and colors. Pliny then devoted chapter 36 to marble, which he deplored, seeing it as poor taste. He then gives a brief history of its origin in Rome, like painting and statues; he gives a long listing of famous artists and their works, ending with a discussion on the various types of marbles.

Pliny's work allows us to see the full knowledge of the Roman world through the eyes of one of its assemblers. His stories are rich and give us much useful information about the origins of many Greek and Roman legends. While he distrusted

the Greeks, he nevertheless provides us with a history of the Greek and Roman achievements. While many of his ideas have been discounted, he provides us with views of how Romans, especially the elites, viewed the world they lived in.

See also: Arts: Roman Classical Literature

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POLYBIUS (ca. 200–118 BCE)

Polybius, a Greek historian of the second century BCE, chronicled Rome's rise to power. His work attempted to train or educate the leaders or statesmen of Rome and teach his readers to be critical. Although his work has survived in a fragmentary nature, he exerted tremendous influence on later Roman writers and political leaders. He wrote in the common dialect of Greek, the *koine* (the language of the New Testament), which lacked the elegance of the classical Greek writers but was understood by most of the educated in the Mediterranean world.

Polybius was born at about 200 BCE to an Achaean (Greek) leader Lycortas at Megalopolis; he received a good education befitting his status before entering politics. He served the Achaeans as ambassador to Egypt and general in the Achaean Confederation. His father advocated neutrality between Rome and Macedon, which made Rome suspicious of him and hence his son Polybius. Romans typically believed that one either favored Rome or was against them; hence neutrals were often seen as against them. After the Battle of Pydna in 168 BCE Polybius was among 1,000 Achaeans deported to Rome for investigation, a euphemism for being held hostage. The conquering general L. Aemilius Paullus had Polybius educate his son, Scipio Aemilianus, and the two became friends. During the next 30 years he was friend, confidant, and traveling partner of Scipio. During the Third Punic War, Polybius was with Scipio Aemilianus when he commanded the Roman army at Carthage and saw its final destruction in 146 BCE. He returned home to Greece after the destruction of Corinth, also in 146 BCE, where he was given the task of reforming the governments in the Greek cities, a task he accomplished. He returned to Rome and was probably with Scipio again at the destruction of

Numantia in Spain in 133 BCE, which he wrote about. Polybius died after 118 BCE due to a fall from a horse.

Polybius wrote on Tactics, the Numantine War, and panegyric on Philopomen, whose ashes he had bore for burial in 182 BCE, as well as a geographical treatise on the tropics. His only surviving work, *The Histories*, was meant to detail the years from 220 to 168 BCE or from Hannibal to Pydna when Rome had become ruler of the eastern Mediterranean. Of the 40 books only books 1–5 survive complete, although other books survive in parts. Polybius viewed Fortune or Tyche as the director of history. Rome's rise to power occurred because of some driving and directing force, Fortune, which in essence preordained Rome for greatness. He argued that Rome's constitution, army, and early history propelled the city to become an empire. His work broke new ground in not being a monograph that usually discussed just the historical events but rather covered a broad subject matter, in this case the whole of the Mediterranean in a moral fashion and the force of Tyche.

Polybius used previous works critically such as Aratus for Achaean affairs, Fabius for the First Punic War as well as private sources such as letters and even inscriptions. What was most important, however, was his use of oral interviews, which he conducted. He clearly indicated that one needed to study the writings of others, have a thorough knowledge of geography, and have experience himself as a politician and warrior. Polybius himself was actively involved, traveling, fighting, and negotiating. One could not be an armchair historian. While their veracity and bias are clear, he nevertheless realized that these primary sources could yield immense information and help provide information in reconstructing events, especially military. For Polybius it was crucial to seek the truth or the real cause of the events. He attempted to be as honest as he could, but some of his biases show through, such as his contempt for Aetolia and Boeotia, enemies of his homeland Achaia. His style was not emulated afterward with some even saying they could not bear to read it from cover to cover. Since his style was not elegant, this may account why it has not survived, even though the work would aid so much to our understanding of Roman Republican history.

The first book of Polybius's *Histories* concerns the outbreak of the Second Punic War and affairs in Greece, the Social War, and in Asia the war between the Seleucids and Ptolemies for Palestine. Book 2 describes the war in Epirus against Greece and Rome, a discussion on Italy and the forces that Rome had available at the beginning of the Hannibalic war, a description of the north and the Gallic tribes that inhabited the region and the recent wars between Rome and Gauls; and finally a discussion on the wars in Greece. Book 3 discusses Hannibal's battles in Italy up to and including Cannae, being Ticinum, Trebia, and Trasimene as well

as the delaying tactics of Fabius Maximus. Book 4 describes the wars in Greece as well as a geographical treatise on the Pontus and Byzantium. The books interweaves the intervention into Greece by Philip of Macedon, and how the cities attempted to either retain their freedom, oppose him, or their association with him. Book 5 continued with the wars in Greece as well as the situation in Palestine between Antiochus of Syria and Ptolemy of Egypt. Book 6 gives a valuable summary of the Roman government and constitution before the war with Hannibal. Polybius describes first the power of the consuls and their duties; he then moves to the Senate relating their power of the purse, law courts, and foreign affairs concluding that the Senate controls all important affairs. He concludes this section with the rights of the people, and how they confer or grant honors and inflict punishment. Polybius then discusses the Roman military giving a description of duties, positions, equipment, the outlay of the camp, and training. He concludes with a comparison of other constitutions such as in Greece and Carthage and why Rome's was superior. The remaining of Polybius's work is fragmentary giving the description of events in Greece, Asia, and Italy in a yearly fashion. While there is much information present in these fragments, it is unfortunate that the work is not complete.

In his works, Polybius provided the framework for Romans of the second century BCE to come to terms with the changing nature of their state and society. After the Second Punic War, Rome rapidly evolved from an Italian city-state into an expanding Mediterranean empire. Polybius provided justification for that by praising the Republic's remarkable stability and ascribing it to the system of checks and balances that kept Rome's executive, legislative, and judicial branches in equilibrium. And it was this observation that made Polybius's work influential in Western culture, as English political scientists and American constitution makers eagerly consulted his works in the 17th and 18th centuries.

While Polybius may not have been the most elegant, his contribution as a historian is tremendous. His ability to talk with many of those who participated in the history of period provides an immense amount of information not available otherwise. His work provides a counterweight to the uncritical praises of Rome by Livy. For the average Roman, the work of Polybius gave justification to their Empire by a Greek foreigner.

See also: *Arts: Romanitas; Politics and Warfare: Cursus Honorum; Government; Imperialism; Legions; Punic Wars; Recreation and Social Customs: Travel*

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PORTRAITURE

Portraiture had special meaning to the Romans. While the commemoration of individuals had always existed, portraits had tended to be reserved for representations of the gods. For mortals, the representation had been types without any real discerning features. The realistic portraits of the Classical and Hellenistic Greeks were transferred to Roman portraiture during the third and second centuries BCE so that individuals were rendered in realistic and un-idealized means when the artist found success in a peculiar Roman milieu, the ancestors' masks or *imagines*. In addition to public representations of great individuals, the Romans used portraits for special family purposes to honor their dead ancestors especially at funerals.

The Greeks had been the first to move away from forms or types that had existed down to the early fifth century BCE. While the naturalism of the portrait gave rise to realism, such as in a classical bust of Themistocles, it then moved away toward a fused idealism and



Mosaic Portrait, Sicily, Italy, ca. 300 CE. Roman portraiture was usually reserved for the wealthy, as seen here. The portrait could be idealized, especially for the emperor, or highly accurate. During the Empire it was common for the middle class to commemorate family with realistic portraits. These portraits were usually very detailed. (Diego Barucco/Dreamstime.com)

naturalistic representation seen in examples of Pericles. During the Hellenistic period, the portraits became realistic. These portraits, including coin reliefs became the precursors to the Roman portraits which became lifelike and realistic. Realistic portraits would be used in commemorative scenes during the Empire. Beginning with Augustus, one can see the life-sized carvings on the Ara Pacis, where the Emperor Augustus is idealized and dignified. This view is in contrast to Tiberius's portraits, which show him in advanced years with the ravages of time. Under Claudius and Nero, there is more naturalism and even emotions showing them in a different pose than the earlier portraits of Augustus or Tiberius. A reversion back to Republican realism that had continued to exist since the Republic in private families then occurred under the Flavians. The Hadrianic style of curly hair and beards created an even more idealistic form; in addition, the hair and beards are often styled to have an effect on light and shading. During the third century CE the portraits became simpler with the hair and beards cut close and ultimately led to the fourth century portraits of schematized non-natural portraits, often not distinguishable between rulers.

The portraits seen on imperial coins, especially during the first two centuries often show the changes in hair style, beards, and even differences in individual portraits over time and can be used to date private portraits since imperial styles were quickly adopted by the elites. In addition, how the portrait busts were presented can also help date the work, for example, under the late Republic, only the head and neck were shown, while under the Flavians the bust included shoulders and by the late second century the busts were nearly half-length before decreasing during the next century.

Imagines became a particular Roman creation. Originally these portraits were in wax with only those Romans who had held the rank of *curule* offices, aedile, praetor, or consuls, permitted to have *imagines* made. They were kept in the family home in the cupboards or *alae* in the atrium. The masks were arranged so that colored strings would connect them to each other showing a family tree or pedigree. During times of festivals these cupboards were opened and the masks displayed, crowned with bay leaves. When a funeral of a family member who held a *curule* office took place, the funeral procession had family individuals, later actors, wearing the *imagines* and proceeding before the body. These wax figures were very realistic, although they were not created at the moment of death like death masks; rather, these figures were usually portraits of the individual made during their later years. The practice of having the masks and then actors wearing them for funerals allowed the Romans to help in the creation of the *nobilitas*, which resulted when the patricians and powerful plebs merged to form a new ruling oligarchy, the *nobiles*. Since these masks were worn by family members who portrayed their ancestors who had been elected to high office, it gave these

families an advantage in name recognition in upcoming elections. These portraits reminded everyone, especially the clients of the candidates, who to vote for in the elections.

The *imagines* further showed the importance of the Roman belief that life resided in the head and not the heart. This made it important that the individual be remembered, physically, with their representation through a bust or portrait. For the Roman the *imagines* became the vessel holding the life force of the deceased and therefore it gave the family power. Many of these busts showed detailed lifelike characteristics of the individual. It is often difficult to know if these busts were meant for art or for religious/commemorative purposes. The evolution of the *imagines* to the tombstone is not difficult to see. Although most tombstones did not have *imagines*, many of them did have representations of the individual. These representations were often cut in stone or painted on the interior walls. Everyday Romans would have passed by these *imagines* and portraits.

Originally constructed of wax, the *imagines* during the late Republic used other material, especially stone. It was the union of the *imagines* and Hellenistic portraiture that produced during the late Republic the Roman lifelike busts, statues, reliefs, and heads to be permanently displayed. What made these portraits important was their faithfulness to every feature, lines, moles, skin folds, warts, and so forth on a person's face now faithfully executed on a statue, bust, or head for all to see. For the Romans, this lifelike portrait, especially of old age, allowed them to live on in prosperity.

Roman portraiture should therefore be seen as both a static and evolutionary process. The static is seen in the religious and family heritage. Here, the *imagines* ensured that an individual would be remembered since their life force resided in the head and not the heart. The evolutionary process can be seen with the development of faithful representation of individuals first through the *imagines* and then progressing to the naturalism of the first to second centuries CE and finally to the schematized portraits of the fourth century.

See also: Arts: Decorations; Sculpture; Economics and Work: Money; Science and Technology: Minting

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FUNERAL PORTRAITURE

In his *Histories*, the Greek historian Polybius (ca. 200–ca. 118 BCE) traced the rise of the Roman Republic from 264 to 146 BCE, the period encompassing Rome's triumphant wars with Carthage and Polybius's own time in the city. Deported to Rome in 167 BCE in the wake of Rome's war with the Greek kingdom of Macedonia, Polybius, a well-educated and cultured man, became a popular and well-connected member of elite Roman society. Based often on his own experiences or on interviews with knowledgeable Romans, Polybius's work provides great detail on the structure and functioning of Roman society in the second century BCE. In the following excerpt, Polybius describes the use of family portraits at the funerals of prominent men.

Next after the interment and the performance of the usual ceremonies, they place the image of the departed in the most conspicuous position in the house, enclosed in a wooden shrine. This image is a mask reproducing with remarkable accuracy both the features and the complexion of the deceased. On the occasion of public sacrifices, they display these images, and decorate them with much care, and when any distinguished member of the family dies, they take them to the funeral, putting them on men who seem to them to bear the closest resemblance to the original in stature and carriage. These representatives wear togas, with a purple border if the deceased was a consul or praetor, whole purple if he was a censor, and embroidered with gold if he had celebrated a [military] triumph. . . . They all ride in chariots, preceded by the . . . insignia by which the different magistrates are customarily accompanied. . . . And when they arrive at the speaker's platform, they all seat themselves in a row on ivory chairs.

(Polybius, 1923, Vol. III)

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POTTERY

Pottery is the manufacturing of utensils and other works, including art, which had a long history. The potter's wheel dates to before the Homeric age and allowed individuals to make wares used in everyday life by peasants to patricians. The development of types, art, and styles not only concerns local Italian wares but the importation of Classical Greek pottery.

In Italy, the Neolithic and Bronze Age potteries were primarily made of the local dark-clay variety, which was painted by hand, usually dark on light, influenced from the south. This was improved upon during the Iron Age with dark clay or “*impasto*” characterized by the “hut-urns” seen in Latium, also made by hand. The Villanovan type from Tuscany and Bologna with their biconical urns were off shoots of the Iron Age form. By the time of the monarchy (700–500 BCE), the “*bucchero*” of Etruria or the Etruscans had created wheel thrown dark clay pottery ware with a polished black surface. The early decoration was hand incised. At the same time there was the arrival of Greek painted wares, which by 500 BCE had effectively replaced native Italian pottery. Originally, the imported wares came from Athens, but as time progressed local Italian shops were established so that Greek copies were mass produced in Italy. The Italian red-figured style originally began in the south by the end of the fifth century BCE. By the fourth century, the major sites were Apulia in the southeast, closest to Greece with Bari as its main center, Lucania in the southwest with Metapontum as one of the chief cities, Campania just north of Lucania with Capua, Paesta centered at Paestum, and Sicily with Syracuse. These areas soon dominated not only the local area but exported their wares throughout Italy.

Small vessels were made in one piece, while large vessels had the body, handles, feet, and neck made independently and then joined. The vessels were first



Pottery, Mediterranean Sea, imperial era. The use of pottery was universal in the Roman world. Inexpensive and easy to make, it provided the Romans with durable storage. Often pottery was used as ballast for ships, as seen here. (Jonmilnes/Dreamstime.com)

dried in the sun and then baked in a kiln twice, with the painting occurring in between the two baking. The two major Greek styles were black and red figures. For black figures where the background was red, clay with water to near cream consistency, known as “slip” was applied to the pot while turning on the wheel; the figure was then outlined before dried and then glazed before the first firing. The black figure was then enameled and fired again with the details incised down to the clay. For red figures instead of black figures painted, the ground had black enamel and the figures were left, which showed the red “slip” covering the whole vase allowing for painting of the figures instead of incising, an easier and more precise method. So important was the production of clay vessels that as early the monarchy (legend has by the second king Numa) that a guild or *collegium* had been established.

In Rome the rise of local manufacturing occurred at Arretium in the production of red pottery. The color was red-coral and had glaze and reliefs. The Romans would use relief on their pottery throughout most of their period. The Romans at this time used imitated pottery from Samos, a fine thin baked red-color clay, very hard and delicate also called *terra sigillata*. Plates and bowls were made on the pottery wheel using a wooden template. In these cases simple decoration could be added, but for more elaborate and intricate forms a mold was used. The molds were made of fired clay, and the fresh clay was pressed inside the mold so that when fired it shrank and could be removed. To give the glossy coat, the vessel was dipped into a liquid clay slip before firing.

Terra sigillata was a form of Roman pottery made from molds or wheels that had the red glossy coat. The form and dates vary widely and included those known as Arretine ware made during the Augustan age. This type of ware then made its way to Gaul, Britain, where it was known as Samian ware, and to Spain and North Africa, where it was also called African Red Slip ware. Also derived from the earlier Greek red and black figures, this pottery superseded the local Campanian ware. This type of pottery was not luxurious but rather fine. The pottery with reliefs tended to be more expensive and made from molds. It was a midway service between coarse pottery and silver, those that formed the middle class. This type of pottery was made by hand and as such was more expensive and time consuming than the normal coarse ware.

For coarse ware local traditions continued with pots, pans, and dishes being used throughout the Roman period well into the Empire. These wares continued to be used in kitchens alongside bronze or other metal pots. A peculiar Roman vessel was the *mortaria*, mortars used for preparation. These were strong bowls, shallow with a wide thick rim, with an edge or flange for gripping and a spout for pouring. The interior had grit to make it rough and strong. The *mortaria* was peculiarly

Roman with few examples being found in the east. In the west, it spread first to Gaul and then to Britain arriving before the conquest in 43 CE.

Many of the vessels were stamped by the maker and provide a means to date and study their production and use. These stamps were made with an inverse die so that the name could be read normally and was usually located in the interior. This should be seen as a form of advertising since the user would be able to identify the maker. Many shops were created throughout the Roman world, which became one of the major employers. Since everyone, even the wealthy, needed different types of vessels for cooking, storing, and eating, there was always a ready need for new and replacement dishes. During the Empire, the rulers established factories for the production of pottery, often financed by imperial women. These factories produced not only the pots but also more importantly bricks for construction.

The production of pottery became one of the standard industries in Rome. Since all members of society needed vessels, and since it was easy and cheap to make, potters were established in all communities. For the average Roman, clay pots were as ubiquitous as modern plastic ware.

See also: Economics and Work: Industry; Laborers; Trade; *Food and Drink:* Amphorae; Transport; Wine; *Science and Technology:* Ships; Weights

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PROSE

Prose, the natural form of speech and writing rather than rhythmic or poetry, developed independently in Rome of other literary genres and had little influence from Greek writers. Its most important impact came in legal, historical, biographical, letters, and novels produced during the Roman Republic.

Latin prose developed first from speeches held in the forum and as such dealt with law or politics. The *annales* or records of the priests were the earliest histories. Under Cicero, the legal discourses reached their zenith. Jurists like Cicero gave *controversiae* or judicial speeches before the law courts. These were then written down and published; some were even published but never spoken. *Declamationes* or declamations were exercises (judicial) given at schools for rhetorical purposes, while *suasoriae* or advisory speeches were used for political oratory, or persuasive speeches. These speeches showed the development of rhetoric and oratory under the late Republic.

The development of historical writing differed from judicial in that the earliest Roman historians wrote in Greek, mainly because they desired to show their importance to the Greek world. During the fifth and fourth centuries, Greece was the literary capital beginning with writers such as Herodotus and Thucydides and continuing with Xenophon and the Hellenistic writers. Roman historians wanted to ensure that Rome and Italy could compete culturally with the Greeks. After the war with Hannibal and the rise of the philhellene center of Scipio Africanus, a native backlash under the leadership of Cato the Elder began with his *origines*, which set the stage for future Latin historians. Official records were studied and published after 130 BCE, as the *annales maximi* or the “most important records” covering the history of Rome from its foundation down to 130 BCE in chronological order. This system of chronology, using regnal and then consular years or Olympiads, became the standard for Sallust, Tacitus, and other writers. The Roman historians usually presented their material in a moralizing fashion.

Another form of prose is the biography. The early examples were mainly derived from funeral orations that consisted of tombstones or later literary memoirs. The tombstones or sepulchral inscriptions concisely recorded the achievements of an individual. These tombstones provide crucial information about the career, victories, family, and other information on the deceased. Sepulchral inscriptions then led to the development of the memoir. These literary works justified, glorified, or promoted the individual and family achievements in a fuller work; Caesar’s Gallic War Commentaries can be seen as a type of memoir or biography in a limited sense as it praised Caesar. Under the Empire, the rise of biographies or *vitae* became common with emperors or their family member not only being recorded but recording for themselves. An example of an imperial biography written by an emperor would be Augustus’s *Res Gestae* or “his achievements.” Written on stone the work describes the achievements of the first emperor. Other biographies include Tacitus’s *Agricola* and Suetonius’s *Lives of the Twelve Caesars*. Tacitus’s work is more of a panegyric since *Agricola* was his father-in-law. Suetonius wrote his work during the age of Trajan or Hadrian and

attempted to show how the early emperors, even those classified as good, were not as great as the current emperor. The work is important for not only presenting historical information but also how the ideas of political morality enter into discussion. Emperors such as Julius Caesar, Augustus, Claudius, Vespasian, and Titus are viewed as good emperors, but even here their faults, such as Claudius's devotion and control by his wives or Vespasian's monetary policies to restore the Empire, are faulted. Other emperors such as Tiberius, Caligula, Nero, and Domitian are presented as bad emperors, not only due to their personal attributes but due to their policies as well.

Letters were a special kind of prose since they recorded ideas and events that were often contemporary. Cicero wrote volumes of letters about all subject matters. Some like the letters of Pliny the Younger were meant for publication and show the breadth of information and conditions of the time. In the late Roman Empire, Christian religious writings that often showed the struggle within one's own life and mind were written and published as letters.

Two novels survive; Petronius's *Satyricon*, the earliest novel and Apuleius's *Metamorphoses*, the only complete novel. Petronius wrote under the emperor Nero, produced a work probably in 20 books of which fragments of books 14, 15, and 16 survive. In these fragments is the almost complete *cena Trimalchionis* or *Trimalchio's meal*. The themes cover all aspects of life and the banquet is set under the early Empire where a freedman has become a millionaire and displays not only his wealth but also his background. Meanwhile Apuleius wrote in the second century CE; his work *Metamorphoses* or the *Golden Ass* is the only novel that survives intact. The work tells the story of Lucius who becomes enthralled in witchcraft and the other black arts and is transformed into an ass. He is subjected to numerous tasks and torments in his journeys, but along the way he sees and hears many strange things. The story of Cupid and Psyche as well as other myths are presented. Lucius is finally restored to human form by the goddess Isis. The journey is meant to show Lucius, or Apuleius, who has undergone a journey from the traditional Olympic gods through the mystery religions to accepting Isis and Osiris as his personal gods.

Another form of prose, often spoken first and then published was the panegyric. These were speeches in praise of someone and developed from the funeral speeches. Cicero developed and extended them to living persons such as the *Ninth Philippic* or the *Pro Marcello*, which combined both the praise and thanksgiving. During the Augustan age, the thanksgiving was given in honor of the emperor and the Senate passed a resolution requiring consuls to give public thanksgiving to the gods and emperor. By the time of Trajan, as seen in the panegyric of Pliny, the emperor's praise was more important than the gods'. Pliny's speech became the model for panegyrics with former rulers, the gods, and even nature given lower

credence than the emperor. The emperor and his achievements, however minor, are enthusiastically praised and highlighted. The emperor is presented as having done great deeds and nothing wrong.

Roman or Latin prose in all of its forms shows the creative varieties of Roman writers and speakers. Most of these writers were from the upper class, who received a good education but often were second or third generation from a freedman or other lower class/poor individual who had made something of themselves. The Roman idea of social mobility was clearly at work.

See also: *Arts: Agricultural Treatises; Caesar, Gaius Julius; Livy; Roman Classical Literature*

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ROMAN CLASSICAL LITERATURE

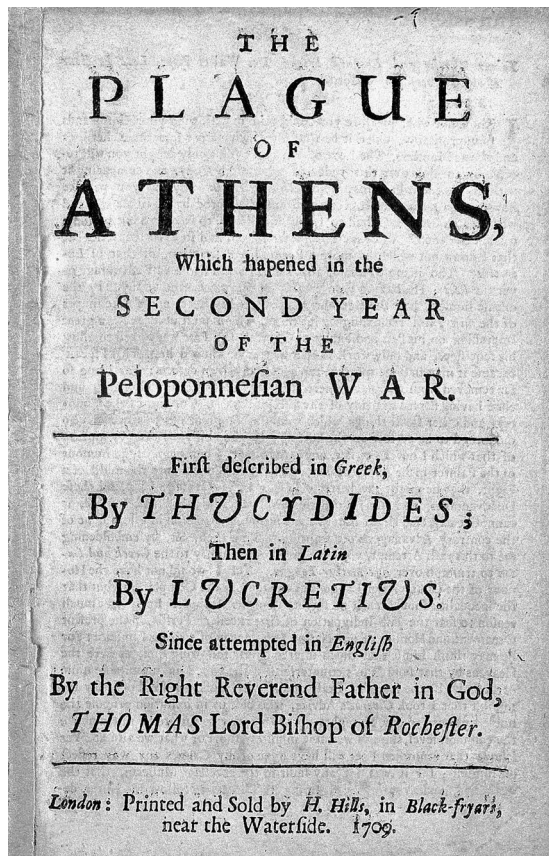
Roman classical literature refers to the Latin works during the late Republic and early Empire, from 70 BCE to 14 CE, often called the Golden Age; this was then followed by the period from 14 to 117 CE commonly known as the Silver Age. The importance of these periods lay in the rich variety and development of Latin, especially in philosophical and oratorical works. This entry will focus on the broad categories of literature and authors while reserving for separate entries the specific genres.

The different types of Roman literature included historical, poetical, drama, law, biographies, geographical, letters, and speeches. Written by the well-educated, it is probable that only about 10 percent of the population would have had access to written materials and then probably only a smaller handful would have read these works. The major areas are drama, poetry, prose, and satire. Drama had a long history and ultimately developed into comedies known as *fabulae palliatae* (plays in Greek cloaks) based on the Greek plays followed by plays based on Italian themes known as *fabulae togatae* (plays in togas). These comedies often became less political and more stereotypical of the Hellenistic or New Comedy situation comedies because they were not political. Greek tragedies

were called *fabula crepidata* (a high boot worn by Greek actors) and *fabulae prae-texta*, a play on a Roman historical or legendary theme. Traditionally, tragedy is seen as an expression of a free society's independence since its themes are usually controversial and political leaders are often reluctant to have them preformed since they often lead to criticism of their rule.

Latin poetry differed from English poetry since unlike English, which relies on stressed and unstressed syllables, Latin relied on the number of long and short syllables in a line. The typical meter, hexameter, was perfected by Virgil. The earliest poems were *Fescennine* verses done at rural festivals, often in song. *Naeniae* poems were funeral songs performed by women of the deceased member to honor their dead and probably then

developed later into the funeral orations. Some poems were clearly written to be sung, but unfortunately they do not survive. The major form of poetry was the elegy written in elegiacs, alternating lines of hexameter and pentameter meter often seen in personal notes. This form was often used by the love poets such as Catullus, Tibullus, and Ovid; later poets used elegy for epigrams such as Martial. The love epigrams, perfected by Catullus, became very popular. Virgil wrote bucolic poetry, pastoral themes, while didactic poetry was meant for instructions. The epic poem is perhaps the most famous of all poetry. Its origin dates to Homer and the Romans followed suit with Naeivius writing during the Second Punic War, and Virgil's *Aeneid*.



English translation from a Latin text by Roman author Lucretius, who translated a part of the ancient Greek text by the Greek historian Thucydides. Many of these works survived in medieval monasteries and were made available during the Renaissance. (Wellcome Library, London)

Prose developed out of speeches and from Roman law, which originally was through oral traditions as well. Individuals such as Cato were early architects of Latin prose who also had a reputation as a distinguished orator. Prose developed most fully under Cicero who is credited with many of the new styles. After Cicero, prose tended to be more formulaic and became the standard throughout imperial Latin period, although Tacitus was known for his compact style. Satire appears to be of Roman origin and developed through a variety of subjects and forms. Although created from prose and poetry, the genre developed as personal commentaries on subjects and included humor, morals and contemporary events and people.

The major authors of the Golden Age were Cicero, Lucretius, Catullus, Cinna, Nepos, Sallust, and Varro; these authors were often called the Ciceronian age writers. The Augustan Age of the Golden Era included Virgil, Horace, Tibullus, Propertius, Ovid, and Livy. Individuals of note (who do not have a separate entry) are discussed below.

Cinna, born Gaius Helvius Cinna, was a friend of Catullus who wrote the *Zmyrna*, a small epic or epyllion, and erotic poetry. Unfortunately, only fragments survive. He was lynched by the Roman mob after the assassination of Julius Caesar who thought he was Lucius Cornelius Cinna who had spoken against Caesar.

Nepos, born Cornelius Nepos, lived 100–25 BCE, was a Roman biographer. Nepos was a friend of Catullus, Cicero, and Atticus. His work on *Famous Men* of which one on foreign generals survives and includes biographies of Themistocles, Miltiades, Epaminondas, Hannibal, Hamilcar, and others, and provides useful historical information. The work is not a strict biography since he wrote to show moral points but eulogize these famous men and they often contain inaccuracies and omissions. He also wrote lives of Cato the Elder and Atticus. His importance is his ability to bring to life these individuals.

Albius Tibullus (55–19 BCE) was a Roman elegiac poet who was a friend of Horace and Ovid. He wrote two books of elegies, one containing love elegies for Delia (pseudonym for Plania) and Marathus, a boy. Tibullus especially wrote on romantic love and the country life. Sextus Propertius (50–16 BCE), another elegiac poet, wrote love poems to his mistress Cynthia, poems glorifying the new regime of Augustus, a poem written as a funeral oration for Cornelia, daughter of Scribonia, the first wife of Octavian, which showed the virtues of a Roman matron. His works are complicated, from the settings to the abrupt changes, to his emotions of beauty of Cynthia and her vainness.

This Golden Age was followed by the Silver Age of which the most important writers were Seneca, Tacitus, and Suetonius. Tacitus, born Publius Cornelius Tacitus (56–117 CE) wrote several works in prose on Roman history. He wrote two

most important works. The *Histories* covered the Flavians, from the year of the four emperors (Galba, Otho, Vitellius, and Vespasian) 69 CE to the death of Domitian in 96 CE. The work focuses on the rule of Vespasian, Titus, and Domitian of which only the first three survives. The *Annals* covered the period from 14 to 68 CE and survives extensively. Of the 16 books, parts of 5 and 6 and all of 7–10 are missing. Tacitus also has surviving works on *Germania* about the customs of the Germans and *Agricola* a work in praise of his father-in-law Agricola.

Suetonius, born Gaius Suetonius Tranquillus, wrote a series of biographies on the Caesars and *On Famous Men* as well as biographies of the writers Terence, Virgil, Horace, and Lucan transmitted through their own works. The *Lives of the Caesars* include biographies of Julius Caesar and the emperors down to and including Domitian. The work is similar to Nepos's in that material may not have been accurate and he wrote to teach in a moral fashion. His stories are vivid and provide the gossip of the day.

Roman literature had a varied and vibrant history during the late Republic and early Empire. From these authors we learn about the struggles, victories, and defeats of individuals, both famous and common. For the everyday Roman many of these works were mentioned by the elites even if the common person did not know of them.

See also: Arts: Agricultural Treatises; Catullus, Gaius Valerius; Cicero, Marcus Tullius; Drama; Lucretius; Prose; Sallust; Satire; Seneca; Virgil

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ROMANITAS

Romanitas is the concept of what it meant to be Roman and how Rome promoted its uniqueness to the rest of the Mediterranean world; in other words, it means "Roman-ness." Originally the Romans felt inferior to the Greeks and wrote in Greek to promote the Roman ideas to the Greek world. The historians continued to write in Greek until the mid-third century when authors like Cato argued for *Romanitas* or Roman ideology. Roman historians encompassed both Greek and

Latin writers as reflected in their written language rather than their political language, Latin.

Romanitas originated with the use of Latin. As an Indo-European language, Latin is a cousin of Greek. It is an inflected language without articles (e.g., the, an) unlike Greek. Archaic Latin can be seen in the works of Plautus and Terrence. Another form of early Latin was recorded in the “Twelve Tables,” the laws of the ancient Roman monarchy and Republic. During the late Republic, classical Latin developed through such writers as Cicero, Caesar, Vergil, and Livy. These authors became the teachers for future generations ultimately transmitting to future generations via Christianity. Latin can be seen not only in literary works but also in inscriptions that allowed inhabitants throughout the Mediterranean world to communicate with one another and promote their vision. Typically, wealthy and powerful individuals in local communities wished to be remembered so they set up memorials that included inscriptions. These powerful individuals and families desired to promote their deeds and ensure immortality. While many of these individuals and families are not known except through inscriptions, clearly local communities would have remembered these individuals, their families, and their importance. What is clear is that in many of these communities local native individuals became part of the Roman political and economic system.

Typically, what happened for the process of *Romanitas* was that initially an area was conquered by Rome. The Romans would then establish the form of government and a set of rules similar to Rome. In addition, Rome would often send out Roman and Italian colonists, usually ex-soldiers. These soldiers not only provided protection but gave a critical mass of Romans to promote *Romanitas*. Local leaders now collaborated with the Roman elites and leaders at first eagerly adopting the Roman ideas. After this initial conquest phase, the local leaders often not only adopted the Roman views but also became even more Roman, eager to show that they were worthy of being in power. Typically, this occurred with the adoption of Roman manners, food, clothing, art, and architecture. The local elites were at first socially and politically segregated from the Romans but within a generation local elites often married into the Roman middle class forming a close social and economic connection. These Romanized local elites now adopted the Latin language, Roman government forms, and other accoutrements of Romanization. The local elites in turn promoted the ideas of *Romanitas* to the lower class indigenous population. They used written forms, such as inscriptions, artistic forms, such as statues, and architectural, such as arches and buildings.

Inscriptions clearly show this Romanization and *Romanitas*. Local inhabitants used inscriptions to promote not only their own ideas but to show that they should be part of the Roman system. This act can be seen from the early petitions from local communities in Latin to the Senate and emperors requesting specific grants

and favors, and in turn offering honors and praise to Rome. The early requests and reward came in the form of tax breaks, recognition of status, and ultimately citizenship. This last aspect, before Caracalla's extension of citizenship in 212 CE, gave cities and regions special political, economic, and social standing often the avoidance of taxes. The reply by the Senate and emperors, also in Latin, showed how Rome treated them and ultimately accepted them into their social, political, and economical "club."

The artistic forms in the provinces likewise show how the local communities adopted Roman ideas or *Romanitas*. The local communities copied Roman art, best seen in the development of hair styles, which show how quickly hair styles seen on imperial coins were transferred to local statues. As local elites adopted Roman customs they further promoted *Romanitas*.

Art also began to change local culture. Roman art began to be adopted by the local elites in the form of copies. Local indigenous art was subverted but not eliminated. As time progressed the local indigenous art began to fuse with Roman art to create provincial arts, each was different in the various provinces. This provincial art clearly showed the idea of *Romanitas*. Individuals from other provinces coming into a city could not only see Roman art but also the local culture. During the late Empire, the form of art has often been discounted because of the "barbarized" form, but this really shows the growth of the provincial and therefore Romanized or *Romanitas*.

Architecture also shows the growth of *Romanitas*. The development of local cities followed similar patterns. At first the Roman conquerors began to construct temples in Roman form to Roman gods. These temples looked like the temples in Rome, perhaps not in stone, but later transformed into stone with inscriptions honoring the erector/creator and to the emperors. The local community adopted these temples creating priesthoods and implementing sacrifice. The Romans also began the importation of other Roman structures, for example, the forum with basilicas and curia. The basilica was the structure where business and law courts were held. In the provinces, this structure continued with the same function. The curia was the official meeting place of the Senate or government. The elites became political leaders using these public buildings to lead their cities. The local elites then began the process of merging their local ideas into the structures. The best example can be seen in development of temples. While the form of the structures remained the same, the gods and goddesses were merged and the temple often renamed. Other public buildings showing *Romanitas* included the baths, seen nearly everywhere and attesting to the single most powerful form of *Romanitas*.

The development of *Romanitas* and its manifestation allowed for the growth of the Roman system and spreading of Roman ideas. The ultimate ideas of *Romanitas* can be seen in the outward signs of the Romans, mainly the written word,

art, and architecture. These ideas would continue throughout Europe for the next 2,000 years.

See also: *Arts*: Art Collecting; Hellenism; Livy; Roman Classical Literature; *Politics and Warfare*: Imperialism; Legions; Roman Provincial Treatment; Roman Rule; Roman View of War; *Recreation and Social Customs*: Music; Festivals; Travel; Triumphs; *Religion and Beliefs*: Sacrifices; State Religion

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SALLUST (GAIUS SALLUSTIUS CRISPUS) (86–35 BCE)

Sallust, a Roman historian, chronicled two great events in late Roman Republican history, the war against Jugurtha and the revolt of Catiline. Sallust's importance was his ability to portray the corruption of Rome, society's morals, and the ability to bring history alive through his speeches, letters, and character studies.

Born Gaius Sallustius Crispus in 86 BCE, he came from Amiternum, and his family seems to have been from the municipal aristocracy but of plebeian origin. Sallust held the office of tribune and opposed Cicero and Milo in 52 BCE. He was dismissed from the Senate in 50 BCE because of his actions against Cicero in 52 BCE. He associated himself with Caesar at this time and by 49 BCE he commanded a legion. He saw action in Africa in 46 BCE where he was appointed the first governor of Africa Nova. Upon his return from Africa he was charged with malpractice and escaped only due to Caesar's help. Afterward he apparently saw little hope for political advancement and retired, turning to writing. He died in 35 BCE.

His two most important works were the *On the revolt of Catiline* and the *War against Jugurtha* in North Africa. Sallust was innovative using a short epigrammatic style derived from the short sentences but using greater vocabulary and tone than Cato the Elder. Sallust was not content with merely describing the events as his predecessors who used the annalistic form, but rather, wanted to understand the root causes for political acts and the motives behind an individual's actions. He attempted to write in a more scientific fashion where he could bring the two

philosophies together. His inaccuracy in chronology and vagueness in geography were often stumbling blocks; he had a bias for the *populares* against the *optimates*. He showed his characters, including himself, in great vividness and even described the faults in his heroes (himself included) and positive attributes in his enemies (Jugurtha). For his history of Catiline, he relied on Cicero (his personal enemy) and his own memory, while for Jugurtha he had the autobiography of Sulla, translated Punic documents from his stay in Africa, and other histories. He chose the figures Catiline and Jugurtha because of their power and the struggle between the *populares* and *optimates* that they elicited. Although he was a conservative in that he saw the troubles due to the decline in the traditional mores or *virtus* of the Romans and the rise of personal greed or corruption. He nevertheless often sided with the liberal *populares*. He argues that the decline of the Roman Republic started with the return of Sulla from the east and his march on Rome against the followers of Marius.

The Bellum Catiline is a story about corruption and the fight between the *optimates* and *populares*. Catiline was a protégé of Sulla who upon losing the consular election decided to seize the government, much like his idol. Cicero, a friend of Pompey, a former lieutenant of Sulla, delivered speeches against Catiline and exposed the plot. Cicero as consul then arrested the followers of Catiline and demanded their execution, a questionable act that Julius Caesar opposed, but Cicero nevertheless carried out. Although Sallust followed Cicero as his source, he clearly extolled Caesar's virtue. As a partisan of Caesar, Sallust not only wanted to show his idol in the best of light but also highlight the *populares*. For Sallust the conspiracy was about corruption and mores and not a political fight. In his work, Sallust does not mention Cicero much but rather pits the ultraconservative, Cato the Younger, leader of the *optimates* against Caesar, the future leader of the *populares*.

This theme was picked up in his next work, the *War against Jugurtha*. As king of Numidia, Jugurtha, had attacked and eliminated his coheirs, his two cousins. Although Rome would not have been too concerned, Jugurtha failed when he attacked and killed some Italian merchants after taking a city. Called to Rome, Jugurtha realized that he could buy his freedom from the corrupt politicians. Paying bribes he secured his freedom and returned to Numidia, where he again began his expansion. Rome sent a commander, Metellus with few forces, who was met with setbacks; soon the rumor spread that Jugurtha had been bribing him and other commanders. For Sallust this was the prime example of the *optimates*' abuse of power. Sallust's hero, Marius, uncle of Julius Caesar, had himself proclaimed general by the populace and replaced Metellus. Marius was successful and his junior officer, Sulla, captured and killed Jugurtha. For Sallust, Sulla betrayed his commander Marius, although he did not say that Marius had betrayed his commander, Metellus.

By his very choice of topics—the Jugurthine War and the conspiracy of Catiline—Sallust illustrates the beginnings of an alteration in the nature of Roman politics that would lead within 30 years to the end of the Republic and the establishment

of one-man rule. Always uninhibited, the daily politics of Rome became more violent and disorderly as strong individuals, previously restrained by the working of the Roman constitution, began to see themselves as the best answer for the increasing difficulties faced by the imperial Republic. This momentous change in Roman political society is what is most strongly expressed in the writings of Sallust.

Sallust's faults as an historian included inexact chronology, geographical issues, and an undying bias against the nobles or *optimates*. These faults, however, were common; for example, most Roman historians did not care about geography, and often chronological issues were caused by the need to tell the story for a moral and ethical effect and not for historical accuracy. Sallust, however, was not a philosopher; rather he should be seen as an historical moralist. Sallust believed that the decline of Rome, that is, the Republic, was due to the *optimates* and their greed. His two works sought to portray the *optimates* as putting their own interest above the law and state. His works traced the conflicts of the two classes and unfortunately his *Histories* are lost, which would have further explored this conflict. Sallust was held in high regard by his successors; Martial declared him the first historian. During the Renaissance, his works were viewed as models of histories and ethics, while Erasmus recommended Sallust over Livy and Tacitus. Sallust, writing after Cicero and Caesar, was not a mere propagandist for Caesar or his adopted heir Augustus; rather, he truly saw the decline of Rome based in the excesses of the *optimates* beginning with Sulla. His work attempted to show his colleagues that morals do matter and that Rome's decline was not through military action but personal action. Punctuated by speeches, letters, character studies, and interesting tidbits his works come alive.

See also: *Arts:* Caesar, Gaius Julius; *Roman Classical Literature;* *Politics and Warfare:* *Cursus Honorum*; Elections; Imperialism; Legions; Roman Provincial Treatment

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SATIRE

Supposedly of all the literary forms, satire or Latin *satira* was purely Roman, originating in the rural festivals as extemporaneous verse competition. After

developing into a music/comic performance with witty and serious criticism without any profound plot, the mixture developed into a literary genre by Ennius in the third century BCE and perfected by Lucilius in the second century BCE; unfortunately only a few lines survived from both.

The poet Horace became the exemplar of the genre in the late Republic. Horace was born at Venusia in Apulia in 65 BCE to a freedman who gave his son an excellent education first at Rome and then at Athens. Horace served in the army of Brutus, one of Caesar's assassins, and after Brutus's defeat at Philippi (42 BCE), he returned home to find his family estates confiscated. He met Vergil, who became his friend and mentor, who in turn introduced him to Maecenas, a confidant of Octavian (Augustus), who now became his patron ensuring Horace did not need to worry about economic issues. Maecenas gave Horace his Sabine Farm, which became the symbol of bucolic life and peace. Horace published his first book of satires in 35 BCE, his second in 30 BCE. Horace died in 8 BCE. His satires are full of wit about life and the cities. Horace has the ability to describe the truth about life, people, and the arts; he describes not the obvious but the universal truths of life and their significance. Horace's satires were written in dactylic hexameter.

Horace has the ability to describe events as an observer of human faults in a genteel ease. For example, in book 1 of his satires, he uses euphemism and understatement to describe life, as when a father describes his malformed child or how one should live life by moderation. Horace relates to Maecenas that he has no ambition, content on his Sabine Farm, where he is more comfortable than a senator (and probably safer). One of his best satires deals with his daily life of shopping, eating simply, writing, and listening. This same view is found in book 2 in which he describes the contrast between the city and country mice in a fable extolling the virtues of country living. Horace was able to attack his enemies, not by directly attacking the individual but by pointing out their vice. He declares that he must write even if people do not like his works.

The successor of Horace was Juvenal, born Decimus Junius Juvenalis, in 60 CE at Aquinum about 80 miles south of Rome. Although little is known about his family, he seems to have come from a wealthy family and had a good education. He lived during the reign of the Emperor Domitian (81–96 CE) and probably wrote afterward since many of his satires paint the emperor as an insane tyrant, corrupt, who destroyed the Empire. Juvenal apparently offended the emperor in a satire and was exiled to Egypt until the emperor was assassinated. Returning home he was poor and forced to pander to men he despised until imperial patronage through Trajan or Hadrian gave him financial security. His 16 satires in five books present a vivid picture of Roman life.

Juvenal's first satire sets the tone for his work as he describes the corruption of the city and society. One sees in Juvenal his wit that is ironic, brutal, and bizarre

probably formed by his treatment from Domitian and others. To escape even more punishment Juvenal does not use contemporary events and persons but those of the past under the unpopular emperors Nero, Otho, and more recently Domitian. Readers could laugh about the past and current corruption without fear since the exemplars were all gone, even though they could have in mind a contemporary. Juvenal harkens back to the great Republic and what it stood for, even if the realities were different. Juvenal also attempts to shock the reader; and although he uses the same dactylic hexameter as Horace and Lucilius, they are not the bucolic and gentle verses but rather violent.

Juvenal's 16 satires provide excellent examples of Roman society. In his first satire he discusses the corruption of Rome and the waste and extravagance of money. His second satire attacked those who professed stoic morality but behaved badly, he especially condemned homosexuality and effeminate men such as the Emperor Otho or the priest Gracchus, descendent of the great Gracchi general, who dressed as a woman in a homosexual marriage. His third satire is another attack on the city of Rome, where foreigners, especially Greeks and Orientals, have overrun the city with their decadent and evil manners. The city is noisy, crowded, poor, and dirty, while the housing is expensive and run down always threatened with fire. The fourth satire describes the extravagance of the time through a moral of Crispinus who buys a fish for more than a whole estate and then eats it all by himself. The fifth satire describes the institution of the client–patron and how the former is humiliated by the latter. This attack on the institution would be appropriate under any period. The sixth satire is an attack on women and how they are no longer like the paragons of the past. It provides stereotypical attacks on women of the upper class. Juvenal in his seventh satire professes hope for the new emperor and that learned men, teachers, poets, and the like will be able to earn a decent wage. In his eighth satire, Juvenal laments the loss of prestige by the descendants of the great Republican families. In a departure from the great men of the past, Juvenal in his ninth satire attacks men, and by extension women, who sell their bodies; he however has great fun in describing how Naevolus has not reaped the benefits of his debauchery. In his 10th satire, perhaps his greatest, he describes human vanity, focusing on Alexander the Great, Hannibal, and Sejanus. His 11th satire compares the gluttony of individuals who must have the latest and best, even if they are in debt, versus his simple lifestyle that is pure and healthy. In his 12th satire, Juvenal praises and offers thanks for the safe return of his upright friend while attacking those who pretend to be their friend for an inheritance. His 13th satire is an attempt to console a friend who has been cheated out of a fortune by an unscrupulous acquaintance. Juvenal attempts to pacify his friend by saying the culprit will be tormented by his deeds far worse than the crime. Juvenal relates in the 14th satire how evil fathers impart their vice on to their children, and that the worse vice is

money. His 15th satire is an attack on the strange customs of foreigners; in this case the Egyptians who worship animals yet will eat human flesh. The 16th satire is fragmentary but describes how soldiers were treated better than others.

While Juvenal's satires date from the imperial age, they nevertheless relate to mores and biases that existed in Rome during the imperial age. Dealing with such matters as vice, corruption, money, debauchery, and crime Juvenal paints a picture of humanity for any age.

See also: **Arts:** Roman Classical Literature; Seneca

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SCULPTURE

Sculpture and relief figures are artistic representation of events or things, including people that provide the general public an everyday realistic view. During the Roman period these artistic representation were on and in public and private buildings. The following entry examines the different types of sculpture and relief figures typically found in Roman cities and homes.

Sculpture existed in Rome since the Etruscan period with some terracotta (pottery) fragments surviving. These early forms borrowed heavily from the Archaic and Early Classical Greek sculptures, which usually represented religious themes typically coming from temple pediments. There exist more examples of Etruscan votive sculpture in bronze and clay. Again these are mainly concerned with religious themes. Terracotta seems to have been used for temples, while stone was used for tombs and sarcophagi. For example, a series of Etruscan sculptures on sarcophagi show presumably both husband and wife together in affectionate poses.

During the fourth century BCE, Greek sculpture became more common in Rome due to several factors: Greek sculptors emigrating to the west, the expansion of Hellenism during the post-Alexander the Great era (the Hellenistic Age), and the looting of Greece by Roman armies. During this period Greek sculptors began to seek employment in the west beginning first in the south of Italy and then moving north into Rome and other Latin cities. Although no firmly dated pieces exist before the second century BCE, Roman sculpture made by Greeks is attested and by the late Republic different colored marble was a common medium. These pieces ranged from small votive offerings to larger than life size sculpture. Part of the reason for these sculptors emigrating to the west was the general economic boom and bust that followed Alexander the Great and his conquests and early death. With the large amount of gold and silver flooding the market from his conquests and the rise of multiple kingdoms, there was intense competition to outdo each other in all things including art. After 270 BCE, when these eastern kingdoms created and settled into a balance of power, much of the competition died down forcing artists to seek their livelihood elsewhere with southern Italy or Magna Greece becoming magnets. The artistic forms were often copies of the great classical age. The Hellenistic Age produced an era of high technical achievements with lifelike and realism hitting their perfection as seen in the numerous statues of gods/goddesses and heroes; the age also produced numerous works that represented the mundane and grotesque, for example, the boy picking a thorn from his foot or the numerous examples of hunchbacks. These art forms now entered Roman society. Many of these sculptural pieces graced private homes, as attested in Pompeii, allowing a family to display their wealth and culture.

The Romans also expanded upon the Greek practice of reliefs on public buildings not only in Rome but throughout Italy. These reliefs commemorated historical and religious events often providing a story for the viewer. The great reliefs that survive include the Ara Pacis or Altar of Peace to Augustus, Arch of Titus, Columns of Trajan and Marcus Aurelius. The Ara Pacis was dedicated on January 30, 9 BCE, commemorating Augustus's safe return from Spain and Gaul in the Campus Martius. The altar was surrounded by a walled precinct with the outer upper walls on the east and west showing mythological scenes and the north and south giving a rendition of the procession on the day of consecration, July 4, 13 BCE. The figures here include portraits of the imperial family including Augustus, Agrippa, Julia (his wife and daughter of Augustus), Tiberius (step-son of Augustus), Drusus (brother of Tiberius), Antonia (wife of Drusus and niece of Augustus), and their son Germanicus. Other reliefs on the altar include priests and senators.

The Arch of Titus was built by the Emperor Domitian (Titus's brother) in 82 CE to commemorate Titus's capture and destruction of Jerusalem in 70 CE. The

arch stands at the entrance to the Roman Forum. The south panel has the spoils of Jerusalem including the golden Menorah, Silver Trumpets, and Table of Shew bread; the northern panel had Titus in a four-horse chariot as the triumphant general. The reliefs are cut deep into the pentelic marble and were gilded in gold against a blue background (no longer extant). The columns of Trajan and Marcus Aurelius depict Roman victories over the enemy told as if in a moving diorama. Trajan's Column commemorated his victories in the Dacian Wars and was completed in 113 CE. The column stands about 35 meters and is located in his forum, originally between two libraries. The continuous relief or frieze depicts his two Dacian Wars (101–102 and 105–106 CE) with the personification of the goddess Victory separating the two. The scenes are mainly military, with soldiers, sailors, different types of weapons, and the emperor himself appearing 59 times. The frieze was not generally viewable from outside the forum, but rather from the libraries, which would allow an individual to view it at various levels in greater detail than just standing on the ground. The column became an example of Roman power, the last scene Pax (Peace) showing the former enemy territory now a Roman field for cultivation and cattle grazing.

The Column of Marcus Aurelius depicts a victory over unnamed barbarian tribes, possibly the Marcomanni, Quadi, and Sarmatians in 176 CE. It is not known when it was built, perhaps in his lifetime or after his death in 180 CE, but by 193 CE it had been completed. There are two expeditions with Victory again separating the two wars. The frieze begins with the army crossing the Danube from Carnuntum, with the first “war” perhaps against the Marcomanni and Quadi while the second against the Sarmatians. The column was modeled after the Column of Trajan but was different. The heads were proportionally larger to give better view to the expressions, the figures are not carved as fine as in Trajan's Column, and the scenes are more collective showing the destruction with the emperor on site commanding the action with more vigor and emotion than Trajan's.

The sculpture and friezes showed numerous religious, historical, and personal accomplishments displayed on public buildings and in private homes. These pieces of sculpture allowed the Romans to record important events and people for commemoration and glorification.

See also: Arts: Art Collecting; Portraiture; Pottery

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SENECA

The name Seneca is analogous to the Annaei family from Cordoba Spain, which became one of the most influential families under the Julio-Claudians. The family, known for its father, son, and grandson, were rhetoricians and philosophers who formed a group of talented and brilliant writers who embodied the philosophical ideas of the Julio-Claudians. Their importance lies with their continuity of philosophical thoughts and how provincials became part of the Roman elite. There were three prominent members of the family, Seneca the Elder, his son Seneca the Younger or Philosopher, and Lucan, grandson of Seneca the Elder and nephew of Seneca the Philosopher.

Lucius Annaeus Seneca or Seneca the Elder (51 BCE–40 CE)

Seneca the Elder, or Lucius Annaeus Seneca, was born in Cordoba Spain in 51 BCE and died at about 40 CE. His ancestors came from Italy, and he was educated in Rome as a rhetorician becoming colleagues with the great orators and rhetoricians of the day. He probably avoided any political issues, being an academic, and in his old age wrote a collection of debates between imaginary figures over issues (*Controversiae*) in criminal and civil cases. For example, a soldier robbing a tomb to use its weapons and then fights bravely, is this sacrilege? He also composed speeches or *Suasoriae*, again about ethical issues, such as should the 300 Spartans have run away from the Persians at Thermopylae. Seneca the Elder had a tremendous memory, which he boasted about, and his acumen as a literary historian, when he discussed with orators and rhetoricians, is particularly impressive. He married Helvia and had three sons.

Lucius Annaeus Seneca or Seneca the Younger (4 BCE–65 CE)

Seneca the Younger or Philosopher, second son of Seneca the Elder, was also born at Cordoba in 4 BCE and brought to Rome as a child and educated in philosophy and rhetoric. Due to his father's connections and influence he embarked on a political career as lawyer, *quaestor*, and senator achieving success as an orator and writer. Unlike his father, who probably died before Seneca the Younger became to be noticed in politics, Seneca the Younger tangled with the emperors Caligula and Claudius, narrowly escaping death from the former but exiled by the latter in 41 CE. Recalled in 49 CE, he became the tutor of Nero and upon Nero's accession became one of his chief advisors who ruled the state well. He retired from politics in 62 CE because of loss of influence and court intrigues. In 65 CE, he was implicated in a plot to assassinate Nero and was forced to commit suicide. The works of Seneca the Younger include his ethical works called *Dialogues* written between

37 and 43 CE and covered a variety of themes: consolation to his mother during his exile, a plea for return from exile to a freedman of the emperor, a consolation to a friend who lost her three sons. He also wrote other moral essays *on clemency* and *on benefits* as well as 124 letters addressed to his friend Lucilius, but not sent, focusing on his philosophical ideas and personal experiences dealing with moral issues. The letters deal further with ideas such as happiness, goodness, fear of death, among other. Another work, *Natural Questions*, was also dedicated to Lucilius and written during his retirement about nature; it is not an encyclopedia like Pliny's, but rather a set of facts grouped according to the ancient view of the four elements: earth, fire, air, and water. The work was meant to produce a foundation for the stoic philosophy in nature. His *Apocolocyntosis* is a satirical work aimed at denigrating the former Emperor Claudius while elevating his successor Nero. His most popular works during his lifetime were his nine tragedies, which he adapted from Greek works such as *Trojan Women*, *Medea*, *Phaedra*, *Oedipus*, and *Hercules Oetaeus*.

Marcus Annaeus Lucanus or Lucan (39–65 CE)

Lucan, born Marcus Annaeus Lucanus in 39 CE at Cordoba, was the son of M. Annaeus Mela, the third son of Seneca the Elder. He was educated in Rome by Cornutus, and was a colleague of Persius. He studied in Athens but was ordered to Rome by Nero who made him an intimate of his inner circle promoting him to *quaestor* and *augur*. He won a poetry contest in 60 CE at the first Neronia games and he began work on his great epic *On the Civil War*, erroneously called the *Pharsalia*, describing the Civil War between Julius Caesar and



Bust of Seneca, London, England, imperial era. Seneca became the archetype of the Roman philosopher who is forced to live under a tyrant (Nero). While praised by senators and other elites for his opposition to Nero, he nevertheless received benefits from his relationship with the emperor. (Wellcome Library, London)

Pompey. Nero became upset with Lucan's success and forbade him to write any further poetry. He joined the conspiracy against Nero in 65 CE and was forced, along with his father and uncles, to commit suicide. His work *On the Civil War* is an epic poem in 10 books based on the struggle between Julius Caesar and the Populares versus the Senatorial Party headed by Pompey. Lucan's work is important because unlike a traditional epic poem such as Virgil's *Aeneid*, which placed emphasis on the divine and explored the distant legendary past, Lucan's work explored a recent historical event in a factual and descriptive fashion. His heroes are Pompey, Cato, and the other senators fighting for the ideas of Republic. Caesar is the villain, and the cry for war, *bella*, echoing Virgil's cry for arms, *arma*, is now altered to show that the victory was gained illegally. Unlike Virgil and Homer who had their heroes fighting in single combat to show their valor, Lucan has none of this, instead, he presents the struggle like it really was, a mass of slaughter and mayhem. Like the absence of the gods, Lucan does not call upon the Muses, instead, he addresses his work to his fellow Romans and berates them, asking why all of this bloodshed. Lucan also interjects himself into the work, addressing Pompey in a dream. But Lucan does not spare Pompey; he has Cato describe him as a great man but inferior to the previous Romans. The work ends with Caesar in Egypt after the murder of Pompey by the Egyptians, and was probably meant to continue to Caesar's death. The *On the Civil War* is the greatest Latin poem after the *Aeneid*, and he was admired by his peers. It is clear he hated Caesar but had to admit his influence. One wonders how Nero received this work since he was a descendent of Julius Caesar and his power rested on the defeat of the senatorial power by Caesar.

The Annaei family represented the growing influence of the provinces and the ability of families to make political connections. It also represents the precarious nature of these families since here, for example, one individual, Lucan, caused the elimination of his father and uncles due to power and corruption. The Annaei family, and especially the careers of Seneca the Younger and Lucan, illustrate the development of a literary culture based on access to the emperor and the imperial court, as well as the growing influence of Stoic philosophy in court circles and on governmental attempts to alter and improve Roman society. Written while a leading imperial adviser, the tragedies of Seneca influenced both later Roman drama and the works of such future European playwrights as William Shakespeare. His satires revived the Roman satirical tradition, that is, the writing of works that ridiculed and criticized the failings of society and government in hope of effecting amendment. Lucan's *On the Civil War* was much praised by medieval scholars and even led to Lucan's inclusion by Dante in the "Divine Comedy" as one of the four highly respected Lords of the Highest Song. The writings of the family also represent the start and height of a new phase in

Roman literature, a “Silver Latin” style noted for its oratorical flair, pointed epigrams, and Stoic sensibility.

See also: Arts: Roman Classical Literature; Satire

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VIRGIL (PUBLIUS VERGILIUS MARO) (70–19 BCE)

Virgil (or Vergil) was Rome’s greatest poet producing in Latin the great epic poem the *Aeneid*. Virgil became the archetype of future poets well into the Renaissance. Publius Vergilius Maro, Virgil, was born in 70 BCE at Andes near Mantua in northern Italy of Gallic extraction. Ancient sources indicate that his father, although of humble origins, was wealthy and his mother well connected. There may be some truth in both since he seems to have had a good education, studying in Cremona, Milan, and Rome; and since his family’s estate were confiscated for land after Philippi in 42 BCE his family may have had connections with both Brutus/Cassius and Antony/Octavian since he lost land but gained some in the south. He seems to have known the land commissioners (perhaps through his mother) and was given land in the south near Naples.

Virgil wrote three major works, the Eclogues published in 37 BCE, which brought him to the literary circle of Horace, Pollio, Maecenas, and ultimately Octavian (Augustus). In 37 BCE, he and Horace traveled together to southern Italy where he began work on his second major work the *Georgics*, published in 29

BCE. Then he immediately began work on his third and greatest work, the *Aeneid*, which was unfinished at the time of his death in 19 BCE. In his last year he traveled to Greece to visit places he wrote about in his works when he became ill and died on his return to Italy at Brundisium on September 20, 19 BCE. He had told his friends Varius and Tucca to destroy his last work *Aeneid* since he was not finished with it; the Emperor Augustus intervened and had Varius and Tucca edit but not add anything to the work and then published it.

He seems to have been shy and in weak health. His fame rested not only on his technical mastery of the language, but his ability to describe in moving verse the beauty, glory, and morality of Rome. His fame continued to increase during the first century CE with his tomb becoming a cult with supposedly magical powers. The idea of “Virgilian lots,” opening his books and predicting the future by what was written at a randomly picked line, became common place from Hadrian (117 CE) to the Reformation (17th century). His work survived in part due to his ideas being accepted by Christians as allegory. His works show great devotion to nature and human feeling.

The *Eclogues*, 10 unconnected poems, which Virgil probably titled the *Bucolica*, were written in imitation of Theocritus’s works. The odd numbered poems were dialogues, while the even numbered poems were narratives for one speaker. Eclogue 1 concerns shepherds whose lands have been confiscated after war; although not strictly autobiographical it shows the ravages of war and was perhaps somewhat personal. Eclogue 3 has a singing match between two shepherds; Eclogue 5 has two shepherds celebrating the death and deification of Daphnis (perhaps in reference to Julius Caesar). Eclogue 7 describes another singing match in beautiful verse between two herdsmen, while Eclogue 9 once again describes the pain of a shepherd whose land has been confiscated due to war. Eclogue 2 has the shepherd Corydon lamenting that his love for Alexis is not reciprocated. Eclogue 4 describes the birth of a child who will have great influence on the world; this poem was used in the Middle Ages to show Virgil’s prophecy of Christ but was probably in reference to Augustus. Eclogue 6 is not pastoral but rather concerns the creation of the world. Eclogue 8 describes the military campaigns of an unknown general, perhaps Octavian or Pollio. Eclogue 10 describes Gallus pining for his absent mistress Lycoris.

The *Georgics*, four books dealing ostensibly with farming, really are meant to show how the pastoral life is to be preferred to the city world. In Book 1, he addresses the work to Maecenas, his patron, and describes the caring for the soil and crops while dealing with the weather. Book 2 describes the growing of trees and vines, while book 3 deals with animals and the possible dangers that can occur. Book 4 ends the work with a description of beekeeping and their mythology, a common theme and fascination.

The *Aeneid* was Virgil's greatest work organized in 12 books. Book 1 starts with the reason for the work, to describe Aeneas's voyage and suffering before he establishes Rome. The origin of Aeneas's suffering is Juno for a variety of reasons: revenge against her husband, the future destruction of her favorite city Carthage by Rome, and her slight by Paris who judged Aphrodite, Aeneas's mother, the most beautiful thus condemning Troy. Aeneas and his followers have been blown to Africa and he meets Dido, queen of Carthage who welcomes him. Book 2 has Aeneas telling the last days of Troy to Dido. He relates the story of the Trojan Horse, the great slaughter in Troy, his rescue of his father Anchises and son Ascanius only to lose his wife Creusa who comes to him as a ghost telling him it is his destiny to flee and establish a great city. The remaining 10 books describe the sailing from Troy; the prophecy of Apollo that directs Aeneas to sail to Italy; the story of Aeneas and Dido; the eventual arrival of Aeneas and his people in Latium; and the conflict with the Latin people that leads to an eventual blending of Trojan and Latin to become Romans.

Virgil's works set the standard for Latin literature and he became the archetype writer for the next two millennia. His works were a favorite for all classes since they dealt with everyday experiences that everyone could relate to. Virgil's *Eclogues* and *Georgics* reflect the idealization of Italian country life that arose in Rome at the end of the Republic, when a sophisticated, urban society, torn by civil war, sought peace and strength in the supposed simplicities of an earlier, more rustic society. The trend suited the Augustan age with its emphasis on Roman tradition and morality. The *Aeneid* is also a product of a war-torn society, of an era when security and peace seemed greater blessings than liberty. The poem allowed the Romans to link themselves with the great cultures of the ancient past and helped them recover from recent societal traumas by extolling their triumph in overcoming great suffering and disorder to achieve ultimate peace and stability.

See also: Arts: Roman Classical Literature; *Family and Gender:* Patronage

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ECONOMICS AND WORK



INTRODUCTION

Roman economics was complex and had many similarities with modern economic structures. Their economy continued to be based heavily on agriculture, although using money and relying on a variety of taxes, but unlike the Medieval Period that was localized, the Roman economy was truly global. The Romans had an economic policy that took into account different social structures. This policy was developed by the elected officials, senators, and merchants, all of whom had their own interests. Roman society and law differentiated the groups who could engage in trade creating within the wealthy two major classes: the senators who invested in land and the *equites* who could engage in commerce.

Professionals or those who had specialized training often joined together into guilds or *Collegium* made up of free individuals of different classes and acted as places of interaction by members with mutual interests. These *Collegium* acted as social and political clubs during the late Republic and more importantly, as burial clubs during the Republic and Empire. These clubs were composed of a cross section of society and could be freeborn or freed slaves who went through a formal legal system called manumission.

An important public policy that combined jobs, capital, and utilitarian good was the public works funded by either the state or wealthy individuals. These activities required money and often banking systems were used. To ensure that the works could be accomplished it was crucial to have laborers. These laborers who built and worked in this economic system could be freeborn, ex-slaves or freedmen, or individuals in a state of slavery. In most of these endeavors free and slave worked side by side. While modern view has the idea that slavery predominated the workforce, it is clear that day laborers probably accounted for most of

the workers. There were strong economic reasons for this since the owner had to feed, clothe, and take care of the slave all year, while caring for a day laborer only occurred during the time they were on the job.

These laborers could be professionals, either free or slaves, and were often engaged in industry and agriculture. Those working in industry often needed specialized training. They could receive this training either as an apprentice or by being a slave who then earned his freedom. Some of the specialized fields included builders, fullers, or dry cleaners, those in leather making, milling, mining, ship building, or as weavers. These professions provided services and good for society.

The making of the products could be at home or in factories. Most of the work was done either in or near cities. Once the products were made they could be shipped by merchants who engaged in trade selling them to the state or to shopkeepers. This transaction allowed for goods to spread throughout the Roman world where they were then sold in the markets.

The largest part of the Roman economy was agriculture which employed 80 percent of more of the population. It was the most important part of the economy since it provided the food needed for the society. Agriculture was varied and included farming and ranching. These activities could be on small family farms usually operated by free peasants, or on large estates often run with slave help called *latifundia*.

AGRICULTURE

Agriculture provides the basis for civilization since it allows some members of society to engage in activities other than to work in subsistence. With over 85 percent of the population engaged in agriculture, it was the largest and most important aspect of the ancient economy. Roman agriculture reached its zenith at the end of the Republic and the early Empire when not only different types of farms existed, but differentiation of products grown was well established.

Under the Republic legend had it that farms began as small entities worked by the family in a near subsistence fashion, that is, they were productive for the local region. This farm, probably no more than 10 acres, provided food for the family with some surplus. By the fourth century BCE the Romans had come into contact with the southern Greeks and Carthaginians who introduced them to crop rotation so that the soil could be replenished. With the development of new agricultural ideas, especially after Alexander the Great, where eastern and western ideas intermingled, the Romans were introduced to new plants and inventions. After the Second Punic War (200 BCE), Rome fully embraced Greek and Carthaginian



Roman vineyards and olive fields in the hill country of Chianti region of Tuscany, Italy. Developed in second century BCE, the region flourished economically in late Republic and early Empire with the planting of grapes. The major food groups grown were wheat, barley, grapes, and olives, making up nearly 70 percent of the supplies needed. Agriculture accounted for nearly 90 percent of the workforce. (Annavee/Dreamstime.com)

commercial agriculture, including division of labor, specialization in crops, and increased use of slave labor.

Small farms continued to exist and in fact probably represented the majority of the farmers but not necessarily the number of acres tilled. These farms were between 20 and 100 *iugera* (one *iugerum* equals 0.65 acres) and could be tilled by the family. Medium farms, 100–500 *iugera*, required more capital and laborers, and were worked not only by the family but also by slaves and day laborers or resident tenet farmers. The most productive farms were large estates over 500 *iugera*. These larger farms used day workers, tenets, and slaves and involved capital with the owners keeping and tracking profits and liabilities. These larger farms not only used crop rotation but also continually employed specialization of crops usually with an eye for profits. The types of farms then that existed were the small farms managed by the family; the medium farms managed by the family with secondary help and often with part rented out for a third of the harvest; and the large estates managed by day laborers, tenets, and slaves and were often specialized. This later group also often formed into even large estates occasionally spread out around a location, called *latifundia*, which also employed slave gangs. These larger estates

cultivated more lucrative crops than just wheat. The estates had sophisticated division of labor with foremen, shepherds, vine dressers, olive tree caretakers, ranchers, swineherds, oxen drivers, and laborers.

Small farms could not keep their own oxen. They were very expensive and often rented the animals from nearby wealthier farmers. Often owners from several small farms went together and hired out the oxen to share the costs. Small farms were well diversified with grain, legumes, radishes, vegetables, fruits, and herbs, producing not only for their own consumption but also for selling at the local market. In addition, these farms had pigs that provided meat and were used for garbage disposal, goats for milk and cheese, sheep for wool, and chickens for eggs and meat. This wide variety of produce allowed the farms to be self-sufficient. Medium-sized farms had more specialized crops with some land set aside for family farming similar to the small farms. These farms also had herds of sheep, goats, and cows that provided manure and meat for markets. Large estates provided the most diversification and profits especially from vineyards and olive groves that allowed for wine and olive oil production.

The farms' major crops were grain, grapes, and olives. The most important food type was grain, wheat and barley, which provided the basics for bread, the major staple. Yields on ancient grain were about 8–10:1 (seed to grain yield ratio) with some places even higher. At the same time, olive groves increased in popularity due to the need for olive oil. The oil was used as fuel, for cooking, flavoring, and in other consumable goods. These included soap, ointments, preservation, and general purpose applications. Olive groves also allowed grain to be planted in between the trees to make the farm more productive. Vineyards were more productive than grain and olives. The vines were grown on hillsides and a good farm always had several presses. In addition, it was not uncommon for a farm to have potters making amphora for olive oil and wine. During the late Republic many farms were converted from grain producing to cattle ranching since the returns were even greater. Although more pasture land and feed were needed, meat fetched a higher return and allowed for less risk.

There were downsides to this increase in capitalistic farming. Politically, the Roman army during the Republic required its soldiers to be landowners, that is, farmers. With the establishment of large estates many of the owners of small farms sold their land and migrated to the cities causing a decline in number of available soldiers. Socially many of the farms were run by slaves producing the potential of slave rebellions. Many of the farms began to produce more cash crops than grain, which potentially caused a decline in the amount of local grain produced and were available for cities like Rome. Finally, with all the control of farms in a few hands, the power of some increased astronomically. This caused even more political problems, ultimately leading to Civil War and the establishment of the Empire.

Roman agriculture underwent drastic changes during the late Republic and early Empire. By the time of Augustus the large estate had become common and allowed many individuals to escape the political risks of Rome by retreating to the pastoral calmness. This in turn allowed some individuals to concentrate their energies on literature, while others sought to develop their own luxuries. One such luxury seemed to be the fish pond where owners could show their wealth through new and exotic creatures raised for eating, or in the case of one owner, to punish his slaves by throwing them to flesh-eating eels. These were rare though. Nevertheless, agriculture continued to be the basis of work for most of the population and the wealth of Rome.

See also: *Arts*: Agricultural Treatises; *Economics and Work*: Farming; *Lati-fundia*; Markets; Milling/Baking; Ranching; Slavery; *Food and Drink*: Amphorae; Cereal; *Science and Technology*: Agricultural Devices; Tools

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BANKING

Banking provided the Roman state with needed capital and credit to ensure its economic system continued. While most of the inhabitants did not need to use banks and credit during the early Republic, their need only intensified as Rome came into contact with other cities and states. Banks allowed for international commerce and for individuals, especially the merchants, to conduct trade and business throughout Italy and the Mediterranean.

Traditionally, the Roman state did not need money and that its wealth was in iron ingots, the *asses*. The wealth that Rome did collect in its early wars was deposited in temples as banks which became the depository of the state and individuals. The temples were not only made secure with gates and doors, but the sacred context allowed the state to punish robbers more severely since stealing was sacrilegious. When the state began to coin money in the third century, the need for private banks and bankers became more pronounced. Individuals began to rely on these private banks not only as centers of deposits but also to ensure sales were completed. Bankers acted as auctioneers for estates, completed the transactions in wills, and made money available to merchants.



Moneychangers on Roman bas relief from the imperial age. With a multitude of coinage and monetary systems throughout the ancient world, moneychangers or bankers were needed to exchange foreign currencies into local currency for trade and business. Banks were crucial to growth and trade even having branch offices allowing for large sums of money to be transferred overseas by using letters of credit. (-v-/Dreamstime.com)

There were two types of bankers in Rome, private, called *argentarii* and public, the *nummularii*. The *argentarii* lent money out to individuals, usually at a rate of 6–10 percent per year, although outside Rome it was usually higher. In addition, they acted as moneychangers for individuals coming to Rome who needed to exchange foreign currency for Roman coins. These bankers set up their tables in the Forum under the three arched building called the *Iani* and were run by the *equites* or wealthy merchants. Often these bankers would lend money to wealthy Romans, especially senators, who would put their estates up for collateral. One theory is that most Roman senators were land wealthy but cash poor; that is, they often had vast estates worth millions, if not more, but did not have ready cash since their produce had not yet come in. These private bankers also allowed the commercial enterprises to continually function. They made shipping loans charging a high interest rate (up to 30 percent or more) due to the dangers at sea but paying potential high rewards; guaranteed payments for merchants traveling to and from Rome; and lent money for their clients charging interest for the clients and surcharges for themselves. An example of the bankers is related in the New

Testament in which Jesus overturns the moneychangers' tables in the Temple in Jerusalem. Jewish custom required that the coins to be deposited in the Temple and used for transactions in the Temple, such as paying for sacrifices, be made with Jewish Temple coins, not foreign coins. With the influx of visitors from throughout the Mediterranean, the need to change these foreign coins into Temple coins became necessary. Of course the exchange produced a commission that the bankers used for their profits. Private bankers then filled the important niche that allowed Roman commerce to continue to function not only at home but abroad. The *argentarii* were more than just money lenders, they were vital to Rome's economic development.

The bankers also had trust companies, where the banker could make purchases and sales for their clients, attend to legal issues with businesses, and act as large bulk merchants for grain and wine. Due to their availability of capital they could be guarantors for merchants waiting for their business or estate to be settled. In addition, the bankers also established saving accounts for the lower classes. These banks paid some interest, were safe, and allowed for the depositors to take small loans with varying interest rates based upon their credit worthiness. Most of these small accounts were managed by the banker's slaves who were expected to invest their own *peculium* (a slave's personal income) to insure honesty and oversight. While these returns were great and added to the banker's net worth, the bankers were held in low esteem, hence the use of slave managers.

The important bankers and banks also had *permutatio* that was a means for the banks in Rome to send payments abroad without actually transporting money, a dangerous undertaking. The local provincial banks or Roman banks would accept letters of credit from their allied banks thereby allowing funds to be made available for a merchant in either a foreign land or in Rome. These payments acted like checks or bank transfers.

The State bankers, *mensarii* or *nummularii*, provided services like the *argentarii* but were members of the state mint charged with putting the new coins into circulation, taking out older and foreign coins, assaying the new coins to ensure pureness, and checking the genuineness of coins used in transactions. In many ways they were the policing force of the mint and the Roman economy. They acted as public bankers during times of trouble. As officers appointed by the Senate they were often authorized to lend money to individuals who could provide security even if the individual would not qualify for loans from the *argentarii*. In some ways they acted like the modern Federal Reserve Banks or Central Banks.

The bankers were required to keep three types of books that had to be produced if demanded. The first was the cash books that recorded receipts and payments for individuals including date, name, and purpose of the transaction. The second book had each individual client named having a separate page where their

credits and debits with balance were recorded. The final book was a ledger or diary for the business still underway. These books had to be produced in legal disputes and were effective at keeping all transactions clear.

The Republican banking system became the norm throughout the provinces under the Empire. With numerous local currencies in existence into the second century CE moneychangers were needed. The bankers also made loans to clients in the provinces, sometimes with disastrous results. It was alleged that the rebellion in Britain under Nero was caused by the philosopher Seneca calling in his loans from the client kings which resulted in their poverty and subsequent rebellion. The Roman banking system provided the necessary structure and capital for merchants, individuals, and even the state to do business. The system would ultimately allow for large-scale commerce and investments across the entire Roman world.

See also: Economics and Work: Economic Policy; Money; Science and Technology: Minting

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BUILDERS

Builders, workers beyond unskilled laborers, included carpenters, stone masons, brick makers and layers, and architects and had some expert training in their skills. The builders were responsible for the continual growth of the cities.

Carpenters or wood workers, like their modern counterparts, worked either in rough or finished materials. Rough work refers to the general building of frames, walls, roofs, supports, and other such things. These were meant to be dressed or finished in wood, plaster, stone, brick, or some other covering. The finished products included not only the dressed wood coverings but also items such as tables, chairs, cupboards, and beds. For the ancient Romans, carpenters were viewed as practitioners of the arts similar to goldsmiths, dyers, leatherworkers, and so on. These individuals learned trade through education and experience. The skilled carpenter or *faber tignarius*, literally a “beam maker,” was capable to creating

complex structures such as frames for buildings, military machines, or household goods. Many of their accomplishments are recorded on tombstones showing them plying their trade. Other specialties in carpentry included *faber carpentarius* meaning a maker of a two-wheeled cart; *faber instestinarium* who made the fittings in the interior of the house, a finisher rather than a rougher. A *faber citarii* did inlay woods; *faber plaustrarius* made larger carts, while a *faber lectarius* created furniture. The *serrarius* was not a sawyer, a *prista*, but rather the maker of a saw that was used by the carpenter. While the list is even more extensive, it clearly shows that carpenters were not only highly skilled but specialized too. The carpenter was therefore a skilled workman or builder and who was hired based upon his specialty. One of the most famous carpenters was Joseph, the father of Jesus. While he was often called a “poor” carpenter, there is no evidence for his poverty and rather, he should probably be seen as a middle-class tradesman.

Stone masons provided the necessary skills to ensure the construction and finishing of stone structures. The process can be seen in the stages from rock to building. The first task was quarrying stones from their natural site usually using wedges to split a stone from the rock. The second phase was the dressing of the stone, which also occurred mainly at the quarry. Here the stone was cut into its block with plane faces so that it could be fitted into the structure, or partly dressed for ornamental relief. The chisel was struck at a steep angle to flake off large sections or a short angle for smaller flakes. It was crucial here to reduce work and wastage in making the rectangular block, something that required experience, care, and training. Specialized tools existed to help the stone mason dress the stone to the right size and shape; these included drills and lathes that were used to produce ornamental columns. The final aspect was the finishing of the stone during which it was sanded and smoothed. This was a laborious task requiring an individual to file and sand it; often this step might have been shortened if the stone, such as a column, was going to be painted.

Brick making and laying was an important occupation in ancient Rome, especially in the late Republic and early Empire when large-scale construction took place in the capital. Most of the bricks were made by slaves in large brickyards and then transported to the building site where the brick masons proceeded to place the bricks using mortar between them to create their new structure. The Romans were able to create immense structures using bricks, which alleviated the need for stones to be brought in from great distances. The bricks could then be faced with marble or plaster and painted.

The crucial individual in the building process was the architect. This was considered a noble profession and ranked with medicine as one of the arts. The architect was responsible for the general plan of a building that required not only knowledge of mathematics and engineering but also aesthetics. The architect had

to understand what stresses could be put upon walls and columns, the foundation requirements, and the ratio of height to width. The Romans received their initial training from the Greeks and Etruscans but added to the science by inventing the arch and concrete. The arch allowed for the construction of buildings that were open and airy. For example, Nero's Golden House, Domitian's Palace, and the great baths of Titus and Trajan used the arch to create vast open spaces. These were made possible by the use of concrete, which replaced stone blocks and was easier to work with. The architect therefore not only needed to understand the correct building forces but also understand the aesthetics, showing how the new building would look in relation to its surroundings. One example was the Market of Trajan, which was built into the hillside and allowed the markets to move together with the Forum of Trajan below and nearby. The architect was probably Apollodorus of Damascus who had designed the Forum of Trajan.

Apollodorus like most architects probably began his career in the army. He designed the great bridge over the Danube River for Trajan's army advancing into Dacia. He then worked on the great building programs in Rome, the markets, the forum, an odeum, and gymnasium. Apollodorus supposedly was banished and executed by the next Emperor Hadrian for a slight that Apollodorus had supposedly done to him: giving his blunt statement that Hadrian's temple to Venus was not so good, since it should have been built on higher ground with a basement for the machines of the Coliseum and the *cella* was too small for the goddess' statue. In reality, the Temple had all of those things and it is possible that Apollodorus had a hand in its creation as well.

The builders were individuals trained to construct structures from homes to great temples. Their use of materials, wood, stone, concrete and other things allowed the Roman Republic and Empire to continually grow and expand. All individuals not only witnessed their construction but were also actively involved and received their benefit.

See also: Economics and Work: Industry; Markets; Slavery; Housing and Community: Building Techniques; Floors; Masonry Construction; Public Architecture; Public Structures; Wall Covers; Wooden Components; Science and Technology: Engineering; Machinery; Tools; Water Inventions

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NERO'S GOLDEN PALACE

The *Domus Aurea* (Golden Palace) was the opulent residence of the controversial emperor Nero (37–68 CE). Demolished, built over, and forgotten until its rediscovery around 1480, the palace was one of the finest examples of the Roman builder's art. Its ruins now lie below modern Rome. Nevertheless, extensive restorative work has allowed the reopening of the site to the public. The ruins of the Golden Palace are exceptional for the glimpse they provide into the novel architecture and art of Nero's reign. Built as a private pleasure estate in the heart of the crowded city, the extravagance and frivolity of the Golden Palace deepened the rift between Nero and the people of Rome, likely contributing to his downfall.

In the summer of 64 CE, the Great Fire of Rome devastated much of the city, including the imperial palace. Notorious for self-indulgence and cruelty, Nero was unpopular, and the public assumed he had started the fire to open space for a new palace. When the emperor began building on land cleared by the fire, this suspicion grew stronger. The Golden Palace was built in three years (65–68 CE), a feat made possible by efficient concrete and brick construction techniques. The somewhat asymmetrical layout of the design is likely due to this accelerated completion. The Golden Palace was a network of colonnaded, connected buildings that opened onto courtyards and gardens. The grounds covered most of the Caelian, Esquiline, Oppian, and Palatine hills. While most of the rooms were likely used for parties and banquets, a large residential section faced a lake. The palace was extravagantly decorated and designed. The circular banquet hall had a revolving ceiling, and many of the other rooms were decorated with gold, ivory, jewels, marble, mosaic friezes, and frescoes by the renowned painter Fabullus.

COLLEGIUM

Collegium (colleges) or clubs refers to an association in ancient Rome. Modern definitions of workers associations are helpful but are not usually clear. Trade unions are a modern term usually reflecting an association of workers who have banded together to improve their wages and conditions. The trade union attempts to achieve these goals through negotiations with the owners. The guild is an association of similar craftsmen in a trade; they had as their objective to ensure the well-being of the masters and the craftsmen by implementing a control over how the individual progressed from beginner (apprentice) to owner (master) within the guild. The *Collegium* may therefore be seen as a type of trade union for its

members who met and discussed issues, and was like a guild where they attempted to ensure the integrity of their craft. The *Collegia* were therefore associations that were more loose and fluid from a guild or trade union and not requiring any formal permission.

The name *Collegium* came from the official titles of the four priestly colleges, *pontifices*, VII *virī epulōnū*, XV *virī sacris faciundis*, and *augures*. Although the clubs did not have a religious function by nature, they nevertheless had some aspect of religion such as a patron god or goddess. Most of the *Collegia* came into existence after the Second Punic War, and it appears that for the most part freedom of association was allowed. *Collegia* came under scrutiny during the late Republic when many of the clubs were involved in political activities, including riots. The most famous conflict between clubs was the rivalry of Clodius and Milo in which the latter and his gang killed the former. Julius Caesar forbade clubs, except for Jewish religious worship, since the clubs had become too violent. Augustus ordered that *Collegium* had to have either the Senate or imperial permission; and it appears for the most part to have been granted freely in Rome. Nero began a process of limiting *Collegia* in Italian towns and Trajan is known to have prevented *Collegium* from being organized in the provinces. There were nearly 80 such *Collegia* known in Rome alone. The *Collegium* was established primarily for the purpose of providing a suitable burial site. Each *Collegium* would have a *columbarium*, called a dovecote because it looked like a dove house. Around the walls inside were niches where an individual's urn would sit. The *Collegium* would ensure that their members had a last commemorative meal and a niche with a place for flowers and an inscription.

The Senate had decreed that burial clubs could exist provided that the members met only once a month for the payment of dues. Most of these clubs met to celebrate their benefactors and were social events. It appears that after 100 CE clubs were no longer held in great suspicion. Most likely, during the early Empire the emperors were nervous about the memory of the political clubs that had ripped the Republic apart and feared that the same might occur to the ruler. After 100 CE, the Empire was firmly entrenched and there was little need for fear since most *Collegia* had become part of the machinery of the government and society and was tightly controlled not only by the emperor but also by the middle-class merchants who wanted stability.

Many of the *Collegia* that developed in the early Empire were centered on trades and industry. Although in name they may have been burial clubs, in actuality they were meant to foster the interest of the club members. They may have been established for the purpose of furthering their trades' own economic position in society through associations with powerful men in the community. These men

would be able to make important connections with government officials. Unlike the Medieval guilds, these *Collegia* did not view their organization as a gateway into the profession nor a way for training successors. In addition, the *Collegia* seem to have been established for social gatherings, which of course allowed for the members to discuss their mutual concerns and promote the economic growth for their own business. The organizations had wealthy benefactors known as *patroni* who often came from the senatorial class. They had officers such as the president (*magistri*), secretaries who kept the roll members (*curators*), treasurers (*quaestors*), middle officers known as *decuriones* and then the regular members (*plebs*), all similar to hierarchy of town officials and followers. These clubs had banquets in which the *patroni* and officers received larger portions. They should not therefore be seen as clubs to help needy members but rather the successful members of society. The *Collegium* allowed individuals who did not have a chance at public office to have some awards and opportunity for power in their own lives. It gave the *plebs* a chance to enhance their standing within an organization.

Some of the *Collegia* were for the cooks, one of the oldest known, and for the flute players. The grain merchants were one of the most important as were the bakers. Many of the *Collegia* had escaped the rules of Julius Caesar probably since they could prove that their club was not related to political activities but rather promoted their members' trade organization and benefited society. While its members were not the proletariat of modern trade unions, the *Collegium* and its members did promote their own trade. From Pompeii, Ostia, and Herculaneum the evidence indicates that the *Collegia* had a vested interest in politics. Graffiti show that some of the clubs actively endorsed individuals in local elections. It appears that *Collegia* had some political impact but probably as long as they did not flaunt it, they were acceptable.

The *Collegia* should therefore be seen as a multivariable organization. On the one hand it was clearly a burial club for its members. This allowed its members some hope in how their remains would be treated and remembered. It is also clear that the *Collegia* could act in political issues such as campaigning, endorsing, and even lawsuits for the benefit of their members and organization. Since the clubs were closed, that is, available only for those who practiced their trade, it gave them a sense of camaraderie and purpose. The *Collegia* was not just for the employees like most trade unions (but not all) but also included the employers and owners. The guild of medieval Europe was more controlling of its members, whereas the *Collegium* was more inclusive. The laws prohibiting *Collegia* should therefore be seen in relation to how the clubs behaved. If the club was political or potentially political, Rome would be uneasy; if they were for purely economic purpose, Rome would have been more accommodating.

See also: Economics and Work: Merchants; Professions; Family and Gender: Cemeteries; Cremation; Death and Dying; Funeral; Inhumation

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ECONOMIC POLICY

Roman economic policy developed over time due to circumstances and not through any structure or preconceived rules that the Romans had. The Romans were willing to make changes as needed and were not bound by any philosophical theory. The economic policies that developed were intended to make sure the state had resources to outfit the military and ensure protection of the state; at the same time the policy allowed for personal gain.

The earliest Roman economic policy centered on the distinction and rules between the senators and *equites*, both part of the nobles. The senators were forbidden to engage in nonagricultural commercial acts. The nobles were a group that was fluid. Whereas the patricians were hereditary, the *equites* could come from the plebeian class who met the property qualifications. The *equites* also were later to gain access to the senatorial class who then became the elites of the equestrian order.

The Romans believed in the concept of letting the market rule so long as it did not produce hardships for the state. If a crisis occurred, such as grain shortages, the government would step in to prevent hoarding or price gouging, but otherwise the leaders saw no reason to manipulate the market place but rather ensuring that the market was fair. This involvement was to ensure that riots did not break out. An example of market policing without creating policy was the requirement that the proper weights and measures were employed and that they were correct. Roman policy allowed individuals to engage in commerce, even

speculation, leading to a profit; there was, however, a safety check in that every five years the newly elected censors ensured the property qualifications were met for senators and equestrians; if not they would expel individuals from the senatorial or equestrian order, and new individuals could enter. The censors also ensured that an individual's morality was appropriate, again safeguarding the honor and prestige of the state.

Roman economic policy was tightly connected with its foreign goals. Initially, Rome's expansion in the neighboring region brought into the treasury not only cash or movable goods, grain, cattle, slaves but also land that became public land or the state's property. Not all of the land was sold, but some was kept for use by the entire state.

Traditionally, Rome collected taxes based upon property, the most common being the rents collected for using public lands for farming or pasturage. Over time these public lands became to be seen as part of an individual's private land, especially after they and their families had cleared and cultivated the land even if rented for a fraction of their value. The Gracchi reforms attempted a new policy that aimed at redistributing the public land, which the wealthy had been cultivating, into the hands of the urban poor. This economic policy led to the Civil War during the late Republic and ultimately to the end of the Republic.

Another economic policy centered on taxes was their increase. For the Romans increasing tax rates was not usually the pattern of growing tax revenue; instead, the normal process was to create a new tax. This way the taxes could be enhanced without increasing the tax rates. The end result was the same, but the rhetoric allowed a politician to declare that the tax rates did not increase. Often the tax rates and their amounts were extremely low and trivial since over time the value had decreased due to inflation. This does not mean that the state lost out since new types of taxes with higher amounts were created.

Roman economic policy also dealt with foreign leaders. As Rome increased its power into the south of Italy, the conquest again brought in cash and land. These areas also allowed Rome to appropriate land for colonies where Roman citizens were sent into the newly conquered lands to not only create new cities based on Roman forms and structures but in fact also to retain their Roman citizenship. This model was different from the Greek system in which colonist established new cities while giving up their original citizenship. The Roman system allowed not only a political extension but also an economic extension as these colonies now provided rents and taxes back to Rome. After the First Punic War, Rome annexed Sicily and Sardinia who now provided Rome with tribute on an annual basis. The tribute could be either in produce, usually grain, or money. These early provinces usually sent grain. Since the state did not collect taxes directly but rather received

its share up front from the collectors, the opportunities for corruption and abuse were more. Rome's policy allowed for this corruption, and in fact did not discourage it but rather tolerated it so long as the corruption was not severe or endanger the peace and security of Rome.

After the Second Punic War, Rome began to exact more tribute from its conquered foes through either an annual amount for a set time (Carthage) or all at once (Syria), usually in money. In addition, generals were permitted to seize plunder, including slaves, to be sold back in Italy. The conquests after the Second Punic War resulted in a large amount of money and slaves entering the economy; in addition, many of the soldiers, drafted from the agricultural pool often sold their farms and moved into the cities. The buyers, senators who were forbidden to engage in commerce, began to assemble large tracts and move toward establishing estates called *fundi* or *latifundia*. These estates were often run by slaves, cheap to purchase, because of the market glut from these wars. During the second century BCE many parts of Italy began to see a transformation from grain lands to viticulture, olive groves, and ranching, which were more profitable than wheat and barley. Many of the large estates began to incorporate public land for which they still nominally had to pay rent and was subject to state control. Much of the public land was being developed by the senators who now began to feel that the land was theirs. In 133 BCE, Tiberius Gracchus attempted to alleviate several issues by promoting a change in Roman economic policy by which public land would be redistributed to those who had developed it and to the landless. The ensuing violence plunged Rome into Civil War for a century.

Augustus upon reestablishing order and peace began Roman imperial economic policy, which moved toward standardizing taxes, producing a budget, ridding the state of corruption, and promoting agrarian reforms, both in Italy and the provinces. The haphazard system of the Republic led its demise and contributed to the rise of imperial Rome. For the majority of the inhabitants of Rome, the economic policies came down to a steady supply of food and a tax system not too oppressive. As long as the state kept these two balanced, all was well. However, if one or both became out of sync, trouble in the form of riots could break out.

See also: Economics and Work: Banking; Industry; Markets; Money; Taxes; Food and Drink: Trade Routes; Politics and Warfare: Agrarian Reforms; Finances; Science and Technology: Weights and Measures

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FARMING

Farming was the most important aspect of the Roman economy. The expansion of farming during the Republic allowed Italy, especially Rome, to enjoy surpluses that guaranteed the state's continuation. Farming had radically changed during the last three centuries of the Republic, going from small family farms to large estates with small farms scattered about. In Italy the light plow, pulled by an ox, donkey,



Marble funerary slab from Rome, Italy, ca. third century CE. The scene depicts a farmer planting seed in a field, perhaps in an olive grove. Since most families were engaged in agriculture this must have been a common and familiar scene. Farming made up 70 percent or more of the economy and workforce. (Luis2007/Dreamstime.com)

or even a person, had sufficed for the small-medium family farms. The soil was light allowing for the farmer to plant easily. When Rome came into contact with the northern regions, the Po River and north into Gaul, the soil was richer and thicker requiring a heavy plow to dig deeper, usually made of iron and now pulled by a team of oxen. The soil variation therefore produced differences in farming patterns and land development with the north requiring more manpower or animals compared to the south.

The Romans at first grew single crops, usually wheat and barley, which often led to soil depletion. During the fourth century BCE the Romans adopted from the Greeks and Carthaginians the concept of crop rotation. In this system, not only were crops rotated into the fields, such as legumes one year followed by wheat, but the Romans also adopted the two-field system in which only half the land was planted each year with the other half laying fallow. This allowed for the fields to be “rested.” This would not mean that the field did not produce, but rather, the field produced hay or some other grass, which allowed the field to be used for pasture. The cattle then supplied the field with manure, which further replenished the field.

A crucial need for farming is water and the Romans using their engineering skills provided the right amount of water. In the north, the Po River and its numerous feeders provided excellent farming land in the late Republic and did not need extensive projects. Of course, one of the biggest threats to a farmer was too much or too little water from rain. First, it was crucial to determine if there was too much water, if so, the Romans would create a series of drainage ditches to move water away from wetlands so that it was drained and cultivated. If the land needed more water, the Romans developed irrigation systems allowing water to be moved into distant regions using aqueducts.

There was some mechanization in farming during the Roman period. Evidences from art and literature describe a reaping machine pushed by oxen that cut the ears of wheat without cutting the straw. This was a big improvement over hand cutting with the use of scythes or sickles both before and after the Roman period. The Romans also used water mills to turn their grain into flour. Since transport was needed to get crops to market, the Romans developed an extensive network of roads, both public and private, around farms. The public roads were the main routes with private roads from farms joining them. It was advantageous to have ones farm located near a public road. Likewise, water transport could be a plus for a farmer since water transport was always cheaper than land. To transport by land the farmer could use donkey or carts, but each were limited by their carrying capacity. River and sea transport allowed for more volume, but potential dangers could be more devastating, especially by sea, since the whole crop could be lost.

The Romans also began to create large estates that concentrated land and money into the hands of a few. These large estates allowed for wealthy owners to diversify on their own property with grain, pasture, vineyards, olive groves, and vegetables. As owners diversified to prevent reliance on one crop, they were able to use various types of laborers more efficiently. For grain lands farmers often used day laborers or resorted to tenet/sharecropping. These were more profitable for the land owner since the burden of farming was carried out by others and the owner reaped the profits from both a guaranteed rent and a percentage of the crop.

One of the major effects of farming was the clearing of the land for cultivation. This process often led to deforestation with disastrous effects. Wood was needed initially for housing and fuel, the latter probably contributing to its major use. This was especially true for mining for which wood was needed on an ongoing basis. Other effects on the land also had deleterious effects. For example, as Rome increased its population and moved outward from Latium into Campania, more land was needed for food production. This in turn led to more deforestation and overuse that led to soil depletion as noted by several ancient authors. In addition to soil depletion there was overgrazing by the various animals. To allow cattle to graze trees had to be cut down; sheep in turn often overgrazed eating grass down to the roots; pigs ate acorns and beechnuts preventing new trees to reproduce; and goats ate almost anything but woody plants, destroying even more land for grazing. Deforestation led to soil exhaustion and runoff from hill and mountain sides after rainfall leading to silt building up and preventing water from flowing; and rain water was often not absorbed into the soil but rather ran off too quickly causing erosion. This does not mean that all farming led to deforestation and soil depletion. Evidence indicates that the Romans developed hill terracing, which decrease runoff, and in some areas replaced trees with vines. The Romans also developed processes to ensure soil repletion, especially using fertilizer from cattle and poultry.

Roman farming was closely tied to agriculture in general and Roman economic policy. The state of farming in Rome underwent gradual changes but nothing revolutionary. Fields continued to be planted and harvested as they had traditionally. The view that Italy no longer planted grain and instead became a country of just vineyards and olive groves is inaccurate, even if ancient authors decried it; rather, Italy during the late Roman Republic became more diversified with different types of crops grown, which allowed for a richer variety and money-making potential. The majority of Romans were engaged in farming and their life was tied to the soil.

See also: *Economics and Work: Agriculture; Latifundia; Markets; Mining; Food and Drink: Beer; Cereals; Fruits; Poultry; Transport; Vegetables; Wine; Housing*

CICERO ON THE JOYS OF FARMING

Farming was the basis of the Roman economy, but, by the late Republic, the Roman social elite, now long removed from actual fieldwork themselves, began to idealize farming as the best and purest form of Roman life. In the following passage from his essay *De Senectute* (“On Old Age”), written in about 44 BCE, the Roman orator and consul Cicero painted a pleasant picture of the joys of agricultural pursuits.

I come now to the pleasures of agriculture, in which I find incredible delight; they are . . . it seems to me, in the highest degree suited to the life of the wise man . . . And yet what I enjoy is not the fruit alone, but I also enjoy the soil itself, its nature and power . . . Why should I mention the origin, cultivation, and growth of the vine? But, that you may know what affords the recreation and delight of my old age, I will say that vine-culture gives me a joy of which I cannot get too much. . . . Indeed, it is not only the utility of the vine . . . that gives me joy, but I find joy also in its culture and very nature; in the even-spaced rows of stakes, with strips across the top; in the tying up of the branches; in the propagating of the plants; in the pruning of some branches . . . and in the leaving of others to grow at will. . . . For my part, at least, I am inclined to think that no life can be happier than that of the farmer . . . Nothing can be more abounding in usefulness or more attractive in appearance than a well-tilled farm.

(Cicero, 1923, *De Senectute*)

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FULLERS (DRY CLEANING)

Fullers (*fullones*) were the dry cleaners of ancient Rome. Since cleaning clothes required space, time, labor, and materials not usually kept in the homes, most Romans, especially the elites, preferred to send their clothes to the fullers. A dry cleaning establishment was known as the *fullonica* and could be small, only two rooms, or quite large with numerous special rooms. Since most clothes were made of wool and linen, and it is hot in Rome, it was important to have them cleaned to remove the sweat, dirt, and other stains, especially if one was a noble who did not want to be embarrassed due to their attire when mingling with their peers.

The process for cleaning clothes was based on the nature of materials used to clean the garments, especially woolen materials. It appears that the Romans did not use soap, simply made of wood ash and animal fat, which they knew; rather what they used for cleaning garments was a strong alkali that removed dirt from wool and linen, and promoted bleaching. The most common cleaning substance used was urine from humans and animals. Evidence from Ostia, Rome's port, has a *fullonica* at the Bath of Mithra, where piping leading from a public urinal into a nearby vessel in a two-room *fullonica* was collected and used for dry cleaning. Ancient sources write of fullers placed at the corner of streets, vessels which they carried away when full of urine; this may have meant that public urinals were located at street corners. Vespasian instituted a "urine tax" presumably on the fullers who collected urine from the baths and urinals. Other materials used for dry cleaning included fuller's earth (*creta fullonica*), which was used as a detergent for difficult stains.

The set up for a *fullonica* was probably similar to those found at Ostia. The large room where the clothes were brought in to be cleaned had in the center area vats dug into the floor which were connected by pipes. The clothes were placed in these vats that probably contained a mixture of water and urine and given their first cleaning. It is possible that the vats had different concentrations and the pipes allowed for the solution to be altered with the addition of more water or urine. This process allowed the clothes to have their initial soaking or first cleaning. After this initial soaking and cleaning, which probably removed the small stains and freshest dirt, the clothes were wrung out and placed in smaller vats located on the sides of the walls also having a mixture of urine. Here the workers would tramp on the clothes, what Seneca called *saltus fullonicus* and can be seen from pictures preserved on walls, seem to have been done by boys who had their clothes hiked up and bared legs in the vats. These vats were made of the lower half of terracotta dolia and the workers would hold on or lean on to the walls. Added to the urine mixture was the fuller's earth, which helped remove the hard stains. The fuller's earth, or nitrum, acted both as an absorber of grease and

as a scouring agent. In addition, the clothes were also tramped on in a stronger solution of urine, which acted as a bleaching agent. This was the first phase of the dry cleaning process.

After the clothes had been thoroughly washed they were usually hung out to dry, often in front of the shops, which acted as an advertising ploy. After the clothes were dry, the fullers, using a brush made of hedgehog skin or a thistle plant, would brush the cloth to raise the nap. At this point the clothes were hung over an inverted basket-like frame in which burning sulfur in a lantern-like object was placed to whiten the clothes. The clothes were then pressed and then taken back to the basins where clean water was used to remove the detergents and sulfur and they were dried again. The clothes were then beaten to make them more compact before folding them and preparing them for the customer. The fuller was responsible for the garment in their possession, and if it was damaged or given to the wrong customer, the fuller was liable and legal action could be taken. Garments that had been washed were often viewed as inferior from the original condition.

Given the duties of the fullers, especially the workers who were probably slaves, the personal conditions must have been dangerous. Known for their stench, due to the use of sulfur and urine, along with other chemicals, the *fullonica* could not have been healthy. The workers' feet and legs would have been exposed to potential diseases due to their contact with urine and fuller's earth and probably would have led to dermatitis; their continual immersion in liquids would have also prompted cracked skin; both conditions would have been ripe for introduction of viral, bacterial, or fungal infections. The breathing of sulfur would have potentially caused their lungs to become scarred and irritated promoting respiratory issues.

It is not clear whether the fullers were engaged in just cleaning the clothes or they were also engaged in producing the clothes including dyeing them. There seems evidence that all probably took place. Smaller *fullonicas* would have just cleaned the clothes, while some of the larger ones, which have ovens used for dyeing, engaged in both. The *fullonica* must have been open to all possibilities and opportunities depending upon the individual size and their location. Many of the establishments were quite large indicating an extensive business. For example, from the middle Republic the government proscribed how the clothes were to be handled indicating how important the business had become.

The fullers' patron goddess was Minerva and on her feast day celebrations were held. She was the goddess of crafts, and her celebration and feast seemingly were carried out at the shops. The fullers were organized into a *collegium*, which gave them collective power and also allowed them to meet as a group, something the Romans were always nervous about.

The fullers were an important part of the community providing an essential service. Since most Romans did not have the capacity to have their garments cleaned at home, they either went without extensive cleaning or had to send them out to the fullers. The latter was more likely for the elites.

See also: *Economics and Work*: Industry; Laborers; Slavery; Weavers; *Fashion and Appearance*: Clothing; Colors; Fabrics; Public Appearance; *Toga*; *Recreation and Social Customs*: Sumptuary Laws

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INDUSTRY

Industry comprised the production of items that were produced on mass scale. Although many of the businesses engaged in these occupations were small by our standards, they involved workshops, specialized training, and equipment and were labor intensive. During the Roman period there was little, if any, technological innovation and the Romans seemed to view manufacturing as socially undesirable. The particular industries discussed here are those of brick making, pottery production, and glass production, major industries often requiring specialization and whose products were used by all Romans.

Bricks (*later* in Latin) could be either sun dried (*later crudus*), the easiest and oldest, or fired (*later coctus*), baked in a kiln. Although the Romans would use both, they preferred fired bricks since they were stronger and more durable. The use of white or red clay was preferred. The clay was formed into bricks of standard sizes, the most common were the Lydian, which was one by one-and-a-half foot, the tetradoron that was 1 foot squared, and the pentadoron or one-and-one-fourth-foot squared. Unlike modern bricks that are about 3 inches thick, Roman bricks were only about one-and-a-half inches thick. Some bricks are known to be larger, some up to 3 feet in length. Fancy and odd shaped bricks were formed in molds, but the standard shapes were square, rectangular, and triangular. The bricks were usually made in the spring; they were fired in a kiln or *fornax* where the clay was burnt

on a pedestal suspended over the fire; the bricks were then stored and weathered for two years before being used in the *lateraria* or brick field. An average worker could produce 200 bricks a day during the brick-making season, April to September, with a large brick yard producing a million bricks a year. Some bricks were porous, light enough to float, and used in the construction of arches where they had reduced weight but their strength maintained. During the early Empire, the business of brick making in Rome became a profitable business. After the great fire during Nero's reign the need for bricks became even more important. The estates along the Tiber River owned by wealthy individuals provided most of the bricks used in Rome. The origins of bricks can be traced because makers stamped them with their name and sometimes even dated them. For example, Cn. Domitius Afer who was consul in 39 CE established a brickyard and it passed through his descendants and marriage to the Emperor Marcus Aurelius, his great-great-grandson. The Romans also make *tegula* or flat roofing tiles usually of baked clay in which the two sides were made to slope inward so that one end was narrower than the other; when laid on the roof, the smaller end was toward the bottom of the roof and the next tile's bottom end went into the upper part. The sides were lipped to provide even more stability and prevent the rain from penetrating.

Associated with brick making was pottery. Clay was dug and deposits were well known for their quality. The clay was first allowed to weather; then the clay was mixed with water to remove organic material. Some pots were made with molds, but most were made on the pottery wheel. In large establishments many potters could be at work making pots of different sizes. After making the pot it was set aside to dry before it was fired in a kiln. The kiln had a single flue on which the pots were stacked inverted on a circular chamber over the fire that was stoked on the side with the gases rising through the kiln heating the pots and escaping at the top. One type of pottery, *terra sigillata* or Samian ware, was a large commercial enterprise. These were first made in Arezzo and were also called Arretine ware. Production moved to Gaul and later to Britain. This type of pottery, also known as red coated or gloss pottery, became well established and traded throughout the Roman region. The pottery was usually red made from clay fired in an oxygen-rich environment as opposed to black in an oxygen-starved kiln. Amphorae were also mass produced and used for wine and olive oil having a mouth and neck then opening wider in the body before tapering into a knob or spike allowing for easy carrying, pouring, and stacking on their sides. Amphorae were not only often produced on the estates that made the wines and oils, but they were also made at independent workshops, with examples found near large estates in Spain and Africa.

Glass was made from silica, usually found in sand, soda from natural deposits, and lime from limestone. Glass was manufactured by four main ways, none

of which allowed for large vessels. Bottles and vials, known as closed vessels, were made from molten glass placed around clay forms, which were then broken and removed from the vessel after the glass cooled. Another method was to fuse glass rods around a core through heat, while a third was to cut and ground a block of glass that had been shaped so that they could be smoothed, rather than chiseling it from a solid block like marble. Finally, vessels could be cast in molds, especially for open vessels with large mouths. As one can imagine these were time-consuming projects meaning that glass during the Roman Republic was expensive and a luxury item. During the early Empire glass blowing was invented. Since molten glass sticks to hot iron, tubes of iron could be dipped into molten glass and blown into shapes. This invention allowed for glass products during the early Empire to become cheaper since one did not have to make the molds, shape the glass around them, and wait for the glass to cool before breaking up and removing the clay mold. Now an individual glass maker could blow the glass vessel into different shapes and sizes. Since glass is very fragile, it was made locally and glass centers sprang up in all the provinces. Specialized craftsmen were hired for luxury goods such as cutters who would carve intricate scenes in the glass.

Industry in Rome continued to prosper as the Roman economic life grew. Peace and prosperity allowed for the creation of goods that could be transported throughout the Roman provinces. In many provinces specialized industry developed based upon the specific needs of local markets and tastes. All Romans used the products of these industries in their everyday life.

See also: *Economics and Work*: Builders; Laborers; Shipbuilding; Shopkeepers; Slavery; *Housing and Community*: Colonies; Masonry Construction; Public Structures; *Science and Technology*: Machinery; Roman Glass

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LABORERS

Laborers are classified here as free unskilled workers both in an urban and rural setting. For both settings the individuals tended to be the poor who often had to hire themselves out for work whenever and wherever they could get it. It appears that slavery and free or day laborers existed side by side forming the workforce with neither dominating. There were advantages to using both, slaves had no say, while day laborers were contractual but had little or few rights. The Roman middle and upper class tended to look down upon day laborers; however, they viewed their employment necessary to prevent crime and mischief.

The urban laborer was often involved in construction. For example, while they may have some skill with a hammer and might be classified as a carpenter, in reality they were merely following the orders of a skilled carpenter. The laborer usually carried the wood to the site, unloaded it from wagons or barges, hoisted it up into place at the direction of the carpenter, and then helped finish it under the watchful eye of the master. The laborer then was more machine that moved material at the direction of the controller than a free thinker or agent. The Emperor Vespasian recognized the need to keep the day laborer employed so he decreed that no machines were to be used in the building of the Coliseum. These laborers would work side by side with slaves. Their value over slaves was that they were paid only if the job was satisfactory, so they had an incentive to work efficiently and do it right. During the middle Republic the use of slaves increased, while during the late Republic and early Empire the supply of slaves dwindled; this phenomenon allowed day laborers to have resurgence in employment. For the employer there were certain advantages to hiring day laborers instead of relying solely on slaves; the most important was that although he had to be paid, the day laborer did not have to be paid or looked after on days off as slaves did. Also the day laborer was often willing to do short jobs which allowed extra workers to be added only during busy times. Day laborers were also used in stone work; they transported the finished blocks through the city from barges. The employment of day laborers again allowed them to be used only during times of need. If they got hurt it was not the concern of the employer, while a slave, however, if hurt was a burden to the master since he had to take care of him. The going rate for a laborer is hard to determine, but during the late Republic and early Empire, it probably amounted to a half *denarius* a day. This amount was sufficient for an individual to feed his family and have shelter in the expensive city but only if he worked several days a week. The city day laborer lived a precarious existence since he could be replaced at will and had no job security and unemployment benefits. To supplement this situation, family members also worked as domestic help, who were often employed part or full time to help out in the middle-class homes and shops.

Rural workers existed in a different situation. Since agriculture comprised nearly 90 percent of the economy, it was only natural that a large number of day laborers were needed. Although large estates existed, they did not control an entire area. Rural workers also comprised several types, ranging from agricultural to domestic workers. Unlike a slave, however, the day laborer was not obligated to work every day or on every project. This gave the laborer some freedom and bargaining power. If the task was dangerous he could demand more money, while if the weather was nasty he could avoid the duty. When the number of available new slaves began to decline after the second century BCE, day laborers began to supplant the slaves on estates as share croppers and tenet farmers. This again allowed the estate owner to have income but with reduced potential overhead and liability because the number of slaves could be reduced.

The large estates worked by slaves still needed day laborers to help during certain times of the year and for certain projects. During planting extra laborers (*arator*) would be needed to plow and plant. Afterward the day laborer would not be needed until later in the season when harvesting occurred. A *messor* or reaper of grain would usually cut the stalk with a reaping hook about midway down the stalk, except in Umbria, where they cut it at the ground. This job was labor intensive and the owner would contract out for extra help. The day laborers would also transport the grain to the threshing floors. After harvest the day laborer might be needed for special projects such as clearing land, building fences, or repairing roads. Many of the day laborers in the countryside also had their own farms from which they raised a subsistence living and hiring themselves out allowing for extra income. Although they might have to wait to do the work on their own farms, letting themselves out provided an important supplement to their livelihood. Laborers also could work in all around capacities in the smaller towns and estates doing odd jobs such as transporting, building, and maintaining roads and structures.

Another day laborer would have been domestic help. On some estates it was common to have free laborers cook, clean, and tend the household. While large estates probably used slaves, medium farms would have relied on their tenets' families to provide help. This help may have been regular or as part of excess help needed for special occasions. Nonslave laborers were an integral part of the labor force in Rome. They supplemented slaves and often dominated certain work creating a multifaceted system. This system allowed for fluidity and allowed some social mobility in the workforce. Their life was precarious living day to day without any security.

See also: *Economics and Work:* Builders; Industry; Public Works; Slavery; *Family and Gender:* Freedmen; *Food and Drink:* Rural Peasant Diet; Transport;

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LATIFUNDIA

Latifundia were the large agricultural estates in Italy that began in the mid-Republic. These estates were different from the traditional farm and even large Republican estates in that they were created as large agricultural enterprises, especially for the cash crops, where the owner was usually absent.

The creation of the *latifundia* came about through a synergy of political and economic forces. Politically the *latifundia* came about since senators were forbidden to engage in commercial activity beyond land holding, that is, farming. This meant that senators could legally only put their capital in land acquisition and cultivation. While senators often found a way around this rule, employing freed slaves or freedmen to set up dummy corporations, farming was still seen as the most honorable pursuit for senators. Their large land holdings were often spread throughout Italy, allowing senators to have places for retreats and entertainment when needed, while still obtaining capital from the farm. The second political factor was the Roman Republican policy on expansion that allowed generals, usually senators and their family members, to receive money and booty (often slaves) from conquest. Generals were entitled to keep a portion of the booty or plunder during a campaign; when they returned they used this money to purchase land to build up their estates. With money flowing freely after the Second Punic War senators could offer top price even if a farm or piece of land was not worth it so that they could complete their land buying to aggregate their own local estates. At the same time there was also the psychological transformation in the countryside regarding the disposition of farmers, that is, soldiers, due to the political realities. During the Second Punic War, many of the soldier-farmers were under arms for extensive amounts of time, some nearly 15 years. After the war many of these soldiers continued to serve or were recalled to fight in Greece and Asia. After having served for so long they were not necessarily inclined to return to their small farm away from the commercial and political cities they had visited and become

accustomed. Many of their farms had been destroyed by the war, families had been run off, and the inability of the farm to make a profit encouraged the soldier to sell his land to a senator who owned a nearby farm and was offering top price. At the same time soldiers serving with successful generals also received booty so that when they returned home they could sell their farm and together with their military bonus allow them to search for new endeavors in cities or even become a colonist with more land allotted to them in new areas outside of Italy. These political realities soon allowed senators to amass land. The final political aspect, also partly economic, was the increase in the slave market. The wars, especially in Greece and Asia, allowed a large number of slaves to be returned to Italy. The price of a common field slave soon approached the level of a day's wage for a half a year or even less; and with the supply seemingly endless, they could be used and discarded (set free in their old age) and new ones purchased without the need and worry of taking care of them in their old age. This practice was ultimately changed in the Empire through laws not for the humanitarian reasons, but rather, to protect the state so that it did not have to take care of them.

The economic forces were an increase in the slave labor pool allowing landowners to have gangs of slaves, often an efficient practice for the landowner. The owner did not have to worry about a slave's condition too much since they were so cheap. In addition, slaves could work whenever their master needed them. And they were often cheaper to outfit than day laborers. The large number of slaves allowed the owner to expand his farming even more since they could clear the land needed for more cultivation; plant and tend olive trees and grain lands; watch over cattle and sheep. Debate has centered on whether Roman agriculture through the *latifundia* produced a slave economy. The evidence does not seem to suggest this, although ancient writers such as Pliny decried the situation saying the *latifundia* destroyed Italy. The reality is probably in between. The large estates during the second century BCE did result in a change in the agricultural policy of Italy, which pushed the small farmer out of many areas, especially where land was plentiful and good, or close to markets and transport, or near Rome.

Here the senators with their wealth could buy up farms and purchase slaves that they could run ragged. Cato the Elder remarked that slaves should not be allowed to mate since the women would not be able to do their work after they would have children to tend; he also indicated that slaves should be freed when they were old so the owner did not have to take care of them. These policies clearly showed that there was a supply of cheap slaves. This policy in turn allowed even more land to become cultivated and controlled by the owner increasing their holdings. In addition, there was a change in what was grown and raised. Some owners realized that olives and grapes were more profitable than grain. The return from olives was about five times that of grain, while grapes (wine) per acre was

probably about 10 times. While the initial startup for olives and wine was greater, their profits by the fifth year ensured the owner a greater potential reward beyond grain. The startup included presses and storage material and facilities, but for the Roman, it was viewed as a long-term investment.

While agricultural writers indicated that it was best if the owner worked the farm themselves, this was not always feasible. Cato recommended that the bailiff be someone that the owner could trust, such as an ex-slave who had proved his loyalty. He also recommended that the bailiff marry so that he would have a tie to the estate and that the domestic work would be properly supervised by his wife. These large estates became crucial for the economic growth of the Roman economy. Although not the only type of agricultural system, they were nevertheless one of the most important. Large estates were a common practice in the Roman world and individuals always came into contact with them and their owners, often by being a laborer or tenant.

See also: Economics and Work: Farming; Economic Policy; Ranching; Slavery; Food and Drink: Cereals; Wine

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LEATHER MAKING

Leather making was an important trade, art, and occupation in ancient Rome. Leather was used for a wide variety of clothes and goods, most notably shoes, coats, tents, and other protective gear, especially for the military and merchants. Leather comes from a hide that has the outer layer, the epidermis (hair), of about 1/100th inch thickness, the inner layer, the sub-*cutaneous* that was about 15/100th inch thick, and the middle or dermis, the actual leather about 85/100th inch thick. The leather maker eliminates the upper epidermis as that is of no use except for furriers who preserve it and use it for making furs. The dermis is what is processed to make leather. It is divided into the upper very dense layers near the ep-dermis, which is called the grain and the part below not as dense near the subcutaneous part called the split. Because of the noxious odor in production,

most leather preparing sites or tanneries were located on the outskirts of town. Typically the skins arrived stiff and soiled requiring them to be conditioned before being turned into leather; first, the skins were softened by soaking in water. Most of the hides came from sheep or cattle, although other animals were also used.

The process for making leather could be done both locally, that is, on the family farm, or as part of industrial work. The earliest was simply using the skin after the animal was killed. Some of the problems with this method are that the leather could be stiff and brittle at low temperatures, while at hot temperatures they were susceptible to rot. Homer mentions that hides could be treated with animal fat to make them more durable and this was probably done in Italy as well. Drying out the hide counteracted the rotting process. The easiest method was to have the hide cured by drying it out in the sun and/or using salt to destroy the natural bacteria and decay. After the hide was dried, it was scraped or depilated of hair on the outside and scraped on the inside to get rid of flesh or fat. This process, although crude, did allow anyone to make leather at home with little cost. Hides could also be dried by smoking, using green plants so the flames do not burn but rather smolder, again allowing the skins to be cured.

Better leather was produced in a more complicated method, by a process of vegetable tanning using tree bark, especially from oak, and mineral tanning using alum, a substance found naturally in and around volcanoes. Bark tanning was practiced as early as 3,000 BCE in Egypt. Tannins are an astringent molecule that causes the pores to tighten and draws out liquids. Tannins are found in nature in nearly all plants, but for leather making the bark of trees was preferred, especially from oak, which produces a yellow-brown color; birch produces a red-brown color, while hemlock gives a bright red. Chestnut oak is the most desirable type for tanning. The bark was collected in the spring when it was easiest to separate from the tree. Since tannins are water soluble, it was important to keep the bark dry. Great quantities of bark would be needed to produce a lot of leather. It is estimated that one needs twice as much bark in weight as hide for good tanning. Because the preparation of leather requires the use of water, most tanneries were located near a river, stream, or aqueduct. The hides, preferably fresh because dried ones tended to be harder to work with, were then scraped to get the flesh off and then soaked in lye or lime to remove the hair; the hides were then rinsed in water to remove all the lye/lime. The bark is then prepared by crushing it up into almost like grain and then mixed with water. The bark mixture and the hides were either put in cold water to produce light colored leather or in warm water to give it a darker color. Most hides were probably put in cold water to cut down on the cost. The tanneries probably used a serial dilution system in which the first soaking was in a weak solution and subsequent soakings were in stronger tannin solutions.

Often the first solution is a reuse of a later stronger solution that has been used and diluted by the hides, this way one did not have to get rid of the solutions or add more water to fresh bark but rather use the older solutions that had become weaker. The length of soaking would depend on how dark one wished the hide and the type of hide. For cattle, hides could take up to six months for the soaking to be done. This would indicate that tanneries must have had extensive amounts of large wooden vats and space.

After soaking, the hides then underwent currying during which the hides were smoothed, dyed, and processed for luster. This involved washing them again, dying them, and then oiling them to prevent cracking. Finally, they are softened by rolling them when slightly damp. The hides were covered in oil and allowed to hang dry.

One Roman tannery excavated was over 1,200 square yards and contained over 90 vats. The site clearly was a large industrial site and not a small cottage industry as seen in other excavations. In Pompeii, a tannery had 15 tubs with water pipes running into the complex and included a manager's house and drying area. The acids used in the process would have come from fruits, lye, and lime and were often kept in vats to be used as needed.

Roman tanneries were needed to ensure that the supply of leather was constant and ongoing. Tanneries must have been common not only on military sites but in large cities and on farms raising cattle. The tanneries must have been of varying sizes and run from small family establishments to large industrial complexes each filling a niche in the economy. The end product, however, was used by everyone.

See also: Economics and Work: Fullers; Ranching; Shopkeepers

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MANUMISSION

Manumission is the freeing of a slave. In ancient Rome the practice differed than in 18th–19th-century America since the freeing of a slave in Rome gave them rights that would have been unheard of in American society.

Manumission consisted of different aspects of freeing a slave, including the process through which a slave could be freed, who could do it, the rights of the freed slave, and the rights of their descendants. The Romans had three systems of manumitting a slave, *vindicta* (or the rod), Census, and *testamentum*. *Vindicta* was the oldest and probably the original form of manumission. The owner took the slave to a magistrate, and after explaining the reason for setting the slave free, the owner formally declared the slave free and the magistrate conferred this freedom by having the magistrate's lictor tap him with one of his rods, a symbol of his authority. It did not matter where the ceremony took place, just as long it was done by a magistrate with proper authority, the consul, or praetor. The second form of manumission was through the census during which the master took his slave to the censor and enrolled him on the citizen roll; here the master gave his consent for the slave to be free and enrolled as a citizen. Presumably the slave purchased his own freedom or the master gave him enough financial backing to have the money available. In other words, the manumitted slave needed money to qualify to be on the citizenship roll. The third way a slave could be manumitted was by a will or *testamentum*. Freedom could be direct, that is, the master in his will freely set the slave free, or by a testator (*heres*), that is, the master wanted his successor to set the slave free. The master was liable for a tax of 5 percent. If the *heres* refused to set the slave free, the slave could make a legal application and compel the *heres* to set him free. In each of these circumstances, manumission was personal.

Several laws were enacted to limit manumission. The *Lex Aelia Sentia* during the time of Augustus prevented anyone under the age of 20 from manumitting a slave or a slave under the age of 30 from being manumitted unless by *vindicta*. For those with more than two slaves the *Lex Furia* set a limit on the number that a master could set free and only through *testamentum*. If a slave was owned by multiple individuals, all had to approve, or the one who set him free had to pay the just price for the slave to the others.

Manumission created a bond between the master, now the *patronus*, and the slave now the *libertus*. The slave, once freed by a citizen, became a member of his family or gens. The manumitted slave put on a toga and shaved his head putting on the *pileus* or the cap of a freedman. The status of the freed slave depended upon who owned the slave and what conditions, if any, existed. A freed slave owned by a noncitizen was not a Roman citizen but rather took the status of their previous master. Likewise, a slave that had been in chains, branded, or a gladiator when freed could not become a citizen but rather became a foreigner. If, however, the slave had not been subject to the conditions above he could be a citizen or one with Latin rights. To be a citizen, the slave had to be over 30 unless freed by the rod in the presence of a council that was convinced that the slave was worthy of manumission; if over 30 this was not required. Also the slave had to be manumitted by

one of the three legal fashions. If the individual did not fall into the above category, especially age, the manumitted slave was enrolled as a Latin, but they could not make or receive anything under a will or be appointed a guardian.

But why did the Romans desire to manumit their slaves, especially if it entailed the ex-slave receiving the rights of citizenship. The first would have been benevolence, for example, a trusted slave in the household who had served the master faithfully over the years such as a bailiff on the estate. These were individuals well known by the master and were perhaps even their friend or confidant; slaves working in the fields could not expect manumission. Here manumission was usually done through a will or *testamentum*. The Romans also typically would only set them free in their old age, and abuses did occur. For example, a cynical but probably accurate view was that the slave was freed only when they were no longer useful and the master upon giving them their freedom did not have to take care of them. The legislation under Augustus who put limits on the number of slaves who could be freed suggests that this had become a real problem. The master may have had a commercial reason for freeing a slave. The freedman may have been industrious and the master may have wished to set him up in business. This gave the master some advantages; if the enterprise soured the master would not be liable for the freedman's losses, unlike if he was a slave. Another option was that the master would pay the slave a *peculium* that could be used to buy their freedom; if the slave was industrious and willing to help his master, this fund allowed him to purchase his freedom and he would be beholden to his master. It is known that women were often given their freedom after they had produced a certain number of children (replacements) who survived over a certain age.

Unlike other societies, Roman manumission created a new class of citizens, the freedman. What distinguished the Romans from other societies was the fact that the freed slave had full citizenship and that their descendants could hold office. Manumission allowed the Roman state to bring in new blood while at the same time controlling the makeup of the group. This procedure allowed the Romans to bring in who they wanted piecemeal without the prospect of bringing in large numbers, such as a foreign tribe en masse. Nearly everyone in Roman society would have known either a manumitted slave or their master.

See also: Economics and Work: Slavery; Family and Gender: Freedmen; Paterfamilias; Patronage; Social Structure; Fashion and Appearance: Personal Accouterments

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MARKETS

Markets allow for the orderly exchange of goods to occur in society. For some markets became more than an economic endeavor but a social interaction as well. In Roman towns they were called a forum or *macellum*. For the Romans the markets also functioned in time keeping since rural market days tended to be held on periodic cycles so that they did not compete with the other local markets in nearby towns.

The market initially allowed barter to exist. An individual who raised cattle could sell meat for grain, tools, and so forth. This practice developed into a system in which money could be used and individuals would sell their produce in exchange for money. In turn they could buy other commodities without the situation of the seller not wanting a particular produce or excess amounts. Markets therefore allowed transactions to occur without excessive complications. The state became actively involved to ensure that the market was fair and safe, that corruption was controlled, and that the state received some benefits, usually through taxes or fees. To ensure that the market was fair and safe, the Romans had the office of *agrimensores* and *aediles* that checked the weights and measures and made sure that the merchants were using the official standards so individuals who felt they were being cheated could complain. In addition, the Romans ensured the market's safety by having the area patrolled so that pit pockets and thieves were intimidated. The state wanted to prevent corruption to ensure a steady supply of goods was available. This meant that the state would occasionally attempt to provide supplies from outside the region so that prices would not spike due to speculation, hoarding, or shortages. Finally, the Romans enacted several taxes or fees on the sale of goods in the market place so that the state received some benefit for their efforts.

In the city of Rome there were various market places. Although the forum originally was the market place, as time went on the city developed special markets; the *forum boarium* was the cattle market, the *piscarium* the fish market, the *holitorium* the vegetable market. These and other markets were specialized allowing shoppers to be selective. Local streets had bakeries, wine shops, and vegetable stands, but the large markets catered to the wealthy providing rich varieties they



Trajan's Market, Rome, Italy, ca. 100 CE. The Romans not only established markets in open areas, but also constructed specialized buildings to house offices and shops. Here the markets of Trajan were constructed into the side of a hill to help ensure the hill's stability. The offices and stalls were rented out and provided merchants and consumers with convenient space for business. (Davidlorente78/Dreamstime.com)

could afford. In addition to these markets there were other places of business. On the Sacred Way the goldsmiths, jewelers, bankers, and makers and sellers of musical instruments were all located; while at the southeast foot of the Capitoline Hill, the perfumers set up shop. The two great general shopping markets in Rome were on the Vicus Tuscus or Tuscan Street near the Circus Maximus where the masses could get nearly anything, and the Via Lata or Broadway in the north of the city where expensive retail shops were located. These shops, under porticoes to get shade and protection, acted like a modern mall. In addition, local carts or shops existed where hucksters could sell their ware with a license.

Whereas the forum was an open area that sold wares on specific days, the *macellum* was an enclosure or building that served as a market for all kinds of foodstuff. The *macellum* was usually open every day, and often the food, especially poultry and meat, was ready to be served and eaten. Initially, the *macellum* had cooks since many private homes did not have cooks and often a wealthy individual would hire one from the *macellum*. The evidence indicates that the *macellum* were colonnaded with a *tholos*.

In addition to the open area forum and/or the permanent enclosed market, the *macellum*, there existed the multipurpose building, the basilica, which were also used for markets. These buildings were covered structures, which by the Empire had reached tremendous heights and vaults, and were used for law cases, public gatherings, in addition to markets. A companion and later completion of the basilica in Rome was Trajan's market. This structure was built to accompany this forum that included the large basilica, and was cut into the side of the nearby hill serving as a shopping mall with administrative offices. The large room, the *aula*, was two storied and allowed for a large gathering in an enclosed area. The markets together with the forum created a commercial district for the large capital.

In the countryside periodic markets existed for the rural population. While the evidence is scanty, it is apparent that where the population density was small, there arose the need for these periodic market days to allow for commerce. These market days appear to have been twice or three times a month in each location but did not overlap with nearby markets. In other words the local region often had several periodic markets spread out, probably at about 15-mile radius. Many rural markets were held on estates with the owner not only benefiting from buying and selling goods but also from collecting rents from the merchants and tolls for those coming to buy. Merchants would travel between these markets selling their wares. These periodic markets often had a religious connection, as the market was established at a temple or shire where individuals could pray, shop, and then find shelter for the night. In Italy the periodic market, called *nundinae* was held every ninth day (really eight due to Roman method of counting inclusively). There were also the *mercatus* or extended markets for three days that occurred after the great public festivals in July, September, and November. Individuals coming to periodic or extended markets would stay at an inn, sell their wares, and upon finishing settle their bill for food, drink, shelter, and entertainment.

The markets in Italy and Rome varied considerably over time and function. Originally the central market or forum became the center of activity for all things, including commercial and political. Later the need for specific areas or *fora* developed that allowed for specialization. In addition to these large open markets, small enclosed markets developed alongside that functioned as convenience stores, including those selling prepared foodstuff. In the countryside, periodic markets served the same function but on a more intermittent schedule. The markets served not only the society as a center for commerce but also the individuals by updating with the latest news and gossip. Like a modern store or mall, the Roman market functioned not only as an economic center but also as a social-information exchange site.

See also: *Economics and Work*: Banking; Economic Policy; Merchants; Money; Taxes; Trade; *Food and Drink*: Trade Routes; Transport; *Recreation and*

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MERCHANTS

Merchants in Rome transported and sold materials needed for the state and its inhabitants. Unlike the shopkeeper who sold their goods directly to the public, the merchants discussed here were the important shippers and businessmen dealing with either large bulk items for the state or the buying and selling of various materials to resell to the shopkeepers. These middle men were crucial to supplying Rome with important commodities such as grain, wine, oil, clothing, and luxury items and providing the shopkeepers with their goods.

For the Romans the *negotiatores* were the merchants mentioned here, while the *mercatores* were the small shopkeeper. The *negotiatores* would often bankroll the purchase of commodities, ship them by sea, and then resell them in the *fora* to the *mercatores* who ultimately sold them to the customer. A special class of *negotiatores* was the *navicularii* during the imperial age. They seem to have been actual ship owners who bought and sold grain; they also were organized into a *corpora* or corporation allowing the risks to be spread out. The *navicularii* were often from the freedmen class bankrolled by wealthy senators and equestrians. One idea is that the *publicani* of the Republic who were responsible for the tax collection also supplied grain for the military and state and under the Empire they became the *navicularii* or grain merchants. During the Republic the collection and transport of grain seems to have in association with the collection of taxes in kind for the city and armies. Emperors gave immunities from public duties for grain merchants and this was highly sought after.

The grain merchants were the most important group due to the introduction of the grain subsidies to the urban poor. The city of Rome needed about 200,000 tons of grain, mainly wheat, per year. Until Egypt became an imperial domain in 30 BCE, most of the late Republican grain came from Sicily, Africa, and Sardinia.

These regions continued to supply grain during the Republic with Egypt supplementing the requirements. It is probable that what happened in the early Empire was that the state continued to rely primarily on these private grain merchants, the former *publicani*, now called *navicularii*. In other words they were not required to perform service to the state, rather the state contracted with them to supply grain for the city. This did not change since the late Republic. It was only in the late third century CE that the merchants were required to perform compulsory service for the state. The private merchants in the grain trade probably began to see their position erode in the late first century CE since the emperor had a vested interest, his own safety, in ensuring a steady supply of grain and turned more to imperial agents.

The wine trade became another important component of the Roman economy. Wine merchants were responsible for the transport of wine to different areas. Initially, Italian merchants exported wine to the provinces. Italian wine was highly prized, especially from Pompeii. With the rise of Roman control in the provinces, especially in Africa, Spain, Gaul, and Germany, local wine development was encouraged. By the end of the first century CE due to Roman encouragement, the Italian market had competition from the provinces. One of the results was that the price of wine dropped dramatically due to more production and competition with provincial wines that were beginning to make inroads into Italy.

Gaul had a long history of winemaking before the arrival of the Romans and Roman merchants had often made contracts with local tribes to supply wine in the second century BCE. When the Romans took over southern Gaul in the late second century BCE, they established colonies and cities such as Narbonne and Arles that further promoted the growth of the wine trade due to the Rhone and Saone River valleys becoming productive. In Germany, the Mosel and Rhine River valleys began to produce wine in the first century CE. Wine was shipped in amphorae that were often loaded on boats as ballast. The amphorae were shipped to Ostia and then taken by barge up the Tiber to Rome. Wine merchants in Ostia would arrange for the distribution of wine throughout the region.

An important example of the merchants' power is seen in ancient Ostia with the Forum of Corporations. It was the principal center of trade for Ostia, and therefore for Rome during the time of Augustus. It was an open-air market where merchants could sell nearly anything from grain, wine, animals, oil, and even services such as ship building from all parts of the Empire, merchants could gather and do business here and be at the center of the Empire. The forum was enclosed in a walled structure, 100 by 80 meters, with 61 rooms each measuring four by four meters. The rooms opened to the forum and were separated from each other by wooden walls. They were therefore not capable of holding the actual goods but rather samples and trade representatives. The rooms were based upon region or produce, but most were from Africa. The shops had mosaics showing their product or region and may have acted as signs for visitors. The forum was also

home to the guild offices that served the Empire. There were six guild divisions serving the 40 guilds. These divisions were the grain shipping, commerce, transport, trades, civil service, and cults. Since religion was so important there was a temple to Annona Augustus in the center of the forum, which celebrated the abundance of supplies by Augustus (Emperor). The temple was not only used as a religious center, but also as a place to conduct business transactions as all temples in Rome.

The merchants became one of the most crucial links in the Roman economy ensuring the supplies reached the different regions. They undertook enormous risks but their profits could also be significant. Their willingness to participate in these undertakings guaranteed that the Roman state developed and the economy truly became international.

See also: Economics and Work: Banking; Collegium; Industry; Markets; Shopkeepers; Trade; Food and Drink: Trade Routes; Transport; Science and Technology: Weights and Measures

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MILLING/BAKING

Milling/baking allowed the production of flour and the making of bread on a large scale for everyone. These processes were essential for the production of bread consumed by everyone in ancient Rome and other cities. Milling and baking could be done in the house or in large establishments, and often were developed side by side. The state also entered into the business of milling and baking with several cities having their own production and distribution centers for the state. Many common Romans preferred to buy their bread rather than to make it themselves due to convenience.

Flour was made from grains, the most typical being wheat and barley. For the home a hand mill or quern typically made of two flat stones sufficed. The top stone had a small hole on top going completely through it so that the grain could be poured into it and the stone then turned upon the lower stone that ground the grain into mill or flour. The flour would then spill out from the outer edges between the two stones and was then collected. The stones were about one and a half to 2 feet in diameter and turned by a handle on the side. Homer relates that the women in Odysseus's household were required to turn the stones and mill so that enough grain assigned to them could be made before they could quit. The Romans improved upon this type with a more efficient mill.

Large mills found in Pompeii and Ostia show that these larger mills had two parts. The bottom or seat, *meta*, was conical in shape with an iron cap or pivot on top. The upper mill or *catillus* was like an hour glass, which had two hollow cones coming together with their apexes joined and suspended on the bottom seat, *meta*, by the iron pivot. At the apex, there were holes that allowed wooden handles to be inserted to turn the upper cone or mill. The upper cone of the upper mill was inverted and allowed the grain to be poured into and held, serving as a hopper, while the lower cone of the upper mill was touching the upper part of the lower cone or seat. The upper stone was then turned with grain being ground by the lower cone of the upper mill and the bottom seat with the flour then being sifted out and collected from around the bottom or



Mill and bakery, Pompeii, Italy, ca. 70 CE. The Romans, especially in cities, had commercial mills and bakeries, like the ones shown here in Pompeii, to produce flour and bake into bread. The large mills were turned by donkeys, and the ovens were capable of making enough bread for hundreds of families. Being able to mass produce this basic foodstuff helped promote urbanization. (Danilo Ascione/Dreamstime.com)

seat. These mills could be turned by workers, with the larger ones up to 6 feet tall turned by donkeys. The hand mills were called *mola manuarum* and had two types, the *mola trusatilis* meaning to push and the *mola versatilis* meaning to twist as described earlier. The mills turned by donkeys were called *mola asinaria*. The Romans also had water mills where water turned a wheel that turned an axle attached to a cog wheel that turned the top stone of a large mill with the flour being milled and sifted out between the stones.

After the grain has been milled into flour it was ready to be made into bread. For homes the flour was made into bread in the kitchen. For the larger establishments the flour was packed in sacks and transported to the commercial bakers. The flour was mixed with water and made into coarse unleavened bread known as “maza.” Yeast was added to the mixture, kneaded, and formed into loaves and left to rise. For larger homes or commercial establishments, the dough was kneaded in large stone bowls with wooden paddles and then shaped into round loaves and allowed to rise. After being scored and marked so as to cut into wedges, the loaves were baked in ovens. The Roman bakeries mainly made the everyday bread, but they also made specialty breads for wealthier individuals. For example “Picennum bread” was made with dried fruits in clay moulds called *artoptae*; they made sweet bread with honey, pancakes, and even flatbreads with onions and pickled fish called “piada,” an ancient pizza.

Commercial bakeries or *pistrina* were established throughout the city since it was cheaper for a resident to purchase some bread in the morning and have it for use all day. The large bakeries had different rooms for specialized purposes. There was a mill room where some bakeries were able to turn the grain into flour themselves rather than relying on a mill; a kneading room where the flour was mixed with water and yeast added and allowed to rise; an oven room where the ovens were lit in the morning with charcoal or wood and the bread baked; and finally a storeroom where the finished product was then sold. Evidence from Ostia indicates that the commercial bakeries were quite large having a ground floor anywhere from 600 to 1,500 square meters. The first floor had its flooring made of basalt blocks since animals were needed to bring the grain into the delivery room and deposited. The grain then flowed to the mill room in wooden pipes. Most of the large bakeries in Ostia had nine millstones powered by animals; like the millstones the kneading bowls were also made from volcanic stone and many were machines powered by slaves and had fixed and movable blades. In many of the rooms large stone basins for water were located for use in kneading, mixing, and for the animals. The sizes of the bakeries in Pompeii were smaller than those found in Ostia. While the number of millstones per bakery in Pompeii was fewer, only about three to four, it appears that in the late Republic and early Empire the

number of inhabitants served were about 100 per millstone. In Ostia the number of millstones was greater and the size of bakeries larger.

The bakers or *pistor* like the other trades formed *Collegium* allowing them to interact with each other socially and professionally within the legal structure of the state. The bakers were originally the women of the house and it was only in the mid-Republic that professional bakers became common. The bakers became more important as time progressed. An important factor was the rise of government-subsidized grain doles in the late Republic, ultimately resulting in Rome requiring a large amount of grain for distribution. This in turn gave rise to the need for more bakeries as many Romans no longer had the means or inclination to produce their own bread.

See also: Economics and Work: Agriculture; Food and Drink: Cereals; Science and Technology: Machinery; Water Inventions

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MINING

Mining, the extraction of materials from the earth, became one of the most important parts of the Roman economy employing large number of people in a highly dangerous environment. Different materials were extracted, but the most important was metal. Metal was used not only for coinage but also for crafts, tools, and construction. One of the largest users was the military, which required extensive amounts of metal for swords, armor, implements, and other tools. To get this refined metal it was crucial to mine unprocessed ore from the countryside and then smelt it.

Mining tools, usually made of iron, consisted of hammers, usually double sided and weighing about 10 pounds used to pound pointed stakes, or gads, which would break off pieces of the rock containing ore. These pieces were then gathered into baskets and carried to the central receiving area where the ore

was processed. Iron picks were also used to break rock away from the ground; this was usually used on softer ores or rock. Finally, large iron crowbars could be hammered into the ground allowing for large blocks of stone or earth to be broken away.

There were three types of mining employed by the Romans; the first was surface mining. This occurred when ore was visible in imbedded rock or in streambeds. Like the early miners in the California gold rush, this type of mining was produced by streams eroding the surface rocks and exposing the ore allowing for panning. This was particularly useful for small mining operations and for discovering ore veins that could be followed back into the ground or mountains. Pliny remarked that this type of mining allowed the miners to collect the most pure form of gold since the water polished it.

The second type of extraction was strip mining. In this type, a vein was followed back to a hill or mountain and could be extracted by removing the exposed ore directly from the hill. According to Pliny it could be found in the debris of undermined mountains. The ore could be extracted by removing the soil and



Mine entrance, Rosia Montana, Romania, imperial era. The Romans extracted different metals from the countryside, such as this gold mine in Dacia, modern-day Romania. There were different types of mining used including strip and shaft mining. In shaft mining, as seen here, the major limitation for the Romans was ventilation and water seepage in shaft mining. (Salajejan/Dreamstime.com)

removing other matter by sluicing it with water. This is best seen in the modern world with coal mining where entire mountains are literally destroyed from the top down to extract the ore. The Romans also used the system of opencast where small tunnels were bored into the hillside and the ore was extracted.

These two methods were usually seen as quick and easy, although in reality neither description was accurate. The most dangerous and hardest type of mining was the deep shaft mining. The Romans used this method only the most valuable metals, gold and silver, because the cost was so high and the dangers so great. These were dug using the iron tools, first by digging narrow vertical shafts down to the vein and then opening the tunnels into a horizontal gallery, slightly larger, allowing for the workers to excavate the ore. The galleries then followed the veins in every direction. Often multiple shafts on multiple levels were dug allowing for the discovery and excavation of more veins. The shafts were not large, only 3–6 feet square and lined with wood to provide stability and allow for access. The shafts often had ladders allowing workers to descend, extract, and ascend with their ore. The shafts also allowed for ventilation for the galleries. At the same time horizontal tunnels, or adits, were dug not only for ore removal but for drainage.

The horizontal galleries were dug off the vertical shafts following the ore veins. These galleries were quite small, only 3–4 feet high and 3 feet wide. The galleries often branched out as the ore veins moved throughout the hillside/mountain. Often individuals had to dig on their backs, sides, or stomachs to get the ore out. The galleries were usually propped up with wood to prevent cave in. Sometimes they would leave unmined rock as pillars, but this was dangerous since the rock may have been unstable. In addition to iron tools used for digging, the Romans made use of fire and vinegar to break up rocks. Hannibal had done this while crossing the Alps. The rocks were heated with fire and then cold vinegar was poured onto them. The sudden drop in temperature led to cracking. This technique was used in mines as well in order to allow the ore to break off from the sides. Lighting was provided through the use of terracotta lamps.

The deep shafts produced more dangers than just cave in; the most important was ventilation. As the miners dug deeper the temperature rose. With fires set for cracking rocks, the temperature would only increase. It was crucial to have ventilation to keep the mines cool. The deep shafts with a lack of ventilation also caused problems in breathing. Dangerous gases that could harm workers could also collect. Pliny related how silver mines in particular had noxious fumes. To compensate for these problems the Romans would dig counter shafts at set points allowing for air movement.

One problem with mines was water that could fill up and make the mines useless. Water usually came from above and it percolated down and collected. If this

occurred the Romans had several options available. They could abandon the mine especially if they believed they had run out of ore. They could carry the water out by means of labor such as by pails using manpower. Most efficient was the use of machines for manpower, speed, and volume to pump the water up and out. One machine was the Archimedes or Egyptian screw invented by Archimedes when he was in Egypt. The screw consisted of a hollow tube that had a screw or rotor and when turned moved water from below to above. In this fashion, a series of screws could be assembled and the water could be moved from one level to the next, into a basin and then moved up again by another screw and so forth until it was pumped out. Another machine was a water wheel through which the water was moved from below to above by means of buckets on a wheel powered by men treading on them. Both machines allowed many Roman mines to continue even when water would have filled the galleries up.

To achieve this extraction, many slaves and common laborers were needed to work in the mines. Mining was crucial for the extraction of ore needed for coinage, weapons, and constructions. With a ready supply of slaves and day laborers the Romans were able to ensure the supply of metals needed for the state.

See also: Economics and Work: Industry; Science and Technology: Aqueducts; Engineering; Hand Tools; Machinery; Metallurgy; Minting; Tools; Water Inventions

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MONEY

Money in antiquity was quite different from that in the 21st century. While modern money is based on the idea of trust or fiduciary, the ancients could be said to have based their money on distrust, that is, the money had to be convertible into an equivalent amount of metal or holding with an intrinsic value. Modern money is not based on the intrinsic value of the coin but rather is based on the trust people have in their government and financial institutions to back the monetary system. Rome continued the ideas of other ancient societies in minting coins in precious metals, most notable gold, silver, and bronze.

The first monetary units in Rome were made of bronze, basically lumps of bronze (*aes rude*) whose value was based on their weight. The next phase in the fourth century BCE was to cast bars of bronze, while in the third century it was to make them uniform in weight and marked with a sign, often a cow, elephant, or the name Roma (*aes signatum*). The next phase saw the creation of coin-like medallions. In 289 BCE, the *tresviri monetales*, or the three men in charge of coins, were appointed and the heavy bronze medallions (*aes grave*), 4 inches in diameter were cast from molds. They were called an *as* or *aes* (pl. *asses*) and weighed a Roman pound (336 grams or 0.74 English lb). They replaced the bronze bars and could be divided in the *semis* (half-*aes*), *triens* (third), *quadrans* (quarter), *sextans* (sixth), and the *uncial* (ounce or 12th). At about the same time, Rome began to use southern Greek silver coins and in 269 BCE began to mint their own on the Greek standard. The silver and bronze coins were again based upon weight with a correlation of the two metals. In 211 BCE, during the Second Punic War Rome minted the silver *denarius*, which soon became the standard Roman coin superseding the bronze coin. At the same time the bronze *aes* was also transformed in weight and size, probably due to the war with Hannibal, and by 150 BCE it was only one-twelfth its original size and value. The late second century system had the silver *denarius* worth 10 *asses*, with subdivisions of the *denarius* being the *quinarius* or half denarius (5 *asses*), and the



Roman gold coin, reproduction, from first century BCE. The Romans introduced coinage or money during the Republic. Based on gold, silver, and bronze, the Romans valued their coins based on weight and purity. This gold coin, an aureus celebrating Caesar, and others like it was mainly used by the wealthy or high-ranking officials. (Dvmsimages/Dreamstime.com)

sestertii (*sesterces*) often written as HS and worth two-and-a-half *asses*. After further upheavals in the economy, the *denarius* was valued at 16 *asses*, while the bronze *aes* went out of use for about a century until Augustus revived it. Silver coins were constantly struck, but in the civil wars between Antony and Octavian (Augustus), Antony would debase the silver *denarius* so that it was not worth much. The debasement was accomplished by adding bronze to the silver until it was basically a bronze or copper coin with a silver coating or wash. Gold was also originally struck on the Greek model (*staters*) in three denominations and in the late Republic the standard gold *aureus* was issued by Sulla, Pompey, and Caesar.

By the end of the Republic, Augustus had settled the monetary affairs by reforming the coinage in 24 BCE, which would set the standard for the next three centuries. There was the gold *aureus* struck at 40 coins to the Roman pound which Nero changed to 45 to the pound and Caracalla 50 to the pound. The silver *denarius*, at a ratio of 25 *denarii* to the *aureus*, was struck at 84 to the pound which Nero changed to 96 to the pound to keep the same ratio with gold. The brass *sestertius* had a ratio of 4 to the denarius or 100 to the gold *aureus*, while the bronze *as* (*aes*) had a ratio of 16 to the denarius and 400 to the *aureus*. Another major change that Nero introduced in the silver coinage was the addition of about 10 percent copper, a debasement, which later emperors continued until by the end of the third century CE the denarius was only about 5 percent silver and 95 percent copper, a complete reversal from Augustus's system.

Coins were originally minted at Rome under the control of the Senate. The mint was organized and run by the *tresviri monetales*, the three men who oversaw the production of coins struck in the temple of Juno Moneta. The first bronze coins were cast in two molds since it was too heavy to use dies to strike the blanks. Later the blanks were cast in open molds and struck using a pair of dies, the obverse and reverse. The blanks or flans while hot were taken from the furnace molds and placed on the obverse die (pile) that was on an anvil and the upper or reverse die (*trussel*) was struck with a hammer. The dies were engraved in intaglio so when they were struck the image was raised on the coin. While the dies could strike a large number of coins (it is estimated that a die could strike 10,000 blanks), the exact number of production is not known. Given the large number of obverse and reverse types known, it is conceivable that the number of coins struck was exceedingly large. Rome had the only mint during the early Republic, which was then augmented at Capua during and after the second century BCE. The generals during the last century, during the civil wars, had their own mints and carried them with them. These coins were struck for the armies as pay. When Augustus reestablished order, the main mint was at Rome with an

additional mint opening at Lugdunum (Lyon) in Gaul in 10 BCE. Many of the old Greek cities in the east continued to mint their own civic coins well into the third century CE.

Our knowledge about coins comes from several sources. There are few literary references, but there are substantial numbers of examples found at archaeological sites. The individual site finds, especially in towns, allow us to examine day-to-day life of citizens and money, while hoards, deposits hidden for security and never recovered, allow us to examine what an individual deemed valuable. From coins we can see circulation patterns based on the recovery of coins in relation to their condition and if known, their mint of origin. The use of money would continue throughout the Roman period and it was the medium of exchange for commercial transactions.

See also: Arts: Decoration; *Economics and Work:* Banking; Economic Policy; *Fashion and Appearance:* Jewelry, Men; Jewelry, Women; *Recreation and Social Customs:* Gambling; Sumptuary Laws; *Religion and Beliefs:* Temples; *Science and Technology:* Metallurgy; Minting

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PROFESSIONALS

Professionals in Rome were those individuals who required special knowledge or training to carry out their occupation. Although there was not a licensing or certificate organization, individuals survived due to their reputation. These individuals were often trained in the military or were used by the military. Many were Greek slaves or ex-slaves. Most of the professionals, however, were not regarded in high esteem.

The most respectable of the professionals would have been the lawyers, someone held in high esteem. The Roman elite would have respected this individual because they were involved in politics, like themselves, and prized one's oratorical ability since it led to politics. Since the Roman legal systems were personal, that is, the state did not normally bring a suit or a charge against someone, an

individual had to bring actions against another, that is, a noble man was expected to defend his friends and clients, or prosecute his enemies or rivals. This was the primary way for a young man to enter political life since the trials were always held in public and provided an opportunity for people to see and hear them. The young man would have learned as much of the law as possible from his family and friends, and at age 17 he would be presented in the law court, hopefully by someone of stature such as an ex-consul, where he would make his first speech before a jury. The juries were often large, composed of 50–60 men each, who were selected from the upper class rolls of over 4,000. Unlike modern juries who weigh the evidence and attempt to discern which side is telling the truth, Roman lawyers, while still having this in mind, also attempted to persuade the juries by whatever means they could think of. The cases were often more theatrical with the lawyer putting on a show. The lawyer had to know all of the textbook material, especially the laws that the praetors had handed down, and these often had slight and subtle modifications of previous laws, which required extensive knowledge. This knowledge resulted in a group of lawyers who did research on topics and cases but did not present their finding before a court; rather they provided background information for the advocate. These individuals could charge fees, whereas the advocate was not supposed to charge a fee for arguing in the court. By the late Republic there were charges of lawyers bribing juries and bringing lawsuits aimed at defrauding wealthy individuals.

Unlike law, medicine was not looked upon by the Romans as noble. Many of the leading Romans viewed doctors with suspicion. Traditionally, the *Paterfamilias* was the dispenser of medicine in the ancient Roman family and it was usually some bizarre potion such as gladiatorial blood, animal dung, or other vile material. This was combined with such things as binding people with tight wraps or placing hands on the sick, all supposedly to drive out the evil spirits doing harm. With the arrival of doctors as Greek slaves from conquest, medicine began to arrive. These doctors, either as slaves in wealthy households or as freedmen, began to replace the *Paterfamilias* as the dispenser of medicine. The first great doctor was Asclepiades who began teaching in 90 BCE. Although not knowing anything about medicine he abandoned the old prescriptions of the *Paterfamilias* and instead concentrated on diet, exercise, fresh air, baths, and common sense. He seems not to have had new ideas but rather discarded the old ones that were not positive and used only sensible ones. He also seems to have had a great bedside manner of just listening. The Romans did not seem to undertake any original research in diseases, and in fact, did not even address many of the ills that promoted diseases.

A separate part of medicine was surgery; it was often called upon to address an immediate issue. The Roman surgeons were able to treat such conditions as

broken bones, dislocations and even create artificial legs. Surgical instruments have been found at Pompeii showing a high level of understanding. The Romans were able to cut and drain abscesses, but without anesthesia they were not able to control the shock, which occurred in many instances. In addition, bad wounds were subject to gangrene and blood poisoning. More therapeutic treatments were found with massages; often four to six masseurs would work on the body at once. This was often combined with the gymnasia and the baths where physical exercise was important to maintain muscle tone. Like surgery, dentistry was known. An ancient law indicated that those who had gold fastened to teeth could be buried with them and not break the law forbidding gold being buried with a corpse. There were natural remedies for pains and aches such as herbs and salts. Even false teeth were made. The professions of medicine and surgery were often learned in the military camp and were practiced by trial and error. It appears that a death under the physician did not necessarily mean that the physician was charged, only if it could be proved that the physician actively caused the patient's death.

Scribes were another profession needed. Since the Roman state was a nation that relied on contracts, and since the majority of the population was illiterate, it was crucial to have individuals who could write these contracts. Scribes were usually paid by the line, normally in batches of 100, and wrote nearly everything from letters and wills, to contracts and deeds. The writer or scribe often had to make duplicates for the city archives, a public official, and the originator. Some shops also engaged in the copying of manuscripts for publication. While professional writers also existed, like Virgil or Ovid, they were usually few and far between and had the support of wealthy patrons like Maecenas. Many of the writers were professionals in other areas such as Frontinus who was a civil servant, or Velleius Paterculus a soldier.

Other professionals included architects, engineers, and surveyors who helped build the great public works, roads, or houses. These individuals likewise often received their training from the military with their reputation often viewed higher than the doctors and surgeons. The common person may not have had extensive direct contact with these professionals, but they could be called upon when needed, as in modern societies.

See also: Economics and Work: Builders; Industry; Fullers; Merchants; Shopkeepers; Weavers

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PUBLIC WORKS

Public works were projects carried out by builders in Rome, where the final product was for the good of the public. These works included temples, commercial structures, roads, government buildings, and other utilitarian works. Although the projects may have been financed and even built by private individuals, they were authorized by the state since it was important for buildings and roads to be coordinated. This does not mean that all towns were well planned. In fact, in Rome it was the opposite. The city grew haphazardly due to chance and circumstances. Since the city covered a large area it was likely that several distinct regions developed independently in and around the central part of Rome and over time they merged with the city taking shape.

The first task was sanctioning and selecting a location for a building. It was important because there were often religious rites and duties that had to be observed. Often a building was placed in a particular area due to its connection with other structures, such as the Senate meeting house being in the forum near the rostra where politicians spoke. Once a location was selected and sanctioned, the next task was the financing of the structure. During the Republic, many of the buildings were financed from conquests. Often the patron would have made a promise in years past that if some favor had been shown to him by the gods, perhaps a victory or a personal granting of a wish, he would erect a temple or building on a particular site or in an area in gratitude. This promise may have gone unfulfilled for a long period, and perhaps never was fulfilled. If, however, the individual came into possession of a large sum of money, especially from a conquest, then he may make good on his promise. The hoped for wish may have been a victory in a foreign conquest and soon after the conquest gave him the money needed. As a victorious general he was entitled to part of the proceeds and from this he could then erect his building. After obtaining the finances the patron then contracted with an architect and plans were drawn up. One of the important aspects was to



Stone Aqueduct, Segovia, Spain, first century CE. The Romans constructed numerous public works which not only benefited their inhabitants but showed Rome's power and prestige. Works such as this aqueduct gave employment to countless Romans and enhanced Roman cities. (Gvictoria/Dreamstime.com)

ensure that the new structure would be different from the previous works as a way that a Roman noble man might be able to show his new style, wealth, or importance. This may be accomplished through size, decorations, style, or layout. While temples usually had a distinct shape and history, other works were not bound by the same rules.

The actual construction of a building was done by both slave and free men. These projects provided the urban poor constant employment. While the notion of welfare existed, it was not done in the same manner as done in modern states. Rather, welfare was accomplished by the employment of the poor who not only did the work but received pay to purchase the necessary goods. One of the important aspects of employing the poor was to prevent urban riots. During the late Republic, urban riots had broken out over a variety of issues, but one of the more prevalent ones was the supply of grain. Many of the public works constructed by the early emperors was to ensure the supply and storage of grain.

Julius Caesar had made plans to increase the size of Rome's harbor at Portus and Ostia, but it did not happen because of his assassination. These plans were later carried out by the Emperor Claudius. In addition to the harbor expansion, granaries or *horrea* in Rome were constructed. These large warehouses, with elevated floors, provided ventilation and allowed for the storage of grain so that the government could distribute it at a set price year round regardless of the season. Rome would import the grain when it was cheap and store it so that the supply was constant.

Another public work project began after the great fire in 54 CE, which destroyed a large portion of Rome's center. First under Nero who built his Golden Palace and then under Vespasian and his sons Titus and Domitian who built the Temple of Peace, the Coliseum, and baths of Titus; these public works in particular allowed for the employment of large numbers of the population. These public works were a continuation of the works begun in the Republic.

One of the earliest public works was the Basilica Aemilia in the Roman Forum. This building was used for public meetings, law courts, markets, and assemblies. A second basilica built and named for by Julius Caesar added to the forum and allowed for more business. Outside the forum, one of the earliest public works was the Theatre of Pompey, a large structure, giving Rome one of its earliest permanent theaters. Augustus built another one, still standing, and the Theatre of Marcellus.

Some of the public works still survive. Although temples may have been converted into churches and therefore survived, most of the public works were utilitarian and nondescript. For example, the official records hall, the *tabularium*, was built into the Capitoline after the fire of 83 BCE. Another structure that was utilitarian was the Market of Trajan built at around 100 CE. The structure is composed of rooms for offices and merchants and does not celebrate a great triumph, like the nearby Column of Trajan. In Ostia and Pompeii many of the surviving structures such as baths, markets, warehouses, and temples all attest to the public works taking place in the cities. Many of these works were done with sincere civic mindedness, even if they did promote their building by mentioning their munificence.

Public works filled many purposes in the daily life of an individual. They provided employment for many of the urban poor. They were often typically used for the general public. These public works also allowed the builders to promote themselves and ensure that their name was commemorated. Finally, the public works attest to the importance of promoting the city and lives of the individuals.

See also: *Economics and Work:* Building; Industry; Laborers; Taxes; *Fashion and Appearance:* Shopping Districts; *Housing and Community:* Building Techniques; Palaces; Public Architecture; Town Planning; *Science and Technology:* Roads

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RANCHING

Ranching became a particularly lucrative endeavor for many enterprising Romans, especially at the end of the Republic and early Empire when the demand for meat increased. In this discussion the raising of cattle, sheep, goats, and swine will be included because the Romans used and consumed all of them.

Originally Roman farms had few cattle, typically goats, sheep, and a few oxen. Oxen provided the muscle needed for work, meat for food, and hides for tents and clothes. Since most families could only afford one ox or perhaps share an ox with a neighbor, they were not raised in large numbers. Goats were kept because they were easy to raise and provided milk and meat. The milk was used to make cheese, one of the basic foodstuffs, and their meat, especially from young animals or kids, was tender providing enough for the family without wastage or the need to preserve it. Sheep provided wool for clothing, and due to their herding nature, could be looked after by only a few individuals, especially if they had dogs to help. Added to this list were pigs, domesticated from wild boars. They were maintained since like goats they eat nearly anything and could be used for garbage disposal. Pigs were often raised near wooded regions because they ate acorns. One of the major consideration of raising pigs, sheep, and goats was their ready consumption. The Romans originally did not eat much meat and stories related how soldiers often ran out of grain and had to eat meat indicating they did not have much exposure to meat. During the second century BCE, however, meat became more fashionable, especially after contact with Greece and North Africa. Pigs, sheep, and goats were often driven to market where they were butchered after being sold. In Rome the chief cattle market was the Forum Boarium near the Tiber River surrounded by the Capitoline, Palatine, and Aventine Hills, three of Rome's traditional seven, and the earliest inhabited regions. The Forum Boarium was probably one of the earliest markets in Rome and was desirable for cattle trade because the animals would not clog the general market or forum. Two temples stand today, which commemorate merchants: the first was a circular temple to

Hercules Victor with 20 columns commissioned by the second-century BCE merchant Octavius Herrenus and built by Hermodorus of Salamis; the second was the temple to Portunus, protector of seafarers and harbors, and testifies to the region where the river trade unloaded their wares. This forum was therefore a bustling center with animals and other commodities.

During the Republic it was common for large herds of sheep and goats to exist with the local grasses and mountain sides suited for grazing. The herds were moved from the upper pastures after summer into the lower pastures during winter allowing for the shearing of the wool and the culling of the herd, if necessary. Contracts or leases from Egypt attest to the practice of sheep and goats being leased out. The owner typically received part of the wool proceeds, the original herd plus a certain percentage of the newborn as part of their payment. The lessee would receive part of the wool proceeds and the number of newborn above and beyond the amount agreed to be given back to the owner. This system was probably common and allowed the owner to receive profits without investing labor to care for the herd.

The largest aspect of ranching was the cattle industry. With the increase in money and slaves during the second century BCE, Roman senators, forbidden to engage in trade, put their money into large estates, the *latifundia*. These estates not only had grain, vineyards, and olive groves mainly in Campania, but they also had extensive pasture lands in Etruria, Latium, and southern Italy. While some scholars argue that the southern part of Italy did not have large cattle ranches due to modern use of land, the archaeological evidence seems to contradict this. Large cattle ranching became well established during the third century BCE. The strongest evidence for cattle ranching was the reforms of the Gracchi beginning in 133 BCE. Tiberius Gracchus indicated that no one could have more than 500 *iugera* of public land and that they could have no more than 500 sheep and 100 cattle on public land. The meaning seems to be that grazing rights were independent of the grain limitation of 500 *iugera* (about 310 acres). Since cattle require extensive amounts of pasture and grazing, this would give senators access to even more land. The difference between the numbers of sheep to cattle reflects the difference in requirements for pasturage and grazing, cattle require five times the amount of land. For areas with annual precipitation exceeding 40 inches, only 5–10 acres per animal was needed; for 30 inches 10–20 acres were needed; and for 20 inches 20–30 acres. This shows that for cattle, which requires more than sheep, the amount of pasture land for 100 cattle mentioned in the ancient sources would require anywhere from 500 to 3,000 acres or 750 to 5,000 *iugera*, extensively more than the 500 *iugera* for grain mentioned in the reforms. Therefore, the land associated with the cattle industry must have been tremendous.

Cattle ranching was important because it was used for meat, leather, raising of work animals, and provisioning of religious and public festivals. The provision of animals for religious sacrifice had always existed, but during the second century BCE and later when individuals attempted to show their munificence to the public, religious and public festivals became more common and grandiose. These festivals typically resulted in the slaughter of oxen and cattle and were then served to the populace. Wealthy and powerful individuals showed their strength by offering the meals to more and more inhabitants. During the early Empire, public festivals took on even more political meaning since the emperors desired to ingratiate themselves with the urban mob to ensure their political success. To feed these people cattle ranching provided the necessary meat needed.

See also: *Arts:* Agricultural Treatises; *Economics and Work:* Agriculture; Farming; Slavery; *Food and Drink:* Cereals; Meats

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SHIPBUILDING

Shipbuilding in the Roman world was crucial to the economy employing large numbers of common Romans as laborers. As the Romans continued to expand and control the Mediterranean after the Second Punic War, their fleets became more numerous and dominating. By the end of the Republic, the Roman navy, both military and commercial, controlled the sea traffic allowing for commerce and travel to occur peacefully.

The Romans, unlike the Greeks, did not have a natural affinity for naval activities. It was only during the fourth and third centuries BCE that Rome began to expand its naval presence in the Mediterranean. While the Etruscans had secured the region in the early Monarchy and Republic, their defeat by the southern Greeks allowed Sicily and Carthage to control much of the shipping in the western Mediterranean. The First Punic War saw the construction of a strong Roman navy, which ultimately drove Carthage out by attrition.

Roman shipbuilding was similar to other ancient societies. Evidence from wall painting and underwater archaeological sites give a general description of

how the Romans constructed their ships. The merchant ships could be round hulled or flat bottomed, keeled or keel-less. The ships were constructed on land near the water with wood brought in for that purpose. The Romans did not build the skeleton first but rather the shell. That is, the Romans built their merchant ships from the outside in. They put up the stocks and laid the keel, added the stempost and sternpost. They would first put the strakes or longitudinal planks edge on edge and fasten them with mortise and tenon joints. The mortises were cut into opposing plank edges held in by dowels and reinforced with nails, originally copper. Often the hull was double planked for strength and water tightness. At this point the skeleton was built inside the shell. The ribs were now attached to the keel and the planks. Some were half ribs to support the bottom more, while the full ribs allowed the planks to have integrity. The ribs were usually oak, while the planks were cypress, pine, fir, or elm. The ships did not have rudders like later sea-going vessels controlled by a wheel but rather the rudders were steering oars on both sides of the stern. The prow of the hull could be rounded or it might have a concave prow with a cutwater that extended like a ram that completed the keel but was not used for military purposes. The stern often had relief works commemorating the ship's name. There is evidence that ships were also painted probably as part of the waterproofing process. The ship was finally made watertight, although it was not really necessary due to the close fitting planks, by caulking. The exterior seams and interior parts of the hull were smeared with pitch or a mixture of pitch and wax. It was probable that the painting, dyes mixed with melted beeswax, was just part of the waterproofing for some ships. The final part was attaching thin lead plates on the bottom of the hull under the waterline to ensure more water tightness and to prevent wormwood penetration since most ships were not hauled on shore but rather moored at sea unlike military ships, which were generally hauled on shore.

Ships were then outfitted with a mast and square sail. The hold was usually occupied by ballast and bilge, which was often passed through using limber holes; a crew member, usually the lowest rank, kept an eye on it and if the bilge became too much it was removed by hand or by machines. The ballast, often amphorae, but included tile, stone, or other heavy items, were loaded alongside the outer planks. The perishable items such as grain were stored further above to prevent spoilage. The hold also held the potable water. The deck had hatches that could be covered to prevent water from seeping in and additional storage was available on deck. The ship's galley was stern and had ventilation and a smokestack to allow for cooking; it measured about 9 feet by 5 feet with about 8 feet of headroom and had a cooking stove, storage for food and supplies, and a water jar. The deck ran from stem to stern and some of the large ships had one or two other decks and at the stern a deckhouse and on some large ships there was an overhang at the stern

to perhaps use as a latrine. The deckhouse held accommodations for the captain or owner and a few first class passengers.

Civilian ships can be divided into merchant and sailing ships, with merchant ships being smaller, while sailing ships referred to sea-going vessels. The *navis oneraria* were the “ships of burden” and were the large galleys that carried the commercial wares throughout the Mediterranean. The size varied and was usually attested in relation to volume using terms such as *artab* or *modius*. Wine and oil were usually shipped in amphorae, but given that there was no standard size it was usually only an estimate. Finally, the talent was used since it denoted weight and was often used for metals or marble. From the evidence it appears that the smallest sailing ship could carry about 70 tons, while many ships could carry 150 tons and sources indicate that ships of 300-ton capacity were not uncommon. There were also passenger ships that could carry up to 600 people. The dimensions varied; some measured 60–100 feet long by 25–33 feet broad; larger ones 130 by 33 feet are known. These large ships were often used for carrying grain, wine, and stone. Merchant ships were those used for multipurposes including military operations. These ships were usually used for river traffic or for traveling short distances along the coast line and between islands nearby.

The number of ships in service was immense and allowed for the commerce of the ancient Romans to exist. The ships brought not only necessities like grain, wine, and oil to numerous sites; they also transported stone, metals, people, and expensive items. The shipbuilding industry must have been a source of constant employment and activity.

See also: *Economics and Work*: Industry; *Science and Technology*: Ship Rigging; Ships; Warships; Water Inventions

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SHOPKEEPERS

The numerous shopkeepers in Rome provided all types of commodities. The *mercatores* differed from the *negotiatores* or merchants. The *mercatores* were the shopkeepers who normally dealt with the public in day-to-day operations, while

a *negotiatores* was the supplier and wholesaler. Shopkeepers were not poor, although they were not necessarily rich. Different types of shopkeepers existed and served everyday Romans. Bakers had to buy the grain, be able to keep reserves, provide for animals or slaves to mill the grain. Butchers had to be able to buy a steer for butchery, and wine merchants had to be able to buy several casks of wine. A shoe merchant was not just a cobbler but had to produce and sell footwear to all, requiring slaves to help. But there were several different gradations. The plebeian laborer owned nothing, simply earning his daily keep; the poor shopkeeper such as a tavern owner or food emporium had very little cash and probably had to buy his supplies daily; a shopkeeper-merchant was one who could keep barrels of wine, sacks of flour, sides of beef, leather for shoes. He was not a wholesaler but rather sold to the public.

The shops would have signs, often pictures, which would describe what commodities they had to offer. Often the shops were part of an upper-class house where stalls were let out and fronted the streets. The shops provided the house owner with several bonuses, first he could receive some income from the rents, he would also have a buffer from the noise, and finally, he could have some protection since the shop owners often lived in the back rooms of the shop next to the house and could keep an eye on the situation. The shops in the town's poorer sections were often nothing more than a room, while in newer areas they were often built up with several rooms for storage, rear entrances for the deliveries and occasionally multistoried where the owner could live above the shop. Like modern shops it was not uncommon for shop attendants to do most of the work, while the owner was involved only when there was a problem or someone important visited. Many of the shop attendants were slaves, and most were run by the small business owner, often learning their trade from either their family or if they were ex-slaves, their former masters. Often a master would set his ex-slave up in business and expand his original business.

Shops came in different fashions depending upon the wares sold. Small local eateries or *tabernae* would have counters with sunken amphorae built in to hold wine, food stuffs, and other goods. The counters served as ordering tables and the patron would either take the meal on the run or eat at the counter. These shops served as fast food eateries and were very common. Some shops were constructed in a *macellum* or a market. These markets often had preplanned shops dealing with very specific goods. Some of the common *macella* were those dedicated to clothes, fish, meat, vegetables, and other food stuffs, and fashioned goods. Large areas for shopping included the forum, and *horrea* or warehouses.

What were some of the types of shops that might be encountered in a large city like Rome in addition to those mentioned above? There were bakers who provided not only the flour but also bread during the late Republic and early Empire for



Bas relief, Roman moneychangers, imperial era. The Roman shopkeeper ensured that the city was supplied with goods that people wanted or needed. This relief shows Roman moneychangers recording their transactions. (-v-/Dreamstime.com)

inhabitants to purchase and eat at home. The Romans also enjoyed flowers and the florists or flower merchants were able to provide them with roses, honeysuckle, violets, hyacinths, tulips, and marigolds. Like other cultures, flowers were used both in weddings and funerals as well as for household decorations. The *unguentarii* were makers and sellers of ointment, often with women being the primary sellers. At the end of the Republic the use of ointment became very common in Rome and was used not only to preserve the body, as in athletic contests but also to give the body a pleasant odor. Seneca remarked how many Romans would anoint themselves two or three times a day to maintain their pleasant odor. They were not only used after a bath but throughout the day. During the early Republic men wore their hair long and were not clean shaven. In 296 BCE, Ticinius Mena returned from Sicily and introduced the first barber shop. Scipio Africanus in 202 BCE returned home from the Second Punic War with short hair and clean shaven setting the style for the next three centuries. The barber or *tonsors* was a respectful profession. Individuals could set up shop in a small storefront or even outside. The barbers not only cut hair and shaved beards; they also used depilation with beeswax. Barbers also went into dentistry and extracted teeth. Wealthier Romans would have their own barbers in the household.

Blacksmiths were in constant need, not only in the military but in towns and cities to make and fix such things as pots, pans, wheel implements, tools, and the like. The Romans would heat the iron, but did not melt it down, unknown until medieval times, until it glowed and would then hammer it; the more they reformed and hammered the iron, it created a stronger iron due to the release of carbon. The blacksmiths were vital to the functioning of both rural and city life. Coupled with blacksmiths were the other types of smiths, namely, silver and goldsmiths, both were sought out for their artistic creations. One of the innovations the Romans made was the combination of gold and silver with gems. Beforehand the metal itself, especially gold, was used mainly for jewelry, but now the Romans inserted gems such as emeralds, sapphires, and also pearls as well as gold coins.

The Roman shops were a myriad of different possibilities, which allowed specialization and refinements. The shops and their owners were vital members of the economy. Every day, Romans would visit and buy their wares in the countless number of shops.

See also: Economics and Work: Banking; Economic Policy; Merchants; Milling; Slavery; Family and Gender: Freedmen; Fashion and Appearance: Shopping Districts; Housing and Community: Street Trade

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SLAVERY

Slavery was an economic and personal condition in which an individual did not have the freedom to determine his or her own actions. Slavery was not only an issue of economics, but it affected politics, family, education, and other aspects of life.

Slavery had existed since the beginning of Rome’s foundation, and in fact, early stories detail how many of Rome’s early inhabitants were runaway slaves. Rome viewed slavery differently from American and modern slavery; to the Romans, and indeed most other ancient societies, it was a happening. One was captured and made a slave or was born into slavery. The Romans did not put a sense of morality or even pejorative sense; it could happen to anyone. This did not mean that the



Gaulish captives on Triumphal arc at Glanum, Saint-Remy-de-Provence, France, ca. 25 CE. The largest number of slaves came from the conquest of foreign lands during the Republic and early Empire. This scene shows Gaulish captives being led away in chains by the victorious Romans. They would be sold on the slave market, with most working in the fields or industry. (Moreno Soppelsa/Dreamstime.com)

Romans viewed slaves favorably or as equals, but rather, viewed the institution of slavery as something that existed; it was part of life and society. The Romans extended this view by allowing slaves to become free; the process of manumission was a common process, much more so than in the 18th and 19th centuries in America. Manumission allowed slaves to become freedmen and in turn allowed their sons to become natural born citizens and therefore they could enter the political system.

There were different types of slaves, those who worked in agriculture, industry, domesticated environments, and government. Each type required different skills and allowed for different possibilities. Each type also had differentiated scales of “worth” or cost. Rustic or agricultural slaves were held in low esteem, while household or city slaves were often seen as members of the family.

Agricultural slaves were probably the most common and cheapest. These individuals were usually bought in gangs and worked on estates. The trait most owners looked for here was strength. These slaves were often the most dangerous since they could potentially rebel (see below). Since many of these slaves were seized

as prisoners of war and were often sold en masse, they were the cheapest. These individuals were often beaten and deprived, especially during the middle Republic when they were so cheap that they could be discarded and replaced. These slaves were also akin to slaves used in construction, especially in road construction and repair. During the second century BCE, after a great war, slave prices were often cheap when they could be bought for less than a day laborer's yearly wage or about 300 *denarii*, sometimes even cheaper.

Slaves in industrial settings fell into two classes, trained and untrained. The untrained slave tended to be like the agricultural slave, one prized for their strength or agility; those who were trained were sought after because they had knowledge of industry. Such industries were brick making, pottery, glass making, food processing, textile, leather, woodworks, metalwork, and stonework. These slaves often had to have knowledge of the particular industry and could be trained to become master workers, often earning their freedom and becoming masters or managers of their own shop or trade. The cost for slaves knowledgeable in these trades could be extremely high.

Slaves who worked in domesticated environments included cooks, housekeepers, teachers, nannies and nursemaids, and entertainers. In well to do houses one would find slaves who were barbers, valets, doormen, carriers, porters, waiters, and others. Women would have been hairdressers, manicurists, masseuses, and perfumers. Slaves not only carried their master's litter but acted as bodyguards and watchmen. Shopkeepers might have a few slaves who tended the shop or worked as his/her master's beck and call. These slaves might have been better in education and had training in making commodities such as jewelry, books, or silverware. Slaves in these fields were often valued for their loyalty and artistic flair to help their masters and mistresses. Teachers were often sought after for their education. These slaves often cost quite high due to the particular likes and dislikes of the masters. Some slaves were used for entertainment, such as mimes, music, or as prostitutes.

Roman attitudes toward slavery was nearly universal, it existed. While someone like Seneca or Horace could question who was truly free, or that no one could own a person's mind, most in the Roman world viewed slavery as property. The farming books classified three types of properties: tools (plows, shovels, hammers), semi-speaking tools (mules, oxen), and speaking tools (slaves). Slaves could be tortured to get information, and in fact this was preferred since slaves could not be trusted so it was best to torture them to make sure their information was true.

Slaves were sold throughout the Roman territory and period. In Rome, there were slave pens that sold the different types, household, city workers,

industrial-agricultural, and so on. In some pens, the slaves were lined up and indicated by the white chalk on their feet “available for immediate sale.” These slaves were the “run of the mill” having no special qualities. They were examined and the seller either had to guarantee that they were not blemished, that is, do not have diseases such as epilepsy, or prone to running away, in which case they were held liable or the slave wore a hat indicating they had issues and no guarantee existed. The auction would commence and the buyer tried to get the slave at the lowest price. A typical slave might go for 2,000–4,000 *sesterces* or 600–800 *denarii* in the early Empire. In the Republic when slaves were more plentiful, the cost was perhaps 1,000–1,500 *sesterces*. For other slaves such as those who help their master or mistress in bathing, dressing, shaving, and so forth, it was important to have someone well trained and trusted. These slaves cost anywhere from 20,000 to 50,000 *sesterces*, while a good craftsman might go for 6,000–10,000 *sesterces*.

Slaves could be punished with a whipping or in more severe cases by branding on their head with “FVR” meaning thief, or sent to the villa or “mill gang” to work in industry, or to the *ergastulum* that was on a farm, working by day on a chain gang in fetters. The most severe punishment of course was death.

One thing that Romans feared most was slave rebellions. A slave in the household who killed his master was not the only one executed, but all the slaves in the household since they either conspired, knew about it, or did not prevent it. This was effective in keeping slaves living in a state of fear. The bigger fear was the rebellion of slaves that happened in the 120s in Sicily and the great slave rebellion by Spartacus in 73 BCE.

Slavery continued throughout Roman history because it provided a cheap source of workers who could do what was needed to keep the economy and social elites going. On a busy street in Rome the slaves often outnumbered the free.

See also: *Economics and Work*: Economic Policy; Laborers; Manumission; Social Structure; *Family and Gender*: Freedmen; Household; Legal Divisions; *Food and Drink*: Food Servers

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APPRECIATION OF SLAVES

By the late Republic, slaves were common in all aspects of the Roman economy. Slaves worked on farms, in industry, and in domestic service. Romans simply considered slaves and slavery to be an integral part of life and society. The Roman philosopher Lucius Annaeus Seneca (4 BCE–65 CE) believed that domestic servants and slaves, who prepared and served food, always deserved to be treated respectfully. In the following excerpt from his *Ad Lucilium Epistulae Morales* (*Moral Letters to Lucilius*), a series of 124 essays on a wide range of moral issues, Seneca described the mealtime duties of household slaves.

I smile at those who think it degrading for a man to share a meal with his slave. But why should they think it degrading? It is only because a purse-proud etiquette surrounds a householder at his dinner with a mob of standing slaves. The master eats more than he can hold, and with monstrous greed loads his belly until it is stretched and at length ceases to do the work of a belly, so that he is at greater pains to discharge all the food than he was to stuff it down. All this time, the poor slaves may not move their lips, even to speak. . . . When we recline at a banquet, one slave mops up the disgorged food, another crouches beneath the table and gathers up the leftovers of the tipsy guests. Another carves the priceless game birds. . . . Another, who serves the wine, must dress like a woman and wrestle with his advancing years . . . The master cannot bear to dine with slaves like these. He would think it beneath his dignity to associate with his slave at the same table! God forbid!

(Seneca, 1917, Vol. I)

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SOCIAL STRUCTURE

Social structure refers to class differentiation in ancient Rome. This differentiation could be based upon birth, wealth, or ethnicity. Social structure was important to Roman economics, politics, and perceptions. The different social classes were the Senators, *Equites*, Plebeians, Freedmen, and Slaves, with an addition later of the foreign provincials.

The original social classes, patricians and plebs, were based upon birth. Patricians, probably from *Pater*, meaning a member of the Senate, were viewed as leaders of the state. They originally held the magistrates and most of the religious offices. Their *gens* or families steadily declined during the Republic from about 50 families at the beginning to 25 by 300 BCE and by 14 CE only 30 families existed, even with Augustus reviving some. At the end of the Republic, Julius Caesar and Augustus permitted an increase the number of patricians. Examples of patrician families were the Aemilia, Caludia, Cornelia, Fabia, Julia, Servilia, and Valeria. By law patricians were not allowed to marry plebeians at least until 445 BCE.

In contrast to the patricians were the plebeian families. They were originally not as wealthy and powerful as their patrician counterparts resulting in their lower status. The plebeians were not permitted to hold political or religious office. In the monarchy there was probably no distinction among the populace and only when the Republic was well established did the leading families of Rome create the two orders. Since the plebeian was not in a position of power due to birth, they relied on other means to obtain political and economic power. Their chief success lay in their numbers and they achieved power according to legend by using their numbers to withdraw from the political and military life of Rome forcing the patricians to give in to their demands lest the army be impotent.

Although many older families continued to promote their own cause and conservative notion of *Romanitas*, the newer families coming from the plebeian class allowed for new vigor and vitality. As the Republic aged, the distinction between birth and privilege diminished and wealth became more important creating a distinction amongst the aristocracy into two groups, senators and *equestes*. The equestrians or knights were originally from the lower segments of the aristocracy and soon constituted their own order. They were defined not by birth as the patricians but rather by wealth. This allowed for wealthier plebeians to enter the aristocracy. Equestrians passed their status on to their sons, but if the property qualification was not met, they were dropped from the order. During the late Republic, the senators became the equestrian elites, while the wealthy businessmen became non-senatorial *equestes*. But the real power lay in the hands of the wealthy. The political orders, while looking democratic, were not. Elections were held via the *comitia centuriata* in which there were 193 possible votes, 18 were reserved for the patricians and *equestes*, while 80 were reserved for the wealthiest class; combined, these two groups controlled 98 of the 193 votes ensuring that the hold of the state fell to the wealthiest and therefore most powerful group. To be in the senatorial class an individual had to meet certain qualifications; in addition to having their birth and reputation unblemished, they needed to have a property qualification of 1,000,000 *sesterces* or 250,000 *denarii*.

The political orders influenced the commercial and economic status of the equestrian. A law enacted in 216 BCE forbade senators to engage in commerce, requiring them to keep their money tied up in land. This allowed the equestrian order to invest their income and property in commerce. The differentiation therefore came down to those who wished to control the political scene (senators) or those who wished to control the economic scene (equestrian). The property qualifications for the *equites* were not always clear. They had shrunk in power and prestige during the third and second centuries BCE and were only revived during the reforms of Gaius Gracchus in 124–123 BCE who sought to curb the power of the Senate. It was not uncommon for young men of senatorial families who did not or could not enter politics to renounce their senatorial aspiration and become *equites*. The qualification of the *equites* was an unblemished birth, a reputation of an upstanding citizen, and a property worth of 400,000 *sesterces* or 100,000 *denarii*. The designation would remain for life provided their reputation remained intact and property remained above the line.

Beneath the senators and *equites* was the common Roman citizen, the pleb. This group comprised a whole gradient from very poor, the proletariat, to the powerful who became the major voting block for entry into the Senate. This group made up the vast numbers of the urban poor and rural citizenry. Beneath the plebs was the class of freedmen, ex-slaves. They took the first part of his master's name, for example, a slave named Sclavus belonging to Marcus Junius Brutus would be known as Marcus Junius Sclavus and his children would be Junii with no distinction to their origin. Most of the freedmen continued to live their life as before. They made up the bulk of the small shopkeepers, skilled craftsmen, estate overseers, and later officers of the imperial bureaucracy. Freedmen were expected to be loyal to their former masters, and most of them were financed in their commercial activities by them. Some freedmen became quite wealthy due to their abilities and connections. Writers derisively remarked how freedmen were willing to do anything if it made them money. In most families freedmen were seen as members of the family who gave advice and help and who were given concern and aid in return.

The final group was the slave class that also existed in considerable numbers. They had little to no rights and were subject to the whims of their masters. Slaves could hope for freedom, but this was usually only reserved for the select few, typically in the household or shops and not in the fields or industrial settings.

The social structure of Rome showed great variety and opportunities. Individuals were placed in their specific class based upon birth or wealth. What made Rome unique was the ability of an individual to move between the classes with relative ease.

See also: *Economics and Work*: Slavery; Manumission; *Family and Gender*: Domesticity; Freedmen; Household; Legal Divisions; *Paterfamilias*; *Fashion and*

Appearance: Clothing; Greek Dress; *Toga*; *Recreation and Social Customs*: Class Structure and Status; Hunts; Leisure; Pleasures; *Religion and Beliefs*: Roman Priests; State Religion

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TAXES

Taxes are payments to the state to allow for services that generally benefit the whole population. For the Romans, taxes paid the military and allowed for public works, including maintenance. The Romans had a complex system of taxes, including their collection. The Romans did not collect taxes directly; rather they contracted with tax farmers who collected the taxes for the state at a prearranged amount. These tax collectors, *publicani*, were equestrian businessmen who submitted bids to the censors and when selected paid the state the contracted amounts and only afterward collected the taxes from the population. Taxes could be in money or in kind, normally grain.

The original tax assessed on the Roman population was the *tributum*, which was a direct tax paid by the citizens to the Roman state but only during times of hardship. The payment was then refunded to the individuals after the conclusion of the war from the booty captured by the army. These direct taxes were only raised during times of emergencies. Until 167 BCE, all citizens were liable for the assessments, but after the conquest of Macedonia that year the *tributum* was only held liable in the provinces. The taxes paid by the provinces were collected from all individuals, including Roman citizens unless a citizen of *coloniae*, with immunity, or those exempted by a Senate decree. These direct taxes fell into two categories: *tributum soli* and *tributum capitis*.

Tributum soli was the land tax. Since agriculture comprised nearly 90 percent of the economy and workforce, the *tributum soli* should be seen as an income tax. While it was based on property or land, it was assessed on the quality of the land and how much it produced. The tax could be assessed in two fashions. The first was as a *stipendium* where it was converted to cash, or kind, or both and was raised

by provincial districts through their chief towns. The province was divided into these fiscal districts and assessed a part of the total tax based upon their capacity, proportion, and means with the chief cities and their leaders liable for the collection. Typically the amounts assessed were converted to cash. The second fashion by which it could be assessed was as a tithe or the *decumae* that was one-tenth of the grain produce or one-fifth of the fruit harvest. The *publicani* made contracts for the collection of the produce called *pactiones* with the farmers; since the amount of money needed by the *publicani* was considerable, this led to the companies being few and very powerful. Many of the provinces that paid the *decumae* ultimately had their produce changed to *tributum* at the end of the Republic and beginning of the Empire.

Tributum capitis was the poll tax paid by the provincial inhabitants. It first appeared in Africa after the Third Punic War in 146 BCE along with the land tax. It was also imposed on the Greek provinces probably at the same time and evidence indicates that it was introduced throughout the province. The rates are not well attested, for Cilicia and Syria it was 1 percent of their census valuation and appears to have been assessed on the rural population. Egypt also had a poll tax paid by natives but not Greeks. In some provinces it was paid by just males (Egypt) and in others both sexes but different ages (Syria, 14 for men, 12 for girls) usually up to age 65. It appears that the *tributum capitis* was levied as part of the general taxes with local communities given a set amount to collect and the local inhabitants determining how much each person had to pay. This was further differentiated into whether each sex was assessed. It is also likely that it was assessed as part of the tax on agriculture since inhabitants of cities either did not pay the tax (Greece, Syria) or paid at a reduced rate (Egypt).

The problem with the tax system was in its administration. The Roman state did not have any liability or concern about its collection, rather, the duty fell to the private corporations, the *publicani*. They would make their bid to the state, and once it was accepted pay the state before they collected the taxes. Upon arrival in the provinces the *publicani* had to pay (bribe) the governor before proceeding to collect the tax. If the *publicani* had overbid the taxes and could not collect them from the provincials, they would have to make up the difference. This had happened to the *publicani* in Asia during the 70s BCE producing hardship for all. The *publicani* were stressed, they in turn harassed and collected more than appropriate from the provincials who could not meet the demands and this in turn produced piracy or at least sympathy for discord stressing the Roman state. Sicily was subjected to the rapacious behavior of its governor Verres who demanded higher bribes further distressing the locals to the point that they petitioned Cicero to prosecute Verres for maladministration. Verres fled before the trial was completed effectively admitting his deeds. Both types of taxes were completely reformed by the Emperor Augustus

who moved away from the *publicani* toward state collectors. This diminished the power of these private corporations and avoided many of the abuses.

For the taxes to be collected it was first crucial to determine the type, quality, and productivity of the land. When a region was conquered Rome conducted a census. The census was not only a determination of the number of inhabitants, needed for the *tributum capitis* but also included the type of agriculture needed for the *tributum soli*. Sicily had a local census as attested by Cicero in the Verres matter; Cyrene had a census before Augustus took ownership; Gaul had a series of censuses in 27 BCE, 12 BCE, and 14 CE, while Judea had a census upon its annexation. Presumably, once the census was completed the first time it was updated periodically by the provincial governors. It is also apparent that the census period varied from province to province.

Taxes provided the state with needed revenue and the Romans developed a series of taxes. There were additional taxes on manumission of slaves, port duties, and sale of luxury items. The Romans were not in favor of raising the rates of preexisting taxes, rather, they would create new taxes keeping the older ones at the same rate. This all added to the complexity that most Romans felt were an attempt to gouge them.

See also: Arts: *Romanitas*; Economics and Work: Banking; Economic Policy; Markets; Money; Politics and Warfare: Finances; Imperialism; Science and Technology: Metallurgy; Minting

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TRADE

Trade during the Roman period increased from practically nothing during the early Republic to a thriving business and part of the general economic structure by the end of the Republic. While the aristocracy in the form of the senators publicly disdained trade and viewed it as beneath their dignity, many wealthy individuals engaged in trade and viewed it as a means to success.

Those who engaged in trade were known as *negotiatores* dealing with large-scale commerce, lending money with interest, buying and selling bulk items

like grain, while the *mercatores* ran the small shops and stalls. The *negotiators* were usually equestrians, while the *mercatores* were often freedmen and plebeian. What made trade possible was peace, and as Rome expanded bringing more territories into the Roman state, more areas were at peace.

In the early Republic there was some limited trade but for the most part the Romans did not promote trade and commerce on a large scale until after the conquest of southern Italy. At this point Rome came into contact and conflict with Carthage for control of the Sicilian grain supply. With Rome's victory and subsequent seizure of Sardinia and Corsica, the grain supply was increased allowing Rome to import more grain into the city and surrounding regions. After the Second Punic War and the conquest of the Greek east there was even more commercial activity allowing trade, particularly the slave trade. At this point Rome established a free trading port on the island of Delos, to punish the island/city of Rhodes, which had controlled the eastern Mediterranean seaborne trade for nearly two centuries. This action further enhanced Rome's position in the mercantile structure of the east. After the Third Punic War and destruction of both Carthage and Corinth in Greece in 146 BCE, followed by the near pacification of Spain in 133 BCE, Rome controlled most of the Mediterranean Sea and its commerce. Ptolemaic Egypt continued to supply the region with grain and other commodities, but politically Rome was in control.

One developed situation that Rome had caused was the ruin of Rhodes and the eventual increase in piracy. When Rome established the free port at Delos most of the merchants shifted away from Rhodes, which had charged a modest port duty on commercial transactions. From these transactions Rhodes used the money to outfit their fleet to patrol the eastern Mediterranean to combat pirates and ensure security. These pirates operated out of western Asia Minor, in particular the region of Cilicia, which had numerous inlets and strongholds allowing pirates safe havens. When Rome financially ruined Rhodes these pirates began to gain strength; and when Rome later abandoned Delos, the pirates were able to raid the coastal regions and islands without any opposition. A peculiar sidebar on the Roman political institution further led to the growth of these pirates; governors of provinces were forbidden to enter another governor's province. This legal issue allowed pirates to remain unmolested provided they did not raid the territory in which they resided since their governor, especially if bribed, did not see a reason to attack them. The pirates ultimately became too much of a nuisance for Rome so after Pompey was given command in 67 BCE, he expelled the pirates from the Mediterranean in only three months using a concerted attack by sea and land.

Trade flourished because of peace and the intersection of land and sea routes. The major sea currents in the Mediterranean flow counter-clockwise after entering the sea at the Straits of Gibraltar and pushing the sea eastward along the North

African coast, northward along the coasts of Turkey, western Greece, and western Italy, southward along the eastern coasts of Greece and Italy, westward along the southern coast of France, and finally south along the eastern coast of Spain before again moving into the Atlantic. The major winds are channeled through the mountains and valleys where they arrive at the sea at set angles. The major winds are the “westerly” flowing in from the Straits of Gibraltar and the Ebro River valley pushing eastward along the Coasts of Spain; the “Mistral” flows southerly from the Garonne and Rhone valleys into the northern Mediterranean at the Gulf of Lyon and to Corsica and Sardinia. The “Bora” winds flow south and southwesterly through the Trieste valley and western Illyricum into the Adriatic Sea, while the “Melteni” moves southeasterly through the Vardac Valley and southwesterly through the Bosphorus Straits from the Black Sea into the eastern Mediterranean and Greek islands. The “Sirocco” moves north from the African highlands along the Nile River and Sahara Desert into the Mediterranean Sea at Egypt and Libya. The “Levantine” moves westerly along the north coast of Africa from the Biskra valley along Tunisia and Morocco and out into the Atlantic through the Straits of Gibraltar.

The wind and sea currents therefore allowed merchant ships to move along the coasts and across the seas through most of the sailing season, the prime time being from May 27 to September 14 with the period from March 10 to May 27 and September 14 to November 11 being uncertain. The period from November 12 to March 10 saw the Mediterranean closed since storms and decreased visibility made travel treacherous. Associated with sea travel was trade done by rivers. The multitude of rivers, especially in Gaul and Britain, allowed goods to be transported throughout western Europe, and the major arteries of the Nile, Rhine, and Danube ensured that trade flourished in these areas. The Tiber became the lifeblood of Rome and Italy allowing goods to be imported and exported.

Associated with water trade was an extensive system of roads, which allowed land-based trade. Trade via land routes was also used in conjunction with seaborne trade with goods being transported short distances to river and sea ports and then transported to other areas. Since sea and river transport was more economical, merchants preferred to send bulk items by water rather than by land. Land trade, however, was still important to ensure the supply of goods to more remote regions and the transport of luxury goods was more feasible than bulk items. Like pirates, robbers were notorious for ambushing goods and a vibrant policing force, the army, was needed.

Trade allowed the supply of goods to constantly be moved throughout the Roman world providing a vibrant economy and workforce. Trade allowed surpluses in some areas to be redistributed and for other areas that had shortages to find relief.

See also: Economics and Work: Economic Policy; Markets; Merchants; Money; Taxes; *Food and Drink:* Delicacies; Spices; Trade Routes; Transport; *Recreation and Social Customs:* Travel; *Science and Technology:* Carts; Geography; Harbors; Roads; Ships; Wagons

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WEAVERS

Weavers had the job of making clothes. This entry describes not only the final production of clothing but also the preparation of the fibers to be weaved. While clothing was essential, it was not necessary to have it farmed out to others, rather it could be accomplished in the home. To create clothing raw material, labor, and looms to create clothing fabric were needed. The process was the production of the fibers, their preparation, converting them to yarn through spinning, using the yarn to produce the cloth (weaving) and then finishing the cloth.

The basic raw material was wool obtained from sheep with other material such as hemp and linen. Silk imported from China was only used among the very wealthy, while cotton from India was used by the upper middle class and the wealthy. The material had to be cleaned and spun. Water was used to clean the wool and other material and then the fibers were pressed by a mallet and smoothed. The major job was then the spinning, since it required the material to be converted into yarn. Here the fibers are twisted together to produce the yarn using the distaff and spindle. The distaff loosely held the raw material twisting slightly which was held in the left hand allowing the right hand to pull pieces of fiber a couple of inches out and attached it to the top of a spindle where the material was twisted. The spindle had a weight attached to the other end since it was discovered that a spindle weighted with yarn or other device turned easier and quicker. The weight or whorl allowed the spinner to keep the spindle moving to allow more yarn to be twisted. This was called the drop spindle. This whole process allowed the fibers to be twisted into yarn, which could then be used for the manufacturing of the clothes.

Spinning was time consuming and in farmsteads and homes it was common for young girls and women to ply their time at spinning. The ancients believed that it taught patience and became part of the training women received. Often it was a task preformed in winter when farm work was not as pressing. While the material was being spun it was also dyed. For the wealthy different colors, especially those designating status, had to be produced. The fibers were run through iron alum, which was the fixing agent for the dyes. One of the most famous was the purple used in imperial designation, coming from the sea snail *Murex brandaris* found in the Mediterranean. Most notably the dye workers from Tyre, Lebanon, produced the best and exported it to the rest of the Roman world. Other colors included indigo, yellow from saffron, and red from madder.

After the yarn had been produced, the next step was to weave the material. For this a loom was needed. The earliest loom was the warp-weighted loom constructed with two upright beams with a horizontal clothes bar at the top with the vertical and horizontal bars being about the same length. The warp threads are hung by the top horizontal clothes bar with the thread hanging vertically. The number of warp threads will determine the ultimate width of the cloth. The threads alternate odd and even and are gathered at the bottom and tied together and weighted with a loom weight. About two-thirds of the way down another horizontal beam, the shed, is inserted keeping the evens and odds threads apart. The threads are then moved in and out, while the weaving thread, the weft or woof thread is passed in between them. This process produces the weave. This process of moving the woof thread back and forth while moving the odds and evens thread front and back produces the cloth.

The vertical loom was the second type the Romans used and was an improvement over the warp-weighted loom. It was similar to the warp-weighted loom in that it had two vertical beams and an upright beam but at the bottom of the loom instead of the threads being tied together and weighted with a loom weight; the vertical loom had another horizontal beam to which the threads from the clothes bar hanging down were tied. This produced a tighter weave since the threads were not held by gravity but rather by tension. The woof thread was then run through the threads and produced a weave. The cloth on the warp-weighted loom could be larger since the shed can be opened up and the weave made larger and longer, whereas the vertical loom can be used as a tapestry frame due to the tension. The weaver for the warp-weighted loom stands and beats the weft from top to bottom, while the weaver for the vertical loom sits and weaves bottom to top. The third type, the horizontal loom that was much more complex only came into use at the end of Roman period and was not used during the Republic or early Empire. From literary evidence it appears that the vertical loom came into use first during the late Republic and early Empire and that it had not caught on as the normal type

until the late first century CE. The writers during the Julio-Claudians viewed the warp-weighted loom as the more traditional type. By the late third century CE the vertical loom seems to have been the standard type used in industry. The weaver's tools included the warp weights that were usually pieces of terracotta, baked clay. Weaving combs made of wood were used to push the weft threads up and produce a tighter weave; a longer tool for the same purpose was the weaver's sword or *spatha*.

The weavers and their establishments were important for Roman society. Although much was done in the household, many of the finer garments were done in professional shops. With the use of slaves many of the clothes, even for middle-class Romans, could be purchased from professional establishments cheaper than those done at home.

See also: *Economics and Work:* Agriculture; *Collegium;* Fullers; Industry; Merchants; Shopkeepers; *Family and Gender:* Family Life; *Fashion and Appearance:* Clothing; Colors; Fabrics; Seasonal Clothing; Shipping Districts; *Toga*

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FAMILY AND GENDER



INTRODUCTION

The Roman family displayed similarities seen during the preindustrial age as well as some modern components. In all aspects of the family the male leader or *Paterfamilias* was in charge. He traditionally had the power of life and death over all those under his control. Although by the late Republic this was somewhat curtailed, the *Paterfamilias* always had immense power. Like all societies there were elements of courtship and interpersonal relationships. These were dependent upon politics (see below) and personal life. For the upper classes, the courtship was planned by the two *Paterfamilias* so that the two families could be joined together. Individuals may engage in courtship which could lead to marriage. For the elites this marriage may have been for political or economic reasons but not for love. For the common individual there was the likelihood of true love and feeling being more common. These relationships, however, may flounder, which often resulted in either individual engaging in adultery and perhaps leading to divorce. Roman philosophy allowed the man to engage in adultery without punishment provided his mistress was not married or of same/higher class. Women on the other hand were not permitted to engage in extramarital affairs lest they be branded as prostitutes.

There was also the possibility that individuals would engage in homosexuality, although this had certain acceptable and unacceptable attitudes. For the Romans it was about power. As long as the free Roman was the dominant power, homosexuality was permitted. A freeborn Roman, especially elite, would never allow himself to be the submissive partner.

If individuals married, they may have attempted to produce a family. The goal of marriage was to ensure the continuing of the family name. This family planning hopefully would lead to pregnancy and the creation of a household. The household and resulting family life was often depicted in idealized tones with individuals

doing their assigned stereotypical roles. These roles probably never existed during the later Republic, but moralists referred back to them. These individuals through their childhood would have received an education and perhaps even have some higher education, depending upon their social class. Many of these duties and functions occurring during this period were seen as women's duties. Occasionally, the Romans engaged in adoption but not in the modern system. Here the Romans would adopt a full grown male to ensure the family name survived. The Romans reasoned that the character would be known in the adult.

The final state of family life was death and dying. Always an emotional period, the family would celebrate the deceased with a funeral. The death may have even been due to suicide, occasionally seen as acceptable. The body could have been disposed through cremation or inhumation ultimately with the final remains disposed in cemeteries. The final aspect was the disposition of the property through a will and the naming of heirs.

Finally, Roman society engaged in certain policies such as population planning and the institution of patronage, which especially use freedmen or ex-slaves as recipients. Both aspects were to ensure the future of the Roman system and allow the society to grow.

ADOPTION

Adoption was different in ancient Rome than in the modern world. Modern adoption usually occurs when the child is young, preferably as an infant, allowing the child to grow up in a new family, often not knowing who its biological parents are, whereas in the Roman system the adoption occurred when the man was an adult. While occasionally a child was adopted due to a couple's inability to have their own, Romans elites normally adopted adults.

Roman adoption normally was confined to the man; females were rarely adopted, and if so, they tended to be done as a ward. In addition, only men could adopt, women were forbidden by law to adopt. The adoption process then was less about nurturing and family, and more about politics. It occurred when the son of one family was transferred to another family. The son lost all rights and powers from his birth family and instead became a full member of his adopted family. The birth father lost his rights of *Paterfamilias*, that is, the complete control over his son, which was now taken by the other. The system of adoption or *adoptio* allowed for a family to continue its political power. Often the adopting family did not have a male heir, and this was one way to ensure the future line of the family name. Usually the families were related in some fashion. On the surface it would

seem strange, why adopt a full grown son? But in actuality it made perfect sense, the family would know what the son was like, would know his accomplishments, and the son would be able to step into the family's political life. The adopted son now took his new father's family name and rank. He would now acquire the rights of succession in the new family while giving up his rights in his old family. It was also possible that since he lost the rights of succession in his old family, and since he was now under the *Paterfamilias* of his new family, he could lose all rights of inheritance since his new father could disown him. However, as the process was to ensure a family political power it was probably quite rare that this occurred.

A second type of adoption existed where a man was *sui iuris*, that is, he was his own *Paterfamilias* and not under the power of someone else. In this situation, the man could voluntarily place himself under the power of a new family. This process was called *adrogatio* and it was really the union of two families. Both families would now be united and his property would pass into the new family. Since this would result in the extinction of the old family, it originally required a vote by the *comitia curiata* after an investigation by the pontiffs since the extinction of the family would result in the end of its *sacra*. Since the *comitia* only met in Rome, *adrogatio* could only occur in Rome.

Adoption was proof to the Romans that nature, that is, genetic material, did not matter as much as nurture, that is, the temperament and upbringing of the individual. As in marriage, adoption allowed for the acquisition of power and property. Often adoption occurred through a will, where an individual could name in his testament someone not only to inherit property, but his name and therefore his prestige. The most famous was Octavian who was named the beneficiary in Julius Caesar's will. Not only did he gain property but he was also adopted as Caesar's son, which gave Octavian access to Caesar's name, something more important. This became even more important because soon after Julius Caesar was declared a god, which meant Octavian was the son of the deified Julius Caesar, which he proclaimed on his titles. The importance here was that Octavian had a direct link to Julius Caesar and his army, which became crucial in the wars that followed. Octavian later became known as Augustus. Thus, adoption had a purely political result.

One of the best examples of adoption in the Republic was Scipio Aemilianus. Scipio was the second son of Lucius Aemilius Paullus Macedonicus, the son of Lucius Aemilius Paullus, who had died on the battlefield at Cannae. Paullus Macedonicus was consul in 168 BCE and defeated Perseus of Macedon at the Battle of Pydna, settled the political issues of Greece, and ravaged Epirus on the orders of the Senate. His two elder sons were Q. Fabius and Lucius (P. Scipio Aemilianus). Since Lucius (Scipio) was the second son his chance of direct inheritance was not as great as Fabius. Born in 185 BCE, Lucius served with his father at Pydna and

was probably adopted shortly before 170 BCE by Publius Cornelius Scipio, the eldest son of Publius Cornelius Scipio Africanus (who had defeated Hannibal) after his younger brother Lucius had died. Since Lucius died in 174 BCE and Publius in 170 BCE, the adoption probably took place in this short period when Lucius Paulus was only 12–15 years old. Since neither son of Scipio Africanus had children, the adoption of their cousin would keep the family name intact. Since the purpose of this adoption was to ensure Scipio Africanus's name, it was important that the individual be from a great family known by the families involved.

Adoption in the Roman world allowed for families to continue their political and economic power and prestige. For the elites it was a way to ensure that family connections and political power continued. This is most often seen in the use of adoption among extended families, with different branches of the family marrying amongst themselves. This often allowed for the continuation of power blocs best seen in the second and first centuries BCE. Individuals adopted did not suffer any loss of legal status or personal prestige. The institution should therefore be seen both as a civil and political. It was civil to maintain the family name while political to ensure those relations between families, often of equal status, continued and their power was maintained over the masses.

See also: Family and Gender: Childhood; Family Life; Family Planning; Heirs; Paterfamilias; Wills

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ADULTERY

Adultery, being unfaithful to one's spouse, is a time memorial occurrence. The Romans were no different and their attitudes and policies often show contradictory practices and standards. According to the Romans adultery was only committed by a man with another's wife, daughter, or other nonpermissible individual such as a prostitute. It was the woman's condition that determined adultery, that is, if she were married then adultery existed, if not, there was no adultery. Associated with the Latin term *adulterium*, was the term *stuprum* meaning engaging in commerce with a widow or virgin. While the two were often used interchangeable, there was a slight difference because *stuprum* would convey an idea of buying or selling,

meaning a freeborn potentially engaged in prostitution. While there is some evidence to suggest that women could be charged with adultery, it was usually handled under the family's ancient rite of power. The husband had the right to punish his wife for inappropriate behavior, while a father could punish his daughter for adultery, but this never seems to have been carried out. A husband could only punish his wife if the marriage was with *manus*. If the marriage did not have *manus* then her father would have had the power. While known cases of executing a wife are not known, adultery was grounds for divorce and the husband could keep part of her dowry. During the Republic it appears that anyone might prosecute the guilty parties viewing it as a public issue. During the imperial age it appears that responsibility for the prosecution was limited to the husband.

Augustus attempted to create moral legislation to stop the number of women engaging in adultery. The *lex Julia de adulteriis* or the Julian Law concerning adultery allowed the *Paterfamilias* to punish his wife or daughter who committed adultery by directing him to execute his wife or daughter and her lover, or at the very least exile them. If he did not punish her he could be charged with a crime of promoting a prostitute and a fine could be levied. The father could instead banish them to separate islands. The husband also had to divorce his wife within a short period if adultery occurred. If he did not kill them he could bring them up on charges of adultery and criminal penalties applied, including seizure of one-half of their property. The husband or *Paterfamilias* had 60 days to bring this action, if not; any other person could bring the action. Augustus used his own law to punish his daughter Julia (the law was not named after her) and her eldest daughter for their affairs by banishing them from Rome. The law also allowed the husband to kill his wife's lover if he was a slave or from the *infamis* class. Those who were from this class included pimps, convicted criminals, entertainers (dancers, singers, performers), and gladiators. This was probably a throwback to the Republican period when anyone could bring an action. It appears that executions were quite rare, with a penalty instead being banishment. If a woman was convicted of adultery she could not remarry. If the husband knew of her indiscretion and did nothing, he could be charged with pimping himself.

Why did Augustus create such a law? One view argued was that it may have been due to the numerous instances in the late Republic when prominent women were amassing power through their contacts. Some view the law as a way for women to get out of politically arranged marriages. Others view that the law was meant to control women and make them out to be the problem. What is clear is that the known cases are very few and do not occur in the writings of Cicero, Tacitus, or Suetonius who would have clearly remarked such occurrences. It is more likely that this was a tool that Augustus wished to use to control another aspect of society. By having this available he could help determine the social control he

wished to exert over society. In essence he would become the *Paterfamilias* of the entire Roman state.

The laws by Augustus appear to be an attempt to restore the traditional power of the *Paterfamilias* over women. The late Republic had seen an increase in women's independence; wives could divorce their husbands and take their own money with them. This financial independence led to a more complete independence by women who according to the stories told by the Roman authors led to promiscuity and adultery.

It appears from the evidence that much of the legal issues were aimed not at women but at men. The general lament seems to be that sons were not following the advice of their fathers and instead were spending their time in inappropriate ways. This only increased during the civil wars after Julius Caesar when sons turned on their fathers and other senior family members for profit and power. Augustus's attempt to legislate the morality of the upper class could never succeed. In part it was because the attitudes of the Romans concerning adultery had existed for centuries. The playwright Plautus portrayed morally loose sons who were constantly attempting to engage in romantic trysts with prostitutes. Although technically not adultery, the sentiment clearly showed that morals were open for discussion. Polybius praises Scipio Aemilianus for not indulging in the loose practices that his young colleagues were doing.

One of the most famous individuals involved in adultery was the daughter of Augustus, Julia. She was married three times, the first to Marcellus who died soon after; the second to Agrippa, Augustus's general and had three sons and a daughter, and finally to Tiberius, Augustus's step-son who married her after Agrippa died and after being forced to divorce his own wife to marry her. This final marriage was not happy since Tiberius resented having to divorce his wife whom he loved. Julia seems to have embarked on a series of affairs most notably with Iullus Antonius, the son of Marc Antony, whom Augustus had defeated in 31 BCE. After Tiberius had been exiled by Augustus in 6 BCE, Julia and Iullus appear to have planned to oust Tiberius from favor and replace him with Iullus. Augustus had her arrested in 2 BCE for adultery; he annulled her marriage with Tiberius and exiled her and allowed Iullus to commit suicide. The very laws that Augustus had enacted now proved prophetic with his daughter.

See also: Family and Gender: Divorce; Family Life; Household; Marriage; Paterfamilias; Recreation and Social Customs: Adolescent; Brothel; Class Structure

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CEMETERIES

Cemeteries have always held a distinctive honor for societies. These places not only interred the remains of the dead but also became centers of celebrations for both the living and departed. Rome had distinct rules and regulations concerning cemeteries from not only how they were treated but also how they became part of their everyday lives. By ancient custom and law Roman cemeteries had to be placed outside the city's wall to prevent public pollution of the living by the dead. This belief probably came from their early history and local lore and customs that harkened back to a time when improperly placed corpses could lead to disease attracting unwanted carrion such as vultures and dogs. This placement rule allowed the city to be protected from undesirable consequences such as disease and superstition. Like all societies, Rome viewed death both superstitiously and philosophically. Many believed that the soul of the departed would go to the afterlife where it was destined to find solace; if it was not accepted into the afterlife it was destined to wander the earth potentially harassing the living. Other contended that there was no afterlife and that individuals came back as spirits and interacted with the living, whether the living desired it or not. Still other believed that the dead did not really leave and they were with the living at all times. Finally, some believed that death was the end of all and that there was no afterlife, the body being just an empty vessel. All of these ideas created a general fear of death and the dead, and influenced society and its belief.

The Roman custom of burying the dead in cemeteries probably originated in the Etruscan period. The most famous of these cemeteries are located at Cerveteri and Tarquinia. These cemeteries were often cut into rock and had tumuli. At Cerveteri the tombs are arranged like city houses with streets running through and even contained plazas, squares, and neighborhoods. The tombs differ based upon the social stratification of the deceased and the time period. The earliest were cut into rock, while the tumuli contained several tombs covered in a mound. An example of tumuli showing an Etruscan house is the Tomb of the Hut where the house is represented in stone and has a gabled roof, crossbeams, and furniture such as a couch, all in stone. These depictions probably were meant to represent their own towns and houses and provide us with a glimpse of their residential surroundings. The earliest tombs date from the ninth century BCE developing more

fully in the seventh century. The cemetery at Tarquinia has over 6,000 graves cut into rock and over 200 painted tombs. These paintings represent the daily and religious life of the Etruscans. The tombs are accessible from corridors and possessed one burial chamber for a couple. The earliest paintings are from the seventh century BCE. That the two cemeteries developed and were used during the same period indicate that burial customs and cemeteries were not standard even for one tribe or city.

Cemeteries were also meant to be places where the living could focus on their ancestors. To ensure that the dead were appeased it was common for families to hold celebrations for the departed. Two such celebrations, especially held for the dead, were in February. The first was the *parentalia* that began on February 13 and ran for nine days. This was a private celebration by the families who honored their departed relatives. The family would visit the cemeteries and pour food and drink over the graves for the *manes* or spirits of the dead. They would continue these celebrations at the gravesite and their homes until February 21 midnight when the *feralia* occurred. Here the *Paterfamilias* would speak to the departed family members in an attempt to appease the malevolent *manes*. In many ways this ceremony was an attempt to ensure that the evil forces would be placated so that the family could enter into a more harmonious relationship with their departed relatives. This was followed by the second ceremony, the *caristia*, in which the household gods or *lares* were honored with incense and food. All temples were closed and official business was forbidden during this nine-day period. These celebrations were meant to ensure that the living would remember their past ancestors and their great deeds. It also allowed for society to not only honor the dead but ensure that the living knew of their own mortality.

A crucial part of cemeteries were the actual tombs constructed for the dead. The tombs fell into different categories. First, there were the *columbaria*, which were meant to hold the urns of family members. This type of tomb was used for cremation. These tombs were often nothing more than small structures that had several niches. The term comes from dovecotes since the niches often resembled the separate spaces for doves and pigeons. One of the most famous in Rome was the Columbarium of Pomponius Hylas that dates from about 50 CE. Originally it seems to have been an imperial freedman's *columbaria* and during the Flavian period, 69 CE was bought by Pomponius Hylas for himself and his wife. Another set of examples were the mausoleums constructed by Augustus and Hadrian. These massive structures were not only meant to house the urns of the departed but also to impress the populace of the magnitude and importance of the emperors.

The second type of tomb was the structures built along the Appian Way to honor the dead. Although they may have also been *columbaria*, they were often nothing more than tombstones. These tombstones were often set up to not only

honor the deceased but also to provide notice about the family and the dedicator. The tombstone allowed for the funerary urn (for cremated remains) or ossary (for bones dissolved in sarcophagi) to be honored. The final type of tomb was the catacombs that allowed for both inhumation and urns to be placed. Cut out of the volcanic ash, the catacombs contained niches, rooms for sarcophagi, and even artwork. The cemeteries in ancient Rome varied according to time, class, place, and preference. In all of these instances the cemetery became a focus of celebration and remembrance. All inhabitants had a connection with the cemeteries and the ideas of the afterlife.

See also: *Family and Gender*: Cremation; Death and Dying; Funerals; Inhumation; *Fashion and Appearance*: Public Appearance; *Religion and Beliefs*: Afterlife; Private Worship

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CHILDHOOD

Childhood encompassed the period from childbirth to adulthood that varied according to gender and class. While most males were viewed as adults at 18 in legal terms, in actuality it often came earlier, around 14 or 15. For females adulthood could come as early as 12 but often meant 14 or 16. The period of childhood was a time when education and learning of trades was often intermingled with other childhood experiences such as games.

The Romans, as did most ancient societies, viewed that there was a male and female seed. If both parents produced strong “male seeds” the child was a boy, if both produced “female seeds” it was a girl; and the one who had the stronger seed would determine the sex. During the pregnancy they believed it was important that the woman not have strong emotions, cough hard, or exert themselves or else they may miscarry.



Frescoes from Pompeii Italy, ca. 70 CE. Children were often given an early education in the home, as illustrated in this fresco that shows a young child reading a papyrus roll. Often forced to work from an early age, the idyllic scene shown here was usually reserved for the wealthy. (Photogolfer/Dreamstime.com)

The birth of a child usually occurred at home especially since the concept of modern hospitals did not exist. This was the common practice until only recently in modern Western society. The expected mother was attended by a midwife since most doctors were reserved as surgeons for the military or for the wealthy. The midwife would have a supply of materials aiding in the birthing process, these included olive oil (not previously used), sponges, woolen swaddling blanket, and the birthing stool to be used in an appropriate room with the right size and temperature having two beds: one hard for labor and one soft for post delivery. With the exception of the birthing stool, the expectant mother was to provide the rest. The female relatives would attend

and help with the delivery, while males were generally excluded. The women gave birth in a special birthing chair. This chair was crescent shaped with a hole in the seat; the expectant mother would sit upright and the chair allowed her to push her weight and force against the back while holding firmly onto the arms. The child would be “delivered” through the hole. This chair was not used for labor but rather the birthing process. Undoubtedly for many midwives this piece of equipment was optional and a luxury. Rather, for most, an accompanying female who could handle the weight and force, acted like a chair to help in the process; and if this was impractical the woman would be propped up in bed and allowed to deliver. Once the baby was delivered it was wrapped in clothes and often given to a wet nurse immediately, even the poor employed them.

If the child was accepted, that is, not exposed, the father would raise, *sublatus*, the child signifying the father accepted it as his and agreed to raise it. On the ninth

day the boy, eighth for girls, underwent the purification rite. This was when the child would be named by his/her father. It was probably done this late after the birth since many children would die immediately after birth and it would then be seen as a period when the child was not really part of the family. Presumably, if it lived to the eighth or ninth day the child would have a good chance of surviving for the next year at least. Finally, within 30 days the child would be registered. The father, mother, or paternal grandfather would submit the material either in person or through an agent to the Treasury at Rome or the provincial record office. The birth notice was posted, allowing for anyone to contradict the notice, and then entered into the rolls. These rolls allowed for the individual to get a copy of the birth certificate, which was produced with the names of seven witnesses verifying to the accuracy of the information. From the tombstones and death notices it is clear that the child's birth was not only recorded on a particular day in a particular year but also at a particular hour and even minutes. This record was probably done because many Romans would also have astrological charts done to determine the child's future or horoscope.

As the child grew it had toys and games and played like any other child in any society. They had dolls, often made of straw or terracotta with clothes, pets such as dogs, mice, and especially birds. They could have ponies or horses, if wealthy. They played with toys such as tops or built things with bricks. They would often play games with nuts such as throwing or tossing them at objects, or with each other. As they grew they played dice, such as odds and evens, or coin toss calling heads and ships, referring to the earliest coinage that had a ship's prow stamped on the coin. One especially common game, still played in Italy, was *mora* in which each stretched out their hands with some of their fingers exposed and then immediately pulled them back and guessing the number of fingers exposed on their opponent's hand. Of course like all children, Roman boys and girls played pranks on individuals, teased one another, and role played. Childhood for many allowed them to interact not only with members of their own social class but also with slaves, foreigners, and members of different classes.

The distinction between the classes often led to individuals being segregated out early on for work. These individuals could be trained in a work environment where they learned to be apprentices or helping in the family business. The children in these circumstances would have been expected to take over the business. Other children may have received an education. For girls this childhood experience was probably brief since they could marry as young as 12, although uncommon, definitely by 16. Boys had greater license and were not under the care of the family so rigidly. Childhood, like most societies, depended upon one's social status and gender. For the Romans childhood was usually brief before the onset of adulthood and the drudgery of work and survival.

See also: Family and Gender: Education; Family Life; Family Planning; Recreation and Social Customs: Games; Religion and Beliefs: Astrology

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COURTSHIP

Courtship for the Romans really meant betrothal, and became a legalized system to unite the two families and determine if they were suitable. During the early Republic the betrothal was seen as a binding contract and had the force of law to require the man to marry the women.

For noble families the Roman woman did not choose her first husband, due to girls often being married at the lowest age allowed, 12, while their betrothals could be even earlier. For example, Cicero’s daughter Tullia was betrothed at only 10 and married at 13. Of course at this age the young girl could not object and if she did, it would not matter. While the parents, *Paterfamilias* and *matrona* would have wanted what was best for their daughter, the decision was theirs and not hers. Although boys could marry at 14, it was common for them to marry later, often into manhood. While the parents still had a great amount of influence, the young man could demand some accommodations. Typically the family of the daughter would enlist a kinsman who not only was respectable but also knowledgeable of eligible bachelors to help select a groom. After considering friends and their families he would recommend to the girl’s father a suitable young man. The girl’s parents would then approach the boy’s parent or guardian and make an offer. If the boy’s family was satisfied with the dowry and the arrangements, the two children would be informed. This normally only occurred for the first marriage, later marriages by either individuals would be determined by them.

By the late Republic, the betrothal did not have any legal standing and did not carry any actual obligations. By the end of the first century CE the number of betrothals was so great and common among the aristocracies that they held no meaning and were even seen as useless trifles. The young couple would enter into the agreement, professing their desire, and with the permission of their fathers and in the accompaniment of friends and relatives who could act as the required witnesses, they would make the betrothal. This was a reciprocal agreement requiring both individuals to agree. The usual arrangement would be for the girl to be led



Marble sculpture of a young Roman couple, imperial age, modeled after classical Greek sculptures. Roman nobles would idealize and commemorate young love in art, as seen here. Although most nobles had arranged marriages the hope was that love would blossom. Most peasants had a better chance for courtship leading to marriage. There was a set of rituals observed at different stages in the courtship. (Abxyz/Dreamstime.com)

into the family's *atrium* by her father. The father and the intended groom did all the talking, exchanging the legal formulas of giving the daughter to the man, and the father of the girl saying that she was betrothed to him. The girl then became a bride-elect or a *sponsa*.

After the betrothal ceremony it was common for a banquet to end the festivities. At the ceremony the young girl received presents from her fiancé with their value according to their social standing. He would also give her a ring, which was probably a remnant of the ancient custom where the groom purchased his bride by giving the *arra* or earnest money to her father. The betrothal ring was seen as a symbol of that earnest money. The ring could be iron with gold or a gold ring, and the girl slipped it on the ring finger in the presence of witnesses showing that the compact had been made.

The Roman writer Aulus Gellius explained why the annular (ring) finger was used. According to him it was discovered upon dissection that there is a nerve that runs from this finger to the heart and because of this the ancients believed that the ring bound the two together through their hearts. The purpose of course is to show how the two have been bound by affection and that it is reciprocal. That the two were bound together voluntarily and publically showed themselves ready for marriage.

Problems existed in the betrothal system since it was often used to avoid marriage. The Emperor Augustus had attempted to increase the Roman aristocracy birth rate by dictating that noble men needed to marry. Many of the young men soon realized that they could become engaged and break the engagement only to become engaged again and again so as to put off marriage indefinitely. This all worked against Augustus's plan.

One aspect of the courtship/betrothal was the dowry. This was given by the girl's family for certain uses. For example, some of it was to be used by the wife, some the husband could use, called the *dos*. If the marriage ended in divorce how much of the *dos* would be given back without too much loss of principle needed to be determined.

The betrothal that existed was perhaps a transformation of a type of marriage that had existed during the early Republic, the *usus*. Originally the bride and groom lived together for a year and only then they were considered married. The betrothal may be seen as an adaptation of this since the couple did not necessarily live together; the betrothal could be ended. When the betrothal was ended, it was potentially socially disastrous for the families bringing shame on them for a marriage ending before it had taken place. An example of one betrothal that potentially could have ended badly was related in the Matthew narrative of the New Testament where Joseph discovers that his betrothed Mary was pregnant and not desiring to hurt her planned to have the marriage contract put aside.

The courtship for the non-nobles or poor was different. Since the marriage contract was not as important or the dowry nonexistent, the individuals probably knew each other and had more of a choice. The parents still were actively involved since they would have desired to increase their status or wealth; they may have wanted to ensure that their daughter could be provided for, and perhaps even ensure that their own future was provided. It was important for the family line to continue, so having grandchildren became important. The rules were still the same, but the emphasis or expenses were less. The courtship then led to the actual marriage ceremony and hopefully a fruitful and prosperous marriage with children.

See also: *Family and Gender*: Family Life; Family Planning; Marriage

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CREMATION

Cremation is the burning of a corpse and has been a common form of disposing of the dead. This form of disposal could occur either where the body was to be “buried” after the cremation, or upon cremation, the remains, the ashes, were transported to another site for final resting. In the early Roman Republic laws, the Twelve Tablets, cremation was accorded an equal place with inhumation. It is clear that the Romans practiced both types throughout their history without any form of prejudice or religious bias. Unlike the Romans, the Greeks, Christians, and Jews did not accept cremation. In fact, it was not until the end of the 20th century that Catholicism allowed for cremation. While Christianity did not accept cremation, it does not account for the change seen in the second and third centuries CE when inhumation again became more prominent.

Cremation occurred throughout the Roman period, often as the dominant form of disposal, and occasionally as subsidiary to inhumation. Cremation was not just seen as a cheaper or quicker means for disposal, in fact, like inhumation, there were careful practices and procedures involved, often very complicated and drawn out. Originally, the Romans practiced inhumation, but by the end of the Republic, cremation had not only become acceptable, it was in fact preferred by some of the nobles. That is not to say that cremation had never been practiced, in fact, some ancient authors noted that cremation was the earliest form of disposal showing that the late Republican practice was not unique or new. The dictator Sulla was the first nobleman to be cremated in 78 BCE according to late Republican authors. Augustus was cremated and his ashes were installed in an urn and buried in his mausoleum.

Originally in Italy the pre-Etruscan Villanovan culture had cremation around 1100 BCE, when the ashes were placed in hut-like urns. It appears that grave goods placed in the final burial places did not have a change in value or amounts between inhumation and cremation during this period. During the Etruscan period, about 800 BCE, the urns and grave goods became more ornate showing the rise in economic, political, and social stature of the Etruscans. The Etruscans, however, used both inhumation and cremation in about the same frequency. For the Romans

cremation was the dominant form from the early Republic to about 100 CE when inhumation became more common.

The general practice for cremation was for the body to be placed on a pyre made of wood and grave goods placed on or around the pyre. The wood was then doused with oil and perfume by the family and it was not uncommon for animals to be sacrificed for the spirits of the already deceased. The wood was then lit and the fire consumed the body. Afterward the fire was put out with wine and the ashes and other remains, since not all the bones would burn, would be collected and placed in an urn. The urn could be any type of container. Usually for the poor it was made of fired clay or terracotta and for the elite it could be metal, glass, or marble. The urn could then be placed in mausoleums or *columbaria* which had receptacles for numerous urns, placed in underground tombs such as the catacombs, or simply buried individually in the ground, often at the site of cremation.

The process of cremation should not be seen as a cheaper alternative since it required resources. In fact, cremation was more expensive than inhumation since for the latter it was only necessary to have a pit or piece of ground, while cremation required wood for the funeral pyre, oil for the incendiary substance, and an urn for the collection of the remains and a final resting place. The amount of wood was probably significant, perhaps approaching 10 cubic feet. Cremation then was probably initially practiced only by the elites and later became more common among the average individual due to the pooling of resources in the burial clubs. These clubs allowed an individual to make contributions so that when they died the club could pay for the supplies needed for a cremation, including wood, an urn, and a place in the mausoleum or catacomb.

The remains of the cremated have only recently been examined. Traditionally, the urn was seen as more important, especially from an artist or art collector's point of view. Many of these urns arrived in private and museum collections without regard for the remains which might have been present. In the past 50 years the remains in urns have begun to be examined to determine the sex of the individual, potential genetic material, and how the body was cremated (temperature of the fire etc.). This analysis can often be helpful in determining potential sex, age, general wellbeing, and so on.

The Romans, like the Greeks, believed that the spirit of the dead was released by the burial, whether inhumation, or cremation. While the stoics and epicureans believed that the soul was mortal and died with the body, most individuals probably held on to the view that the spirit or soul continued after death. Some individuals had a view that the soul, as incarnations of the body, suffered in Hades, while others viewed them more amorphously. The idea often presented was that

cremation allowed the soul to escape the body quicker and therefore be set free sooner. Whether this truly was a belief is hard to determine.

Cremation in the Roman world was a major way to dispose of the corpse during the late Republic and early Empire. It was the prominent form of disposal among the elite and should not be seen as a cheaper or more cost-efficient way of disposing of a corpse; in fact, it was just the opposite. Cremation allowed the family to honor its deceased with an elaborate funeral and then provide for a communal burial in the *columbaria* or catacombs. This type of burial allowed for the family or *gens* to be grouped together showing the strength and prestige of the entire family.

See also: Family and Gender: Death and Dying; Funerals; Inhumation; Religion and Beliefs: Afterlife; Private Worship

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DEATH AND DYING

Death and dying are part of life in all societies; how societies deal with the celebration of death and dying often says much about their attitudes, beliefs, and customs. For the Romans specific customs existed to deal with them and death. When an individual was known to be near death the family would gather placing the individual on the ground. This probably had symbolic meaning since the individual was soon going to be part of the earth and was seen as a first reception. When the individual was about to die, the closest family member would catch their dying breath and perform the first ceremony of closing the eyes and placing a coin in the mouth. This coin was to pay the ferryman Charon who took the body across the River Styx to the other world. If the individual committed suicide the right hand was cut off and buried separately. The family would then begin the mourning.

Roman custom, and later law, prohibited the burying of the dead inside the city so that the corpse would not contaminate the living. The city walls or *pomerium* became the barrier beyond which cemeteries were permitted. Along the Appian



Roman sarcophagus from Pisa, Italy, imperial era. The Romans commemorated their deceased often with elaborate pictorial representations on limestone sarcophagi, which portrayed celebratory events such as family life, military accomplishments, or mythological scenes. As with many societies, the Romans feared death and often had elaborate rituals performed to ward off its coming. (Kacpura/Dreamstime.com)

Way outside the walls the great catacombs and tombs existed and can still be seen. Like other ancient groups, Romans were fascinated by death. For example, many individuals attempted to determine their future life and death, through horoscopes. Part of the reason for this was an attempt to control their destiny and determine the day and year of their death. People were especially desirous of their future and hoped that their horoscope would detail a long and prosperous life. While the concepts of the afterlife varied, it was near universal that individuals wanted to be remembered.

Since death was an everyday occurrence its reception varied according to the individual and family. Most families understood that death was part of everyday life. Infant and childhood mortality, especially in certain geographical settings such as cities like Rome or among certain classes, especially the poor, were quite common. In addition, life expectancy was not long. Most adults died at an early age compared to modern standards. Parents would not be expected to live long past 45, especially for the vast majority of the population. This of course meant that most parents would be fortunate to see their children married and see their

grandchildren. If lucky, this occurrence had tremendous impact since individuals wanted to ensure that they and their family line could survive. This survival often took the part of the cult of *Genius* and the reverence for ancestors. Most viewed death as a natural part of life especially true for the elderly, others, however, viewed it as a great calamity; this was true if a child died since it would not have had the chance to experience a full life.

The best view of how the Romans saw death can be seen in their art concerning death. Many of the scenes show death as the great leveler or balance. This theme occurs in the New Testament when Jesus tells his disciples that one does not know when death will occur or the parable and sayings asking what does it profit an individual to gain all but die the next day. In other words people understood death could come any time. It was common to have images of ships, travelers, and sleeping children, or putto on tombstones. In other words, life and death are connected and death was seen as sleeping or as a journey to the other side. For some it was probably a way to view both life and death; it was a journey (life) and now one rested after this journey (sleep); or death was merely another alternative, sleep, for a young child. These motifs were meant to console the individual's family. That is why family members offered bread cakes on the tombs on certain days. Clearly everyone knew that the dead did not need or use the food; rather, it was to console the family and to remember that the individual was still part of their lives.

Since the Romans had a variety of religions but no official dogma concerning the afterlife, it was often left up to the individual and their family to determine what was hoped for. While the Roman pantheon endorsed the ancient Olympians and the concept of Hades, early on it allowed for the discussion of the afterlife to be more personal. This probably accounts for the common representation of Bacchus on sarcophagi and in literature. Bacchus was an alien god who was imported and never seemed to fit into any common formula about religion and the afterlife. Bacchus was often seen as "taking away" the individual so that they could be reborn. The Bacchic rites enjoyed views of merriment and this probably was a way for individuals to imagine that their loved ones had found happiness and rebirth. Bacchus was this ambiguous deity who may have offered hope and happiness for the deceased.

For the Roman of the late Republic an early death was not uncommon. While for most of the peasants the civil wars brought hardships, especially economic, the real transformation took place amongst the nobility. The civil wars led to whole-scale proscriptions and death. The list of those condemned posted (proscriptions) by Sulla resulted in families being either extinct or greatly reduced. During the last civil wars under the Second Triumvirate, Antony, Octavian, and Lepidus, the numbers were likewise tremendous. For many nobles the end of the Republic saw the end of their family lines. The restoration of peace by Octavian

(Augustus) brought an end to the whole-scale upheavals of society, which had resulted in a large number of deaths from the Civil War, but the elites were not necessarily safe. Many families initially thought they could exist and continue their recent customs of internecine fighting, but they soon found Augustus to be effective at eliminating his opposition. Many of the noble families that did not die out in the civil wars and under the immediate Julio-Claudian leaders were dissipated in the early Empire. For the vast majority of society, the concept of death was like modern society. They feared it, remembered their departed family members, and celebrated life.

See also: Family and Gender: Cemeteries; Cremation; Funerals; Inhumation; Religion and Beliefs: Afterlife; Private Worship

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DIVORCE

Divorce in the Roman world was regularly practiced from the middle Republic onward. It appears from the sources that the social stigma of divorce did not occur, unlike during the Medieval Ages and even beyond. This attitude was in part due to the position of marriage in society as a civil, business, and legal issue and not a religious rite. Many young women viewed marriage as a way to gain freedom. If the marriage did not work out they could divorce and could marry whomever they chose.

The first divorce recorded occurred in 231 BCE when Ruga divorced his wife since she could not bear him children. Although the public was shocked, it soon wore off and divorce became more common. Under the late Republic and early Empire divorce became quite common with some couples supposedly marrying, divorcing, remarrying, divorcing, and then marrying their original spouse. Originally divorce only occurred for certain offences carried out by the wife, such as adultery, making false keys, drinking wine, or child murder. Since these offences carried the penalty of death, and before the family carrying out the penalty, the original priests who had performed the marriage, *confarreatio*, performed the dissolution of the marriage, the *diffarreatio*. The guilty “ex-wife” could not be executed. For other types of marriage, divorce was much easier. If the divorce was due to the husband’s fault, then the dowry was returned; otherwise, a certain deduction occurred. Under the early Republic if the wife committed adultery the husband could keep the whole dowry although this practice was changed in the late Republic.

Originally divorce was one sided, that is, the man could divorce his wife, while the women had no recourse. In marriage *cum manu* or where the wife was under the control of the man, he could divorce her based on his absolute power over her. This of course led to certain customs to protect the woman, and early on the husband had to have a just cause to blame her and a council of the husband's family would then condemn her. She was required to hand over the keys to the house and leave. The censors were known to deprive a man of his status if he put away his wife without good cause, but by the second century BCE, divorce was common. At the same time, there was a change in the marriage to *sine manu* where the husband did not have power over his wife. This allowed him to divorce her at will and at the same time gave the wife more power and freedom. If she had married when she was under the protection of her male family members, father or brothers, they could merely indicate that the bond was broken and take her home. In this way, she was allowed to leave her marriage without any disgrace and with protection since her male family members could protect her. If she did not have any male protectors, she could still divorce through her own rights and pronounce the words to set her free.

During the time of Cicero in the late Republic one or both parties could divorce and it had become exceedingly common. If one examines numerous Roman families during the last century of the Republic, it appears that divorce was exceedingly common. Sulla, the dictator, near the end of his life took a young divorced woman as his fifth wife. His protégé, Pompey, was divorced twice and widowed twice. He married his first wife Antistia due to her wealth, and when she was an impediment to his political career, he divorced her; then he divorced Mucia, who had behaved improperly when he was on campaign. Julius Caesar, Pompey's father-in-law (Caesar's daughter Julia was Pompey's fourth wife) divorced his wife Pompeia because she was merely suspected of impropriety: "Caesar's wife must be above suspicion" (Plutarch Caesar 10.6). Cicero at 57 divorced his wife of 30 years and mother of his two children perhaps because he needed to replenish his fortune since he married the young and wealthy Publilia whom he divorced quickly. Cicero's ex-wife Terentia had been wealthy herself, and Cicero probably married her in part for her wealth; although they married *sine manu*, meaning that Cicero could not gain complete control of all of her assets but probably enjoyed them while they were married. Terentia married Sallust, the historian, and after his death she married Messala Corvinus and lived until the age of 102.

In many ways divorce gave the couple new freedom. Since the original marriage, especially for the bride, was made by the families with no real regard for their children's feelings, divorce allowed the couple to determine their own future. Marriage was mainly a civil act, not a religious act; the breaking of the bonds was not viewed as sacrilegious. Marriage and divorce were often seen as a business transaction and was treated as such. This meant that both sides had opportunities if a divorce took place.

Divorce among the upper class was more complicated especially in regard to the finances. For the lower classes it was not uncommon for divorce, like marriage, to be an arrangement. The number of cases reflected in Roman law dealing with divorce stems mainly from the dowry, the position of the children, and the rights of inheritance. Throughout the discussion of divorce there is no real mention of love or other feelings.

This view was not confined to Rome and Italy. Papyri from Egypt indicate that the number of divorces was on par with that of Rome and Italy. The surviving papyri again indicate that the concern in the divorce was about status, the dowry, and property, not love. It is clear from the sources that unlike later Christian periods when divorce was the exception and it often produced an embarrassment, divorce in the Roman period was common and acceptable for society.

While Augustus attempted to legislate marriage and divorce, his results were not successful. His views on divorce were fashioned by the ideas of ensuring the Roman bloodline and number of citizens for the military and not so much at morality. Divorce continued throughout the Roman period and well into the late Empire even when Christianity had been established.

See also: Family and Gender: Adultery; Family Life; Family Planning; Marriage; Paterfamilias

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EDUCATION

Education in Rome was similar to that of our modern system of early grade school. Roman children were initially taught at home with the rudimentary arts before being sent to a school master who would teach the basics: reading, writing, and arithmetic. These school masters varied in experience and ability with no formal certification mainly relying on the parents' recommendations.



Bas relief from funeral monument, Neumagen, Germany, second century CE. The stone relief shows a teacher with his pupils paying to attend. The monument was probably erected by the family of the teacher. A teacher's success and livelihood depended upon his reputation and the achievements of his students. (Bettmann/Corbis)

In the early Republic the father was traditionally seen as the son's teacher, and the mother the daughter's. Cato the Elder took great pride in describing his teaching to his son not only to read and write but in military arts. And like the military that relied on beating the recruit into submission, so too did the Romans believe that the school teacher should use the rod to ensure student learn. By the end of the Republic fathers no longer acted as the primary school teacher, instead this responsibility was given over to others, teachers. These school teachers usually taught fewer than 30 pupils, each who would pay a monthly fee. The school year began in late March and ran until early summer when the Roman heat required a break until the fall when it ran until late December and the Saturnalia; after a break it again ran until after the New Year through early March when there was another break before the new school year. The Roman student was typically in school for periods longer than today, pedagogically a sound idea.

Students who were from the lower classes might be sent to a local school master who merely hung his sign out indicating he was taking in new students. These pupils would pay about one *denarius* a month; the teacher was often thankful if the payment was made that month. Poor students would wake before sunrise and make their journey to school often with little or no breakfast. For richer families an experienced slave would run his own school out of his master's home or business. These students would often be accompanied by their pedagogue who would carry

the books, accompany the student to and from classes, and often help them with their homework. Whereas a poor teacher might have his school on a busy street and open to casual observers, teachers for the wealthy usually had their own room outfitted with a small library, artwork, and even maps. While parents expected their children to be flogged, a good teacher merely had to reserve it as a threat to be effective.

The student had specific tools for studying. They would have a stylus, with a pointed end for writing and a dull blade for erasing, which they would use to copy sentences given by the master on their wax tablet. Sitting on benches the student would copy the material and regurgitate it to the master. Unlike modern schools that have grades or levels, Roman schools were in a sense a one-room school house that provided for multiple levels based upon the abilities of the students. When the student had achieved some mastery they often moved on to another master. The master would only have a few students, less than 30, and train them until either the student reached their teens or the parents took them out for not learning, or to work in a trade. Education was therefore viewed as a practical art and led to service in a variety of professions. For many of the middle and upper classes it was crucial to know Greek as well as Latin. If one worked as a merchant, especially in the east, it was critical to know some Greek to converse with other merchants. Since many of the parents already knew Greek it was not uncommon for them to speak Greek at home when the child was young. As the child went to school the master would teach in both Greek and Latin. Students initially copied simple Latin and Greek material and then would learn the poets such as Virgil or Homer.

Schools were primarily known for teaching reading and writing; however, before moving on it was not uncommon for a special teacher in arithmetic, a *calculator* to be hired to teach higher math. Since the knowledge of Arabic numbers had not occurred, it was crucial for the student to understand the use of Roman numerals and how property and account books were made.

After this initial tutoring lasting into the early teens, some students would leave their tutor(s) and attach themselves to a *Grammaticus* who would teach them the finer points of Greek and Latin literature. As part of their training, they would learn the meter of poetry and the Greek historians such as Herodotus and Thucydides. In addition, they would learn Euclid's geometry that accomplished triple duty: learning Greek, understanding logic, and learning math. These schools were meant to teach the student information that they could use at dinner conversations, much of it trivia rather than a deep understanding of ideas. For those who either showed or wished to pursue even more depth, they would study oratory or rhetoric. During the Republic this was crucial for someone who wished

to enter politics. Students would learn not from slaves, the *Grammaticus*, such as their early tutors but rather from Roman lawyers or distinguished Greeks. Studying past speeches, students prepared their own speeches on an invented topic, or engaged in mock trials; they were trained as orators so as to participate in the Roman government. For some there was even a more advanced form of education: the study of philosophy either with a known philosopher or at the school of a great philosopher. For some wealthy students, travel to Athens to study with

QUINTILIAN'S DESCRIPTION OF ROMAN EDUCATION

Quintilian was the greatest Roman orator of the first century CE. His only surviving work, the *Institutio Oratoria* (*Institutes of Oratory*), a multivolume textbook on rhetoric, outlines his philosophy of education and gives a detailed summary of primary education for upper-class Roman children. Quintilian also listed the characteristics considered important for Roman orators and critiqued Greek and Roman literary figures before his time. His work was popular during the Renaissance and has served as a model for educators and speakers for centuries.

Marcus Fabius Quintilianus (ca. 35–ca. 100 CE) (anglicized as Quintilian) was born in Roman Spain, where, like others of his social class, he studied rhetoric and oration. As a young man, he traveled to Rome to study under prominent orators and eventually taught rhetoric himself, becoming the first teacher to be paid from state funds. During the 90s CE, Quintilian served as tutor to the grandnephews of Emperor Domitian, and was accorded the rank and privileges of a consul.

The first book of the *Institutes of Oratory* covers the education of children before they studied rhetoric. The second book describes the basics and nature of rhetoric. Books 3 through 11 discuss invention, arrangement, style, memory, and oratorical delivery. The last book describes the ideal orator. In the description of a child's education found in Book 1, Quintilian described how children from well-to-do families were educated at home or at primary schools by teachers who taught by repetition and used corporal punishment to encourage slow learners. Students then studied at a grammar school, where they read Greek and Latin literature and studied proper grammar. Finally, wealthy families would arrange for their children to study rhetoric, preparing them for public speaking, the key to most successful careers in first-century Rome.

the successors of Epicurus, Plato, and Zeno was possible. Many Romans would also read or have read to them the philosophical works of past teachers as they traveled or worked. While these individuals may not have continued their studies professionally, they at least were able to continue the learning of philosophy and even employ it.

Education in the Roman world was very similar to modern education. Much of the success depended upon the teacher and the willingness of the pupils. As with modern education, success often occurred due to the student's drive and social/economic standing.

See also: Family and Gender: Family Life; Higher Education; Recreation and Social Customs: Books; Music and Dance

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FAMILY LIFE

Roman family life centered on the individual's social and economic status. Many of the Roman rules and regulations reflected the upper-class view of what the family's duties entailed. An examination of the upper class helps place all society in some type of understanding.

From literature it is clear that the complex system of family interactions that exists today also occurred in ancient Rome. There were families that had the spouses loving each other, such as Pliny the Younger and his wife Calpurnia; others like Scipio Aemilianus and Sempronia, despised each other. There were those who viewed marriage as a convenience, something that allowed them to gain power or wealth. There was the political hypocrisy, such as Augustus who declared that the family was the moral rock of the Roman state, even though he stole another man's pregnant wife. The family life pictured in literature in many ways paralleled the lives of the present-day rich and famous with all the scandals and talk. Augustus decreed that a woman who had been married and divorced/widowed between the ages of 20 and 50 had to remarry within 18 months after divorce or 24 months after her husband's death; this decree apparently did not apply to the imperial family.

The life of a Roman is understood to be a formal progression with religious ceremonies at set periods. Starting with birth, the child was presented to the goddess of childbirth, Lucina, and was given to her for a period of nine days, the *nundinum*, when it was purified and accepted. At this point the child was given its name. If the child survived past the first few years it was given some type of schooling. Both boys and girls would receive this education, although for girls it might be brief since they could be married at age 12, although probably not the norm. More commonly the girl was betrothed at this age. Although the girl was supposed to consent to her engagement and marriage, it is improbable that her wishes were taken into consideration. While the father usually made the marriage promise, it was not viewed as a binding legal contract, rather it was an intention. During her time growing up, the girl was always under the control of the family, especially the mother, to ensure that she would not get into trouble. The girl could never have any hint of trouble or else the family name would suffer.



Fresco from Pompeii, Italy, ca. 70 CE. The ideal Roman family as portrayed in this fresco shows the division of family duties with women and young girls doing household chores. Here the family is settled in ornate furniture in a comfortable setting. (Photogolfer/Dreamstime.com)

Boys on the other hand were judged differently. They tended to marry older, in the late twenties and early thirties. Beforehand they were not always under the watchful eye of the family and were allowed to “have fun” without any consequences. It was not uncommon for young men to visit brothels and other places of bad repute without any admonishment. At what age a boy became a man depended upon the boy’s maturity and family desire. He did not become a man before puberty, usually at age 14. For the elites the most important time was the public ceremonies of being a man. He would start out as an apprentice into public life under the guidance of his father or other male family/friend. This period would last about a year until he would start his military service. Traditionally, the boy would take on the *toga virilis* indicating his entry into adulthood, and for senatorial families, he would wear

the *latus clavus* or broad stripe allowing him to attend the Senate meetings as a spectator. The boy would become a man and be allowed to participate in the political and military life of the state as proven by his wearing of the *toga virilis*. The ceremony, the feast of Liber and Libera, mentioned here took place on March 17 during which the boy abandoned his striped *toga praetexta* that he had worn as a boy and wore his white *toga pura* and was taken by his family to the state archives or *tabularium* under the capitol and enrolled as a full citizen. He was then able to take control of his property, assume the *toga virilis*, and marry.

Part of the family life involved feasts and festivals. Birthdays were clearly special, as in all societies. While rooted in religion, an altar to *Genius* for boys and Juno for girls, the festivals were also about community and enjoyment as a party everyone wore white, there was a dinner party, family and guests arrived and presented the boy or girl with presents or at least sent them. The Roman authors often made fun of individuals sending inappropriate gifts such as books for the illiterate. Rather they encouraged the gift to be special, something that would not only express individuality but bring praise from the others. Since the day was meant to be special, the presents were an expression of that sentiment, just like in our time. As opposed to birthdays, the celebrations for remembrance were for the dead. While American society does not have the same type of celebrations, the Romans had a celebration period of eight days, from February 13 to the 21st. The family would visit the graves of the departed and leave presents for them as well. These celebrations were seen as ways that the family could honor itself, both living and dead.

The Roman family was centered not only on the day-to-day life of the household but on the reverence and remembrance of the dead. The importance of the family was meant to ensure their name. The celebrations concerning birth, marriage, and death were not only for the immediate family but also for the future generations who would be told stories about their ancestors, thus preserving the family from generation to generation.

See also: *Family and Gender*: Adoption; Childhood; Education; Family Planning; Heirs; Marriage; *Paterfamilias*; *Food and Drink*: Banquets; Dinner Party; *Recreation and Social Customs*: Games

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FAMILY PLANNING

Family planning or the attempt to build a family is a necessary prerequisite for society and its survival. For the Roman world the evidence concerning family planning comes from the elites and their family connections as reported on inscriptions and related in literature. During the last century of the Republic and the early Empire, the evidence was more detailed than at other times.

During the last century of the Republic and first century of the Empire, wealthy families appear to begin to die out. Several reasons, both stated in antiquity and the modern era, have been given. Augustus in 9 CE declared that the major reason for the decline in birth rates was due to the reluctance of the nobility youth to marry. He was repeating a speech made nearly 150 years earlier by a censor who in 131 BCE declared that the nobility had a duty to marry, even if married life was difficult. Augustus's attempt to increase the birth rate by compelling the youth to marry was not successful. This was in part like their Greek counterparts in the second century BCE, when strong economic pressure was exerted to keep the patrimonies intact meaning that only one son was desired. In addition, the family recognized that daughters were often a liability given the dowry and other expenses. Of course, this was short sighted since society needs roughly equal mixtures of the sexes. Often a family with only one daughter was viewed as desirable since her dowry would be larger than if more daughters existed. Of course, there was also the possibility that coming from a family with few children may point to a genetic susceptibility of barrenness. Some modern scholars have posited that the decline came from lead poisoning. The theory is that water carried by the pipes led to poisoning so that males became sterile and females miscarried. While some skeletons do contain higher levels of lead than normal, there are issues with the theory. First, the water pipes carried water to all members of society, it was not discriminatory. If there was a dramatic percentage of lead poisoning leading to the decline of families, it would have been noticed and mentioned. In addition, many of the water pipes were used for centuries without further issues. Second, there is evidence that some families did in fact have large number of children, including members of the upper class and imperial family. The legislation by Julius Caesar and then Augustus to reward freeborn families with more than three children must have been occasionally successful. Like in Greece it is more probable that the

decline had to do with economic and social factors. In addition, the ravages of the civil wars in the late Republic took their toll on the families. Finally, the use of lead pipes wholesale did not occur, just in Rome and other large cities.

Families clearly understood the practices of family planning, that is, limiting children by using contraceptives, abortions, and exposure. While little direct accounts of how contraceptives existed, many authors made references to prostitutes who had knowledge of prevention. It is not unlikely that this knowledge was known by others and shared with society. There were of course magical potions and superstition that could be purchased, but they did little. The ancients often used contraception and abortion interchangeably. One method depicted on art was the washing after sex which was probably a contraceptive means. Also some Christian writers who make note of destroying the seed right after sex probably referred to a spermicidal drug. For families that had produced an unwanted child, it was common to expose the child. If the child was found and raised it could either have been a slave or part of the family; but most children who were exposed died. None of these acts were illegal and provided the family with options to control their size.

Miscarriage was common, which often led to infertility due to injury. Death during childbirth was also common for both the child and the mother. Infant mortality was very common. There were many records, both literary and on tombstones, that would record a woman giving birth to so many children, for example, seven, and only a few or even none survive. The literary records usually recorded the upper class and nobility and most of the empresses had little luck in seeing their children survived. Of course, for the poor, infant mortality was also high due to malnutrition and disease. Infant mortality kept the general population in check.

Exposure of children was not illegal and even the sale of children to slave traders was permitted. At the end of first century CE a common trend arose with wealthy individuals. They provided an endowment to cities to take care of free-born children. It appears that the plan was to provide subsidies to parents so that the children could be brought up. Pliny the Younger gave money for such a plan, which usually went to children born in a marriage, for boys until 18 and girls to 14. The Emperor Trajan made an imperial grant to the town of Velia in north Italy and seems to have helped some 250 boys and 35 girls. In total, over 5,000 children were supported by the emperor. In Africa a nobleman recorded on an inscription money earned from interest from his endowment to support 300 boys and 200 girls. The project, recorded in literature, on coins, and on sculpture is known as the *alimenta* and was to promote the birth rates and ensure that the poor children survived so that they could later serve the state in the military and have families of their own. Unfortunately, the economic ravages of the third century eliminated the grants.

Family planning was therefore not only an individual action, one in which the family attempted to have successors but also a community or governmental plan. While the family may have wanted or needed help on the farm or business, the government or society needed to increase their supply of soldiers and families. The government's attempt to increase birth rates was mainly tied to societal pressure and political ideas, not social solutions. Their program would ultimately fail since society determined family planning and not governments.

See also: Family and Gender: Adoption; Family Life; Heirs; Marriage; Paterfamilias; Science and Technology: Roman Medicine

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FREEDMEN

Freedmen, *libertus*, were ex-slaves who had been manumitted by their master and received their freedom and citizenship, if his master was a citizen. There was no process of naturalization. Although the freedman and his children were barred from the Senate and high office, at least to the third generation, he nevertheless had other opportunities. Under the early Republic the freedman was not liable for military service, but by the first century BCE this was removed and he could enter the service. Taking the first part of a master's name, the *nomen* and praenomen, they were enrolled in the same *gens*, for example, the *Junii*, as the master's family. A freedman's children became Roman citizens. Typically, only those connected with the master and the household were freed; the vast majority of slaves, especially rural and workers never saw freedom. The state received a 5 percent tax on the value of the ex-slave, which became an important and large component of the imperial budget.

The freedman usually remained in his master's house in some sort of business. Since the freed slave was usually someone who had helped his master in some professional way, it was not uncommon for the ex-slave to be part of the family's commercial enterprise. The freedman, like Cicero's Tiro, often became the handler of the master's estate and its expenses. Cicero and his peers would refer business matters to his freedman, both as a way to feign ignorance to put someone off,

or to give time for further study. The freedman knew the intimate dealings of the family and so it was only prudent not to see him employed by another. Most freedmen were therefore treated as family members, including the receiving of legacies when his former master died, often remaining with the surviving spouse and even marrying her. While these types of freedmen, like Tiro, were few, they nevertheless were sufficiently known to be powerful men in Roman society and their descendants often rose to immense power. Most other freedmen were employed in the crafts, as shopkeepers, and in the government bureaucracy. Since they had received their training in these areas, they were able to compete with freeborn individuals quite successfully. While it may be literary license, most freedmen were seen as hard working, willing to do things freeborn men thought were beneath them, and ready to be entrepreneurs. It may have been a type of self-selection in that these types of individuals were the ones willing to do anything that in turn promoted freedom.

The freedman not only became a member of his master's *gens* but was also his client. He was often dependent upon his former master for contacts and work. The freedman often agreed as part of his freedom to work for the family or if a professional like a tutor or physician to provide his services, free of charge of course, to the family. This was showing the ex-master and his family *dignitas* or gratitude. These freedmen were often set up in business by their masters. Cato the Elder was well known for supplying his freedmen with the initial investment so that they could engage in trade and then repay Cato with profits. This arrangement was conducive to both side, the freedmen had the capital to engage in trade and make a living, while Cato, as a senator forbidden by law to engage in trade, could legally do so through his freedman earning profits without incurring liabilities.

Imperial ex-slaves became quite important. One, Claudius Etruscus was a slave from the east, Smyrna, and was freed by the Emperor Tiberius, hence the name Claudius (Tiberius's *gens*) served in the Roman treasury for six emperors, rising to control the Empire's wealth, before dying during the reign of Domitian of old age. He became an equestrian and married a Roman whose brother was a consul. Others who likewise had immense power were Pallas and Narcissus rivals under Claudius who controlled the resources of the Empire and ensured that it was well run. Most freedmen of course were not as powerful or rich; rather they served the family as members. When Pliny's freedman Zosimus contracted tuberculosis, Pliny sent him to Egypt for a cruise to help cure him, and when he returned and seemingly was well, was welcomed back with eagerness; when Zosimus again got ill Pliny sent him to live in a friend's villa.

Both the former master, the *patronus*, and the ex-slave, the *libertus*, had obligations to each other. The *patronus* was expected to care for the ex-slave providing him with a career or housing such as a farm, burial in the family tomb, and if he

died, take care of his children if still young. The *libertus* for his part agreed to support his ex-master even out of his own estate even if his ex-master was reduced to poverty. If the freedman died childless his patron would inherit his property (but not the family of the patron). The freedman showed his former master respect and if he did not, he could be re-sold into slavery and the profits given to the former master or given back to his master as a slave.

FREEDMEN AND THEIR FORMER MASTERS

Although no longer enslaved, freedmen still owed certain obligations to former masters and often continued to work for them. In the first of two excerpts reproduced below from his letters, Pliny the Younger (62–ca. 113 CE), a Roman public official and lawyer, advises a citizen named Sabinianus to be lenient with his freedman, who had in some way angered his former master and then gone to Pliny to plead for his intercession. In the second, Pliny praises Sabinianus for forgiving the freedman and accepting him back into his household. The two letters indicate that freedmen were still dependent on their former masters' goodwill. They also reveal something of the social rules in play at the time—the freedman went to someone of social influence to speak on his behalf to his former master.

Your freedman, whom you told me you were so angry with, came to me and prostrated himself, and clung to my feet as though they had been your own. There were many tears, many prayers, and even much silence on his part; in short, he convinced me of his penitence. I believe him to be truly amended, because he feels that he has sinned. You are angry, I know, and you are rightly angry, that I know too; but it is precisely when there is the most just ground for anger that clemency is entitled to the highest praise. . . . Make some allowance in view of the man's youth, in view of his tears, in view of your own goodness of heart.

You have done well in taking back to your home and your heart the freedman formerly so dear to you, with my letter for his passport. This will be a satisfaction to you. . . . So I praise as well as thank you.

(Lewis, 1890, 308–309)

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The household therefore would often have freedmen and women continue in their old role but now free and able to have some form of independence. While someone looking at them may not know who was free or slave, it was a matter of great importance for the family and the individual. Their role now shifted to even greater interconnections. The freedman became the family's confidant and provided insight for the family. In addition, they were quite useful in running the household since they knew everyone and their strengths and weaknesses. For the Roman who maintained several villas or estates the bailiff was usually a freedman who had worked his way up in the house and understood the estate and its economy. The freedman thus became an extension of the Roman master and his ability to run the family's property.

See also: Economics and Work: Manumission; Slavery; Social Structure; *Family and Gender:* Legal Divisions; Patronage; *Recreation and Social Customs:* Class Structure

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FUNERALS

Funerals were a crucial part of every Roman family regardless of their views of the afterlife. Most saw it as keeping family memories. Most of the religions did not believe in immortality and in fact feared that they would soon be forgotten. It was therefore crucial to have a memorable funeral so that your family and friends would not forget you.

After one's death the body was prepared for the funeral. If the individual was important, professional actors were hired to wear the *imagines* or death masks portraying the deceased's ancestors. The family would often have their slaves or professional mourners going about the streets shouting that the deceased is being surrendered to death and the funeral is now happening. The funeral is then led by the undertaker followed by a band of musicians and professional clowns who sing coarse songs and tell risqué jokes. The funeral procession took on a carnival atmosphere. An actor imitates the deceased in voice and mannerisms, even at his

expense. At this point the funeral procession had the ancestors accompanying the corpse to the grave. If the individual was a great Roman, one whose family could count previous consuls, *aediles*, or even a censor or dictator, they would all be portrayed by the actors. The procession was meant to show the glory of the family and how important it was. In this way the hope was that the deceased would not be forgotten and would be extolled like his ancestors.

Following this procession a celebration of the life of the deceased occurred. If the individual had commanded armies they would be displayed; if a writer or orator, copies of his works were read. The display is like a triumph for the deceased. Slaves then followed carrying the corpse on a couch decked in consular, purple colors. The body was on display so that all could see him. The family then followed the corpse. The eldest son would lead the procession as the new head of the house, *Paterfamilias*, and would accompany his mother who wears the traditional mourning gown of white. In this accompaniment other women of the house or slaves would scream and wail laments for the dead. Other family members and friends dressed in their togas, usually black, now followed gazing down in sorrow. After them came the *familia*, that is, former slaves, now freedmen, who had helped their former master



Mausoleum, imperial era. This columbarium or mausoleum held the cremated remains of family members in urns. Placed outside the city walls to prevent religious pollution, cemeteries, and mausoleums, allowed family members a meeting place to honor their dead ancestors. The funerals were often elaborate with a celebration of the dead for their families. (Jgaunion/Dreamstime.com)

over the years or been engaged in business with him. The newer freedmen, that is, the recently manumitted slaves as part of his will now followed wearing their *pileus* cap showing their new found freedom. The slaves of the household then followed proclaiming how they had lost their master, one who was so great and kind.

For the wealthy it was general practice for a funeral oration to be proclaimed. In Rome this would take place in the Forum where the funeral procession would move to the *rostra*. A speaker would then approach and begin the funeral oration, which was meant to highlight the deceased's accomplishments. The oration could be given for either a man or a woman. The speaker would often highlight the military accomplishments or political successes such as a treaty favorable to Rome. The speaker would also connect the deceased with his ancestors, crucial since the public needed to know that the deceased came from a great family. The oration also allowed the family to make its case that the descendants of the deceased are entitled to be recognized as successors and inheritors of the honor of the deceased. The oration might also show the munificence of the deceased and their family. For example, if the deceased built a temple or basilica, it would be mentioned; if he or she restored a building it would not only be extolled but show that the family was deeply involved in the life of Rome.

After the oration the funeral procession would move beyond the gates and walls of the city since it was forbidden to bury anyone in the city. The procession would then move to a tomb erected by the family. The corpses of the poor were merely dumped into an open pit where they were subject to ravages by wild animals such as dogs and ravens. Since the pits were outside the city, it was hoped that the remains would not lead to pestilence and disease. For the better off individuals the remains would be more secure. During the Republic it was more common to burn or cremate the body. The remains such as ashes or corpses were then placed in tombs. The tombs were often grandiose to show the power and family's prestige. There are numerous archaeological remains outside of Rome. One is the pyramid of Cestius, which was constructed near the end of the Republic. This tomb shows the new influence of Egypt and its culture on Rome. The pyramid is 116 feet tall and is an imposing structure.

If cremated, the corpse was then placed on a pyre. The wood would then be sprinkled with perfume and spices. Cypress boughs would then be placed to ensure not only a good fire but a pleasant aroma. Personal articles were placed on the pyre next to the corpse; these might include jewelry, clothing, perhaps an animal sacrifice. The heir to the family would then take a torch and averting his face light the pyre. As the fire burned the family waits in silence. Once the fire consumed the corpse and the bier collapsed members of the household put out the fire with chilled wine. Several of the remaining bones and ashes would then be collected and wrapped in a fine linen cloth and placed in an urn and buried.

On the individual's birthday and the feast day of their death, as well as in February, celebrations are made to honor the memory of the deceased. For the poor they would join together in burial clubs to ensure that the individual would be given a decent burial. All members of society hoped for a funeral that would honor them and their family.

See also: *Family and Gender*: Cemeteries; Cremation; Death and Dying; Inhumation; *Religion and Beliefs*: Afterlife; Private Worship

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HEIRS

Heirs in the Roman world followed distinct rules and regulations so as to ensure the continuation of the family's position and property. As Roman law and customs developed, the rules concerning the transference of legitimacy constantly developed and changed to meet varying circumstances.

For the Romans the most important aspect of legitimacy was the production of an heir through marriage. The Romans recognized that the will or testament was an integral part of inheritance, and if one died without a will (intestacy) it was seen as a repudiation of society. The will contained the heir or heirs' names (*heres*) who would receive the deceased's assets and liabilities. An individual in civil law normally entitled to possessions of a testator were those who were agnates or blood relatives from the male side, first being those under the power of the testator (*sui heredes*) such as sons and daughters, and if they did not exist then the next nearest agnates such as brothers and sisters, and at least in the Republic, the *gens*. Finally, if no other agnate existed or had refused, then the wife or husband was eligible. The importance of the will in naming heirs was crucial since it allowed them to receive the property and power of the testator. Originally, a Roman could name in his will both heirs and legacies. The legacies were gifts paid to individuals, usually nonheirs, paid out of the estate. Often it was discovered that the legacies wiped out the entire estate leaving nothing

for the heirs. This may have been done by accident, a testator believing he had more in his estate than he actually did, or perhaps by design, to slight his heirs. This practice of legacies existed since the early Republic and continued until the late Republic. The Romans attempted to fix the problem of excessive legacies throughout the Republic but until 41 BCE had failed. The *lex Falcidia* in 41 BCE established that legacies could amount to no more than three quarters of the estate leaving at least one quarter for the heirs. Women were not allowed to be named as heirs to estates over an amount equaling the lower limit of the upper class of the census. These laws during the mid-Republic (*lex Voconia* of 169 BCE) could be circumvented by having women named not as heirs but by given legacies. A riskier way would be to name a close friend as trustee who would then give the estate over as a gift to the deceased's daughter, but if the friend backed out and kept the estate, nothing could be done; to prevent such abuses emperors made trusts more legalized with shame and disrepute following someone who violated his friend's wishes.

The Romans, unlike Germanic customs, divided the estate equally among the sons, unless one was specifically disinherited. This meant that each son would receive an equal part of the estate, less legacies. Cases in Roman law show how the will and inheritors were constantly in legal messes and fighting. Cases involving heirs and would be heirs populate late Roman rulings showing how even a small estate could lead to bitter family fights. Often the cases involved a family member, perhaps a son-in-law, who was despised and left out of the will, or cases in which there was no will, so everyone in the family could make their case as an heir.

Often individuals could bring valid cases such as when the testator was known to be mentally ill, or someone who was very sick. Other successful cases often revolved around someone left out of the will without reason; in this case the individual could file a suit claiming that the will was not in keeping with the wishes of the testator. Finally, the household staff, slaves in particular, could be seen as an "heir" through manumission. While they were not technically an heir, their freedom could be seen as a gift.

Certain individuals could not be named as heirs. For example, offsprings from incest and adultery were not seen as legitimate. On the other hand, an individual adopted was a blood heir with equal rights as natural offsprings. In the early Republic a son could be disinherited without any reason given, meaning that he had no claim on the estate. This was later amended to require a just cause that had to be clearly stated. Examples of just causes could be treason, disrespect to the *Paterfamilias*, or other major immoral acts.

The Romans established a clear set of procedures and ranking for the heirs overseen by the praetor, the official in charge of legal issues since the beginning

of the Republic. The first order were the natural heirs; they succeeded due to their direct blood relationship with the deceased. Also in this class were those who had been emancipated, normally barred from inheritance but whom the praetor had deemed acceptable, and those emancipated sons. If none existed in the first order, those in the second order were the agnates, relations from the male side including blood relatives such as brothers, nephews, and cousins. If no one existed or accepted from the second order, the third contained the cognates, those relatives from the mother side. If none of the above orders could inherit, the estate went to the fourth, the public treasury. There could be individuals in the orders who were entitled to the estate but who either refused outright or were deemed not capable or denied. In these instances the estate would then devolve to the next order. Of course an individual might not wish to take possession of an estate since the debts against the estate might be greater than the estate and they may not have wished to be involved with or against the creditors.

The Roman system of heirs followed from a simple process of passing ones estate to his immediate family to a complex system of orders interrelated and full of complexity. This system arose and became more legalized as the value of the estate increased. For the vast majority of the Roman population there were no wills and only few tangible pieces of property to give to ones heirs. This does not mean that disputes did not arise. As attested in numerous documents disputes arose and were often vicious, even if the rewards were small.

See also: Family and Gender: Adoption; Family Life; Family Planning; Legal Divisions; Paterfamilias; Patronage; Wills

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HIGHER EDUCATION

Higher education in Rome dramatically differed than modern post-secondary education. While Romans learned introductory material, similar to our K-12 system, most stopped receiving an education by their early teens. Two types of higher

education soon evolved: the study of philosophy, the formal route, and the grand tour, an informal but practical education. Both systems were reserved for the wealthy elites who not only had the resources but also the time. Often the study abroad was undertaken to ensure the family or individual's safety, such as Cicero's excursion after a trial where he had intimated that a follower of the dictator Sulla had committed the crime and he now feared for his life.

The study of philosophy began with rhetoric where the student learned to be an advocate. The student discovered not only the language but the argument of an issue, especially showing his teacher how ingenious he was. These exercises took the form of declamations where the student was given a hypothetical situation and asked to develop the argument, writing it down, and then presenting it to his classmates. For example, individuals would argue who was the better general Alexander the Great or Hannibal, could Alexander beat the Romans, and so forth. These tasks were either on set themes (as mentioned earlier) or on a hypothetical law or situation, a controversy. One of the more famous example was the law (fictitious) that indicated if a man rapes a woman she could either have him marry her or execute him; what happens if he rapes two women and one wants death and the other marriage? Again, the idea behind these exercises was to show the talents of the student in their arguments and language. Of course, the subjects were often contrived, for example, no one talked about the power of the emperor, so Roman political themes ended with the death of Brutus and Cicero. This was only practical since emperors were known to protect their power and the ideas behind their power with brutal effectiveness. For those who wanted even more learning, there were the great philosophical schools.

The young man would attend the schools of philosophy where they were expected to listen to the ideas of their master and engage in discussion. There were numerous schools, some more famous than others. In Athens, Plato's academy continued, where the ideas of Plato and his followers were read and discussed content from the "Theory of Forms" which guided all, leading to the highest level the "Form of Good". The ideas of Platonism evolved and during the late Republic, the Middle Platonic period, the ideas of Stoicism became attached to it especially the concept of the world-soul in which all living organisms on the planet are interconnected. Opposed to this idea was Skepticism that argued that nothing can be surely known and one must always enquire. Another philosophic school that vied for students was the Cynics who argued that individuals should reject wealth, sex, power, and fame and live a simple life; Cicero was opposed to this one believing that it was immodest but during the Empire it became popular. Cynicism was often viewed as a perfect form of Stoicism. This philosophical school believed that one should live their life in accordance to nature. Pupils of Stoicism included Seneca and the Emperor Marcus Aurelius.

Epicureanism argued that life was a collection of chance in which the gods did not play a part.

The major schools in the Roman Empire were Stoicism, Epicureanism, and Skepticism; while Platonism was seen as the bulwark for study, the philosophical schools of Stoicism, Epicureanism, and Skepticism allowed individuals to study the surrounding world and explore their own position in it. This was important since after the Republic the Roman Emperors were very wary of ideas that might challenge their political authority. The major schools were usually in the Athens and the Greek east and allowed students not only the opportunity to study philosophy but also to engage in the second form of education, travel.

The grand tour was seen as a way for a young Roman to witness firsthand the magnitude of Roman power and those he governed. The tour was also viewed as a rite of passage. While the idea of the grand tour did not formally originate until the 17th century, the Romans would send their children on extended travel excursions, especially the members of the ruling class. For example, the Emperor Augustus sent his grandson Gaius on a tour of the east, where unfortunately he died after a battle in 4 CE. Like his younger brother, Lucius, who had been sent to the west, died earlier in 2 CE. The tours were not only meant to introduce the youths to the Roman world but also to provide them with learning opportunities.

Later members of the imperial family continued this practice, most notably Germanicus, grandson of Augustus's sister Octavia (Antonia) and wife Livia (Drusus). Germanicus toured the east and traveled to Egypt to see the wonders of the ancient Nile. While he had military and political authority, the trip was also meant to educate him on the customs of the east. Unfortunately, he died in Antioch. These tours were therefore both a learning experience and a practical political and military exercise.

It was not uncommon for Roman youths in the Republic to travel abroad for "education" instead of remaining at home and face possible murder or trial. Cicero, who had offended the dictator Sulla by defending a nobleman of patricide and implicating a follower of Sulla, left Italy for the east to receive further education in philosophy. He traveled to Athens, where he learned the different types of philosophy and rhetoric especially Plato's ideas at his academy under the tutelage of Philo of Larissa, its head who was from Asia Minor, where he later served as governor, and Rhodes. His travels would provide him with insights into the region and its people, which he could draw upon when he was governor.

Higher education in Rome was therefore served by two forms: traditional schooling, in rhetoric and philosophy, and by traveling abroad. These two forms served the Roman elites, not only in political and military matters, but also in business. While the everyday Romans did not travel abroad, they saw the results of these travels, especially in the Republic, where new culture arrived in Rome.

Most Romans did not have access to these forms of education and instead had to be content with whatever schooling they received when young.

See also: Arts: Cicero, Marcus Tullius; Performing Arts; Prose; Roman Classical Literature; Satire; *Family and Gender:* Education; *Recreation and Social Customs:* Travel; Vacations

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HOMOSEXUALITY

Homosexuality in the Roman world concerned itself with the idea of power. Latin does not have a word for homosexuality, and as such the references refer to sexual acts and power. Most references refer to male-on-male relationships, although there are some literary and artistic representations of female-on-female relationships too. Roman wall paintings at Pompeii show same-sex physical relationships. These tended to be male–male acts but were not the predominate types portrayed since male–female acts do dominate. The underlying issues of homosexuality in the Roman world deal with the power position within the legal standing of the individuals involved.

For a Roman man his *virtus* or what made him a man determined his psyche. In the Roman world this translated into his ability to defend his personage, including against rape and his capacity to dominate others, especially those of inferior status. Here, if he was the dominant individual who controlled the other male, homosexuality may be acceptable. The crucial point was who the dominant sexual partner was and what was the status of the submissive partner. Roman law indicated that a Roman citizen (man) could have sex with another man provided that the other individual was from the *infamis* class or a slave. This individual could therefore be an entertainer (actor, singer, etc.), a prostitute, gladiator, or convicted criminal. Most Roman men preferred young men of 12–20 years old; they could not engage in sexual relationships with a freeborn man or a Roman boy or child. Since a slave was property that had no rights it was acceptable to engage in sexual relationships with him; although if one had sex with another man’s slave, that

master could bring an action against the other Roman for damaging his property. As long as the freeborn male took the dominant role, in either a hetero or homosexual relationship, it was acceptable. For the Roman it did not matter what the gender was, what was important was the role the individuals took. This harkened back to the idea that a Roman was to be dominant and it allowed him to ensure his *virtus* was intact.

The Romans therefore believed that it was perfectly normal for a man to take on the dominant role and have sexual relations with another man. The Romans, however, considered it negative or sick for a Roman citizen (man) to want to be the submissive partner with either a man or woman. Literature had numerous terms used for sexuality. For those who were submissive terms such as *cinaedus*, who was viewed as an effeminate man, who had deficiencies in his *virtus*. A male concubine was called a *concubinus* and often shared the bed of an unmarried man so that the latter could satisfy his lust; when he married a woman this male *concubinus* was supposed to disappear. *Puer*, meaning boy, could be both a status and age related. A slave was always a *puer* and was subject to relationships with his master, while a freeborn *puer* after reaching his manhood at age 14 was not to engage in relationships.

During the second century BCE, Latin authors began to write on issues concerning homoerotic themes. The consul and general Quintus Lutatius Catulus who co-commanded an army against the Germans with Marius and who was slighted by the Senate in favor of Marius sided with Sulla in the civil wars. He composed Hellenistic epigrams and a fragment of his poems describes his desire toward a Greek male. The reference may not have been sexual but rather an admiration of the Greeks as one modeled by this individual. In the first century BCE, the poet Catullus makes several references to freeborn Romans whose acts were against the traditional Roman view of *virtus* and propriety. Vergil in his work *Aeniad* also makes a connection between sexuality and military valor with the love of Nisus and Euryalus under Aeneas where they show *virtus* and *pietas* or piety. Their love probably harkened back to the barrack relationships promoted by Sparta between consenting freeborn men.

The early imperial authors Juvenal and Martial refer to marriages between men. Although marriage was a civil and family issue, mainly for the determination of inheritance, Roman law did not recognize same-sex marriage. Nevertheless, there are references to these marriages including with some notoriety the Emperor Nero being married twice to the same man, once as a bride and another as a groom. Most of these stories may have been to mock the individuals and their lack of *virtus* and may not have really happened. Explicit prohibitions to same sex marriages began to enter the law codes during the Christian period, which formally and explicitly forbade gay marriage. A possible reason for their inclusion

is that it was not unknown or practiced and therefore had to be made explicitly forbidden.

Associated with homosexuality was male–male rape. This normally took place during times of war. Since Roman soldiers were prohibited from engaging in sexual relationships with another freeborn male (i.e., soldier), they often resorted to sex with a slave or prostitute; or during war they may have engaged in rape. Roman law indicated that if a Roman citizen was raped by the enemy, the victim did not suffer *infamis* or loss of status as would normally result when a freeborn consented to be the submissive partners. Homosexuality in ancient Rome should therefore be seen not so much as a sexual acts as one of power and authority. If the individual engaging in sex was freeborn, he was to be the dominant partner, if not, his prestige was slighted and he was seen as sick or perverted; if the submissive partner was a slave or from the *infamis* then the act was acceptable. This concept of power reinforced the ideas that the Romans had concerning their conquest seen not only in their public lives but also in their private lives. For the Romans homosexuality was about their ability to fit into the power structure of society. The condemnation of homosexuality in the Roman era came either from this loss of power or prestige. In later times it was condemned due to the Judeo-Christian attitudes and this view continued throughout the medieval and into modern times.

See also: Family and Gender: Family Life; Legal Divisions; Marriage; Fashion and Appearance: Jewelry, Men; Public Appearance

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HOUSEHOLD

The makeup of the Roman household varied depending on wealth, status, and rank; these households should be viewed as organic systems that evolved over time, even during a family's history or lifetime. The following discussion explores the different members of a household showing what a “typical” Roman middle-upper

class family might look like as well as extended family members living and working in the household.

The households had numerous individuals who attended the family, both free and slave. There was a doorkeeper, usually a slave, who protected and ensured the family was safe at night and greeted/escorted visitors. He was supervised by the butler, again a trusted slave, almost like a family member who not only examined the visitor but also served as a barrier between the household and the visitor; he greeted the visitor welcoming and receiving him into the house, with politeness but wariness. These servants were the public face of the household and ensured that the private space was not intruded upon. In addition to these slaves there would have been bearers who could also act as guards for the house and family. They carried their masters on litters through the streets, making sure no one accosted the family in the crowded streets. Another public slave would have been a muleteer or a horseman who would drive the household's carts and wagons to and from markets, ports, factories, or other areas. While these individuals would



Mosaic, Achilles as a Child, Paphos, Cyprus, fourth century CE. The Romans celebrated the ideal family makeup through art, such as this scene of Achilles as a child. While most of these scenes are idyllic and did not necessarily represent the harsh realities of ancient life, they did convey the ideas central to all society. (Anthony Baggett/Dreamstime.com)

not have acted as merchants, they would have been available to help the family and their agents in times of need.

In the house's private region an important individual would have been the cook, perhaps one of the most important slave or freedman who was responsible not only for the cooking but also buying the produce and meats for the family. Like the butler, the cook was expected to function both in the public and private spheres. A steward, originally in charge of the wine-cellar served the family and friends. The steward could even rise to being in charge of a family's farm and business accounts and was often a freedman. These individuals would also have assistants of varying quality and capabilities who would not only help in these areas but also work as general workers in the house. The mistress of the house would have ladies in waiting, again slaves who would help the ladies of the house bathe, dress, apply makeup, do hairstyles, and other private arrangements. There would perhaps have been a weaver or seamstress who was in charge of the clothes. The master would have had a slave who helped him shave or barber, accompany him to the baths, and a masseuse. Additional family household members often included a tutor for the children, as well as babysitters. For some families a wet nurse was often employed. The size of the household of course depended upon the wealth and status of the owner.

Fortunately for modern historians, there exists the tomb of the Statili in the early imperial period from Augustus to Nero which records the epitaphs of workers in a rather large and important family. While it is difficult to date these specific tombs more closely, the individuals involved clearly show the wealth and specialization of an estate. For example, the names and number of occupations include, architect/surveyor (1), doctors/midwives (3), barbers/hairdressers (3), masseurs/oilers (7), readers/entertainers (3), bath attendant (1), child nurses/attendants (5), bodyguards (10), room servants (919), table servants (1), cooks (3), provisioners (2), caretakers (10), gardeners (4), social organizers (1), animal tenders (2), runners/bearers (16), financial agents (7), administrators (11), and secretaries/copyists (7).

Most households did not have this many individuals living in one house. Rather, like most societies, the Roman household composed a much smaller nuclear family with other extended family members. Most households did not follow the traditional Roman family with the *Paterfamilias* and all of the sons living in the house with their wives. This was the idealistic family makeup for a traditional family and this extended family member. Rather, most had the parents, their young children, perhaps a grandparent or two, if still living, and even brothers or sisters of either the husband or wife. The size of houses did not allow for extensive family entities. In the rural areas the farmsteads again did not allow for the large families mentioned in literature as the norm. Most of these peasant farms had nuclear family and some extended family/servant members. In Egypt, papyri

record the numerous census accounts that show the members allotted for farms and urban settings. Most record the husband and wife, although occasionally only one is recorded, with their children over the age of 12, and often a parent, brother, or sister. The records show on some farms and household apprentices. From contracts, such as for weavers, the master is expected to provide housing in addition to a place for the apprentice to work. For some households the apprentice was seen as an extension of the household. Many of the houses rented out workshops and stalls for merchants in front of the house that were staffed by freedmen or apprentices from the family.

The composition of the household should therefore be seen as more than just the nuclear family. While it contained the nuclear family it could also house agnate (male lineage) family members such as brothers, sisters, parents, as well as cognate (female lineage) members to slaves and freedmen, and even tenets. Again, the size of the household depended upon the wealth and status of the family. While most Romans probably did not have servants, their household would have contained members outside the nuclear family. Since Rome did not have any type of old-age home or long-term medical care facilities, it was dependent upon the family to care for their sick and elderly. In addition, by the late Republic, families that had slaves were required to take care of them in their old age, even if they were set free. The literary and papyrological source references show how the extended family, including servants, was a normal part of the Roman household.

See also: Economics and Work: Social Structure; Family and Gender: Childhood; Family Life; Family Planning; Paterfamilias; Pregnancy; Housing and Community: Apartments; City Houses; Rural Houses; Villa; Recreation and Social Customs: Adolescent; Class Structure and Status

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INHUMATION

Inhumation, the act of burying a body, is the oldest active method of disposing of a corpse. While leaving a corpse to decay was common for some societies, the Romans viewed it as sacrileges. Burying a corpse could be done quickly and

easily and was probably initially done to prevent the corpse from being consumed by wild animals, and to prevent stench and disease. The poor often hoped that their body could be buried and that it was not merely thrown into the great pit near the Esquiline Hill at Rome where there was no marker or reverence. This burial practice was similar to the one followed by Greeks who thought it was important for them to show some reverence for the corpse. An example of not showing reverence, as contrary to the religious mores, is seen in *Antigone* by the Greek playwright Sophocles in which Antigone sprinkles dirt on her brother's corpse to appease the gods in a burial ceremony of inhumation.

Inhumation was the first type of burial in Rome and became the norm during the pre-Republican period; it was the dominant form of burial until near the end of the Republic when cremation superseded it. Burial returned as a dominant form during the third century CE. For inhumation, the body was prepared and usually put into some protective case. For the poor, the case was often just a shroud, a sack, or even a wood or stone-lined pit with a cover made of tile, while for others it could be a wooden or lead coffin. Wooden coffins from Egypt have been discovered and provide examples of the different types used. These often included multiple coffins or sarcophagi that were elaborately painted. Some included "death masks" that presented life-like representations in great detail. While these were not for the poor, they were probably intended for middle-class individuals.

The catacombs near Rome became centers of inhumation burials where the volcanic earth was dug out allowing for niches that were then covered with a plaque, usually made of marble; many of the recipients were poor. For wealthier individuals the coffin, or sarcophagus, was often made of stone; a sarcophagus was usually made of limestone. Originally the sarcophagus was named for the type of stone from Assos in Asia Minor near ancient Troy. As the stone (alum-slate) was a type of limestone, it had the property of consuming the body in 40 days. Since the stone was highly sought after it was used to line other coffins. Ultimately, the name was applied to any stone coffin.

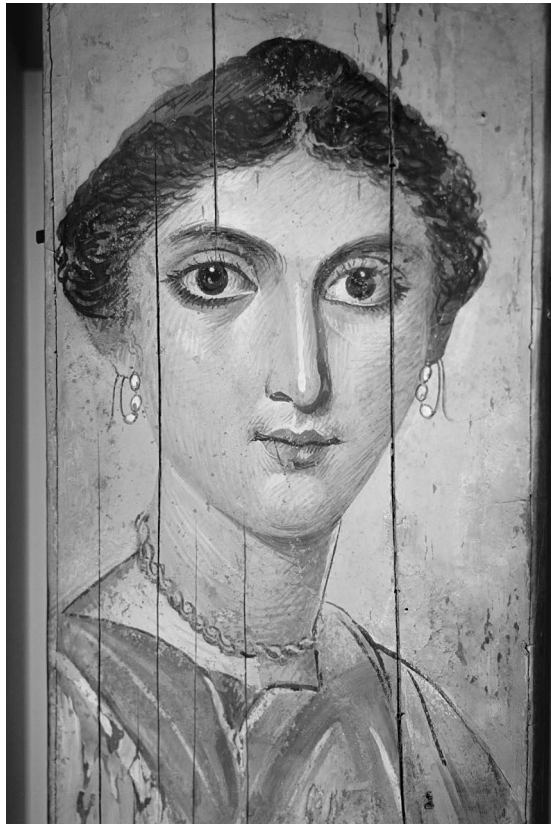
The sarcophagus was often ornately carved and decorated. Sarcophagi are known from the Greek period, especially the Hellenistic Age. The Etruscans used sarcophagi with either a gabled lid like a house roof, or a lid with a reclining figure(s). A few examples from the Republican period survive, but most come from imperial times especially from the workshops in Athens and Antioch. From the Roman Republic the most famous was the sarcophagus of L. Cornelius Scipio Barbatus, now in the Vatican. Barbatus was the great-great grandfather of Scipio Africanus. The sarcophagus was usually placed in a mausoleum in a niche and was therefore only visible from the front. The decorations on the sarcophagus were therefore usually confined to the front and occasionally to the sides. It was common

to decorate the sarcophagus with scenes related to the individual's profession, a celebration of heroic deeds, or representations of the mythological figures, depending upon the individual's taste or wealth.

A series of sarcophagi had as their theme the descent into the underworld of Alcestis. On one of these sarcophagi the theme of Magna Mater is represented. Some argue the representation to be symbolic of the mystery cult that believed in life after death; this would further enhance the traditional theme of the story with Heracles restoring Alcestis to her husband Admetus. The story portrayed in the representation of this scene is more like a wedding feast, than a funeral march. This particular sarcophagus is an example of the pagan beliefs articulated in the mystery

cults of rebirth. Another popular theme was the 12 labors of Hercules. Numerous examples (about 70) survive and appear to have been produced by workshops both as special orders and as premade. These standardized models came primarily from Rome and Asia Minor, whereas those made in Athens do not show standardization. Many of these sarcophagi date from the second century CE when inhumation once again was becoming popular, but some are known from the early Republic and Hellenistic period as well.

As mentioned, one of the most important tombs or mausoleum was that of the Scipios, the *hypogaeum Scipionum*, which contained niches for 30 sarcophagi, of which only one that of Scipio Barbatus survived intact. Built in the third



Roman painting on wood for burial, Egypt, imperial age. The Romans would bury their dead in various manners such as in cemeteries or catacombs. In Egypt during the imperial age it was common to paint representations of the deceased on wood and place at the head of mummified body as seen here. (Chris Hellier/Corbis)

and second centuries BCE, the Tomb of Scipio did not contain the sarcophagus of Scipio Africanus but was rather used for earlier and some later Scipios. Scipio Aemilianus in about 150 BCE was credited with the decorations of the entrance of the Tomb and by then it was more of a memorial to the family. The sarcophagus of Lucius Cornelius Scipio Barbatus concerns the consul of 298 BCE who led the Romans against the Etruscans at Volterra and was the ancestor of Scipio Africanus (great-grandfather). The sarcophagus is not decorated but rather contained a verse inscription detailing Scipio's accomplishments: son of Gnaeus, wise and strong, consul, censor, and aedile, captured Tauasia, Cisauna, Samnium and subdued Lucania and carried off hostages.

As inhumation became more popular in the first and second centuries CE, the need for sarcophagi increased with workshops producing standardized models. If an individual desired something more original or individualized they could make a special order. By the third century more elaborate scenes were composed including the Ludovisi sarcophagus, named for its 17th-century owner. It depicts a battle scene between the Romans and the Goths, similar to the Column of Marcus Aurelius. The scene is a compact story of the Romans destroying the armed but helpless Goths (general term for barbarians).

The practice of inhumation was common for all elements of society. The variety of styles, forms, and places often depended upon the social and economic state of the deceased.

See also: Family and Gender: Cemeteries; Cremation; Death and Dying; Funerals; Religion and Beliefs: Afterlife; Sacrifices

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LEGAL DIVISIONS

The legal division in the Roman family was based primarily in Roman law. The primary division revolved around whether the individual had rights under Roman law, if so, what were the limitations, and how the individual was treated. In addition to the citizen rights, there was the differentiation of the sexes. In the following discussion the different divisions are made not only in terms of legal issues but how they affected the family.

At the lowest level were slaves. These individual had no rights and as such were not permitted to avail themselves of legal proceedings except in bringing a suit to argue against their servitude. Late Roman rules and proceedings make it clear that if an individual was free and then enslaved against his will, not only would his freedom be restored, but he could then bring a civil action against his captors. In the Roman household slaves again did not have legal rights but were often treated with respect, dignity, and even friendship by their masters and often obtained their freedom.

Above slaves but still in the lower division of society and the laws were the free foreigners or *peregrini*. These individuals were often laborers who accompanied their owners in such practices as sailing, trade, and business. Although they did not have Roman legal protection, they were free to engage in their work and business subject to the local laws and duties, or *ius gentium*, rights given to inhabitants of the Mediterranean world since the times of the Greek city-states to deal with one another. When they were in their own territory they were under the protection of their local laws and magistrates. Associated with this group or classification would be the provincial, one who was subject to Rome due to conquest. They were required to pay taxes or tribute and only had the rights of *ius gentium*. As Roman citizenship expanded, the number of free foreigners declined and finally in 212 CE all free inhabitants of the Roman world were declared citizens, moving them into the next class.

During the Republic there were individuals who were *Socii*. This delineation came into existence when Rome had a formal treaty of friendship that made these individual liable for military service in exchange for some Roman rights. They had Latin rights that allowed them to own land and make contracts in their cities, allowed them to marry other Latins within their cities, and allowed those with Latin rights to move to another Latin city and take up residence and receive citizenship in that city. The *Socii* were below Latin states but ultimately won the rights of Roman citizenship in 90 BCE due to the Social War. The status of Latin rights was therefore an intermediate step between noncitizen and citizen. Originally the rights were given to the 30 communities in Latium that had been part of the Latin League and was dissolved after the Roman victory in the Latin War of 340–338 BCE. These rights were then extended to non-Latium cities, which were now given Latin rights. This was then used in the late Republic to give local elites the capacity to earn Roman citizenship by holding a local political office, allowing the Romans to incorporate new territories into their political, social, and legal systems.

An individual could become a citizen through a variety of ways, one was by being a freedman, that is, a former slave set free by his Roman master; a grant of personal citizenship by a Roman magistrate; the most common was by being

an auxiliary in the Roman army or a magistrate in a local community with Latin rights; or by a grant to a city or region by the Senate and later emperor.

Roman citizens held the highest legal rights, but this varied due to sex and status. As a Roman citizen the individual had the right to vote in the assembly, stand for public or civic office, make contracts and hold property, the right to marry, be a *Paterfamilias*, and have his children be citizens. In addition to these rights a Roman citizen was immune from some taxes, had the ability to sue and be sued, a right to a trial, the right of legal appeal, and immunity from the death penalty (except for treason), being whipped or other cruel punishment. Although women did not have the right to vote or hold office, they could marry and divorce, engage in business, make contracts, fund projects, and engage in religious events. Women rights were therefore restricted, except for religious acts, to the private family environment. The rights also differentiated with the social and economic status of the individual. While Roman elites had the same legal power as Roman peasants, the social differentiation normally allowed the elites to control, rule over, and even abuse the peasant. In some situations the peasant was not able to exist without the help of a powerful elite. The free city inhabitant, often called the proletariat, did not have extensive political clout or power and often lived in near servitude. In some instances slaves had a more reliable source of food and shelter than a day laborer.

The Roman household might therefore have individuals from different social and legal standings. The master, if a Roman, had legal protection and rights of a citizen. If the individual was not a citizen he could have had rights delineated above but was still master of his own household. Depending upon his status and wealth, the master of the house could have both free laborers and slaves working for him in a variety of positions side by side. His wife would also have certain rights and power often independent of her spouse, such as contracts and business. Slaves had no or very little rights and were always at the mercy of their masters, while free individuals could have been tenants or employees owing their master loyalty and duties that varied. Sometimes the free workers, often freed slaves, would have shops attached to the house and serve their master or *Paterfamilias* as security or as buffers against the noisy streets. Slaves and free workers would work and cohabitate side by side often of equal or near-equal basis. The family divisions were complex and most Romans had a distinct position in the household.

See also: Arts: Romanitas; Economics and Work: Social Structure; Family and Gender: Adoption; Freedmen; Patronage; Population; Wills; Fashion and Appearance: Public Appearance; Toga; Recreation and Social Customs: Adolescent; Class Structure and Status; Leisure; Sumptuary Laws; Vacations

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MARRIAGE

Marriage in the Roman world was a matter of legal distinctions and civil responsibilities but not religious. There were various types of marriages and their development shows how the Romans attempted to reconcile the social and family issues of a male-dominated society with the rights and sentiments of all individuals. Above all, marriage was meant to ensure the transference of wealth from one generation to another and to legitimize heirs.

Marriage at Rome was a civil union and part of personal law or what regulated the family. This legal precedent was used for determining wills, succession, and *patria potestas* “power of a father.” As such only those who were citizens could partake in a Roman marriage. Originally, Patricians and Plebeians could not intermarry until 445 BCE; also a freedman or freedwoman (ex-slave) could not marry a free person until the reign of Augustus. In this system the husband and wife each controlled their own property, although the dowry passed to the power of the husband. While the dowry was not required in Rome it did remain a social custom for the bride’s father to show that his daughter could support the family.

Originally, marriage placed a woman under the power of her husband, *manus*, which gave him rights over her in the same fashion as the *patria potestas* did over all members in the family. There were three types of marriage within *manus*. First was *confarreatio*, which was the only religious rite sanctioned as a marriage. Here the couple offered a cake of grain in the presence of the Pontifex Maximus. The second was *coemptio* in which the plebeian father “sold” his daughter to her husband whereby she was emancipated from his power. The third form was *usus* in which the couple lived together uninterrupted for a year. These forms were practiced in the Republic. By the end of the Republic the *usus* was outlawed and replaced by a different form creating the same result; the other two continued, but they were not common. Divorce was possible in the last two but for the *confarreatio* it was nearly impossible. What determined the marriage was the contract, while the ceremonies accompanying the marriage had no legal force. The



Grave stele, imperial era. The Romans allowed a variety of different opportunities for living together through marriage, remarriage, or connubial relations. As in this representation, there could be emotion, or as witnessed in some literary sources, strained and even violent interactions. Marriage was viewed as a civil contract between two parties and not necessarily a religious pact. Divorce and remarriage were common. (Lefteris Papaulakis/Dreamstime.com)

put aside her playthings and dressed in a one piece yellow garment, *tunica recta*. The next morning she was dressed by her mother while wearing the *tunica recta* next to her skin and the clothes bound by a belt with the “knot of Hercules.” She wore all of the jewelry she was to bring to the new family; and her hair braided into six locks. For the extremely wealthy she would have worn a veil made of silk, exceedingly costly. Her veil was covered in a garland of flowers that the bride picked herself. The groom wore his best clothes but had no special garment like the bride.

marriage ceremonies under all other types were therefore civil and not religious. More importantly, the marriage contract spelled out the duties and responsibilities of the couple and the financial obligations of both the parties. The marriage ceremonies were now to indicate that the man and woman planned to form a permanent union. The new form of marriage that replaced *manus* was the *sine manu*, meaning without power. *Sine manu* meant that the woman was not under the control of the husband. This form became common in the second-century BCE and soon dominated during the late Republic and into the Empire.

The first task was to select the correct day for the wedding since it was important not to enter into married life on an unlucky day. After picking the right day the bride prepared for the event. The night before she

Although the ancient *confarreatio* was not used in the late Republic, a sacrifice usually took place. The entrails were examined for ill omens, although rarely if ever one was found, and the *haruspex* would proclaim *bene*, meaning good, and the wedding could proceed. The marriage contract and dowry arrangements were then produced and read together with the witnesses signing; the matron of honor, the *pronuba* would lead the bride to the groom. The two would hold hands and the groom would ask if the girl would become his *Materfamilias*. She would then ask if he would become her *Paterfamilias*. Upon both answering yes they would be married. The couple, with their parents, then offered a cake of bread to Jupiter and Juno and the rural gods Tellus, Picumnus, and Pilumnus who blessed the new couple. The cakes would be presented by a young boy, the cousin of the girl, her *camillus*, whose parents had to be living. The wedding was then followed by a banquet. Although Augustus limited the cost to only 1,000 *sesterces*, it was usually avoided and the wealth of the bride's parents was displayed to show their ability to support their daughter.

After the banquet the wedding procession takes place. First the bride would pretend not to want to leave and run to her mother, while the groom would pretend to take her by force, a remembrance of the "Rape of the Sabines." The groom leads the bride through the door and the procession begins. The musicians led by the flute players would lead the party through the streets. The young guest of both sexes followed and then the *camillus* and a young assistant bearing the spindle and distaff, the traditional symbols of the wife's duty. The bride follows while being guided by a young boy whose both parents are alive and another who carries a torch. The groom then followed tossing walnuts to the children; and then the older relatives and friends of both parties complete the procession. Riske songs are continually sung and the party reaches the groom's house, which is lit up and adorned. The bride then puts bits of wool, oil, and fat on the door to show signs of plenty. She is then lifted over the threshold and presented to her husband who has secretly entered before her through the back. He presents her with a cup of water and a torch, symbols of protection of Lares, and she utters the ancient marriage formula *Ubi tu Gaius, ego Gaia* "Where you are Gaius, I am Gaia." The party enters the house and the bride presents three silver coins: one to her husband as a symbol of the dowry; one to the Lares of the house for good fortune; and one she throws out onto the street for the Lares of the streets who guards her new home. The marriage torch is blown out and the couple enters the bed chamber prepared luxuriously by the matron. The next day another feast is held at the groom's house with his new wife presiding over the feast as the new matron of the house.

One hopes that the marriage will be happy, but often it is not and ends in divorce. For many Romans this process did not take place, rather a simple

wedding. But most could wish for a celebration no matter how simple their life was.

See also: *Economics and Work*: Social Structure; *Family and Gender*: Adultery; Courtship; Divorce; Family Life; Family Planning; Household; *Paterfamilias*; Pregnancy; Women's Duties; *Fashion and Appearance*: Jewelry, Women; Personal Accouterments; Public Appearance; Women's Clothing; *Food and Drink*: Banquets; Dinner Party; *Recreation and Social Customs*: Sumptuary Laws

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PATERFAMILIAS

Paterfamilias refers to the traditional power that the father held over his household. This was not only an important legal principal but a crucial base of power for the father over his household and extended family. Originally, it meant more power than later, but even in the late Republic and early Empire the *Paterfamilias* was significant. A corollary to the *Paterfamilias* was his wife who was designated *Materfamilias*. Only Roman citizens could be *Paterfamilias*. The concept allowed the family to function as an independent financial and judicial entity, in many ways outside the law. The Romans early in their Republic desired that the family be the central and most important part of the community. Since the family might be seen as a micro-society, the power of the father became more important and supreme. As the embodiment of a society, the *familia* acted as a minor government. The *Paterfamilias* was expected to make all decisions within the context of consultation with his *consilium* a council composed of the senior members of the household, especially his wife or *Materfamilias*. Although his wife may not have had stated extensive legal power as her husband did, she did have prestige and the power that came with being his wife. The *Paterfamilias* was also the chief priest of the house and family unit who performed all the local religious rites and customs.

In Roman law the *Paterfamilias* was the only legal person (*sui iuris*). All other individuals in the family who were descendent of him through the male line

regardless of age were under his control. It included those who were brought into the family by adoption. Once the male *Paterfamilias* died all those direct males under him became their own *Paterfamilias* this meant his sons or grandsons if their father had died became their own unit. In the early Republic a father could sell his children as if they were property and he had complete control.

As *patria potestas* or “power of the father,” he was sole owner of the family’s possessions, land, and personal effects. He was in control of his wife’s dowry. More powerful was his control over his children. He had complete power over their life and birth, not only at their birth when he would officially declare them his children but also throughout their life, even to the point of being able to put them to death. This aspect, however, changed throughout the Republic so that by the end the Republic adult sons could be emancipated from their father’s complete power and women were given certain degrees of freedom relatively easily. But in its purest sense the children had no rights; all property, including wealth gained from trade or other service, belonged to the *Paterfamilias*, just like a slave’s property. Typically, the father was not liable for the acts of his son unless it was clear that the father directed the other party to deal with his son. A son, like a slave, had his own personal fund or *peculium*, which technically belonged to his father, but under Augustus, was now seen as belonging to the son. If there was a legal charge against the son it was usually brought against the father first who would then decide if he was going to pay the plaintiff or surrender his son.

The *Paterfamilias* originated from the concept of the *genius*, the ability of a father to beget children. So ingrained was this idea that on his birthday, the *Paterfamilias’* *genius* was celebrated, identified by a house snake. The household identified the power of the spirits of the house, the *lares*, as spirits of the deceased owners who would continue to bless the house, provided they were worshipped. It was crucial therefore to ensure that the *Paterfamilias*, who would one day be among the *lares*, be honored. Slaves would celebrate the *genius* of their masters as a way to ensure their own prosperity. In the imperial times the *genius* was also translated into the worship of the emperor who provided benefits to the entire nation. This idea of the *genius* extended to the ability of the father to expose his infant children and this continued well into the Empire and only outlawed, although probably without any effectiveness only, in 374 CE.

The *Paterfamilias* could only kill his wife if he found her in bed with another man. The power over his children did not allow such an absolute control because he had to summon his family council first before killing his children but not for selling them. By the time of the Empire the father could no longer have such absolute control, although there were cases of a father summoning the family council to decide the fate of his son who had attempted to kill his father. Most common

was the decision of marriage. By the Empire, the father could no longer compel his son or daughter to marry who he desired, although for daughters, their young age allowed him more power and persuasion. The real power that the fathers had over their children lay with the power of the purse; they still controlled their sons and daughters financial conditions. The *Paterfamilias* had the final say in all matters regarding the disposition of the family's property, mortgages, and testaments.

Augustus as emperor attempted to usurp more control over the morals of the Roman society by imbuing himself as the *Paterfamilias* of the Roman state. This attempt would allow him the right to impose moral legislation on the Romans such as the attempt to have young Roman noblemen marry; laws prohibiting adultery; and laws to encourage more children. For Augustus it was not a matter of bedroom politics but how to ensure that the Roman state would continue. His laws as *Paterfamilias* were meant to help reverse the declining birthrate and restore Roman vitality. Unfortunately, for Augustus and his successors it was not successful. Nevertheless, his laws show an attempt by the state to usurp the power of the family as the primary social structure.

See also: *Economics and Work:* Social Structure; *Family and Gender:* Adoption; Adultery; Childhood; Divorce; Family Life; Family Planning; Legal Divisions; Marriage; Patronage; Wills; *Food and Drink:* Banquets; Dinner Party; Festivals; *Religion and Beliefs:* Afterlife

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PATRONAGE

Patronage in ancient Rome was an integral part of the family life. At all stages of society the patron–client relationship existed. The patron was often seen as the *Paterfamilias* of a social–political class. The practice of patronage grew up in the early Republic where a powerful and/or wealthy individual protected another man thereby making him his client. As early as the Twelve Tables, the system of patronage was viewed as legally binding. The client freely entered into the

arrangement with the patron. This relationship was expected to be permanent with the client supporting his patron, and vice versa. The patron gave the client, who was usually a poor citizen, money and legal protection against his enemies in return for the client's political support and public attention. The political support centered on the client voting for his patron, while the public attention occurred with the client accompanying his patron to the forum or other public sites allowing the patron to have a large entourage. The patron would make his public appearance, especially at political events, with his large accompanying crowd of clients giving him prestige. It was expected that the client greet his patron in the morning and meet him in the streets. The clients were expected to be respectful and supportive of their patron. The patron in return would give his client a daily support or dole of food often later converted to money, the *sportula*. In the late Republic and early Empire literature, the client was seen as a parasite or hanger-on. These individuals were parodied in the works of Juvenal and Martial, both clients. The system of client and patron was not confined to the poor. While the majority of clients were poor and the patrons were usually rich, it was not uncommon to find a wealthy and powerful man to be both a patron to someone poorer while at the same time a client, either politically or economically, of someone above them.

The patron was expected to not only dole out the food or money but also to have his client come to his house for occasional feasts and celebrations. The client was expected to come to his "table," give the patron gifts, and show respect. The patron would then give the client his reward. These scenes can be seen not only in the satires of Martial and Juvenal but also in the writings of the New Testament. By the early Empire reward was about six *sesterces* or about one-and-a-half *denarii*, the typical daily wage for the lowest manual laborer or *sportulae* for the poor. The requirements were that the client had to be present personally to receive his dole. The demands on both were not great but perhaps inconvenient. For example, the client who also worked needed to get his dole before starting his job and so had to go to the patron early in the morning. Since many of the clients were in this situation, they needed to wake up early and arrive at the patron's residence before sunrise. The patron, who could not allow his clients to be let waiting for long since his own reputation and prestige would be hurt from complaints, needed to rise early and greet them. The client needed to arrive in his toga, which his patron probably gave him as a gift during the Saturnalia in December. When they arrived the clients waited their turn not on time of arrival but on the social standing of the clients, praetor, tribune, eques, common citizen, freedman, and finally slave was the order with one another being able "to cut line" based on standing. Finally, the client had to observe the conventions of calling his patron lord or *dominus*, even if they were socially equals; failure to do so could cost him his dole.

The system became even larger and more important when slaves were given their freedom since they were then automatically clients, as well as their children, to their former masters. The system of patronage became politically more troublesome in the late Republic when violence broke out between rival groups. Beginning with Tiberius Gracchus and his brother Gaius, there were now two leading factions, *optimates* and *populares*, who used their clients to physically assault and kill their rivals; Tiberius and Gaius, were both killed by the followers of the *optimates* in 133 and 121 BCE, respectively. In the next generation, the military commanders Sulla, Pompey, Caesar, Antony, and Octavian all used their clients to support their political and military programs ultimately leading to Octavian's (Augustus) rule. Many of these commanders had developed a system of patronage in the areas they conquered. Pompey was known to have support from his clients in Asia Minor dating from his special command in 67 BCE and lasting until his death in 48 BCE. His son Sextus received support from his father's clients in Spain and Asia Minor after Pompey's death.

The political system of client and patron also existed. While not as formal as the social system of personal clientage, the political system allowed the different families of the elites to cooperate and govern the Republic. In this system alignments occurred between the families usually through marriage. While in theory they were seen as equal, it was usually an arrangement to provide both sides with benefits. For example, when Julius Caesar, Pompey, and Crassus formed the First Triumvirate, each provided benefits to the other through a personal connection. Crassus and Caesar were already viewed as friends, but Caesar needed Crassus's great wealth to get out of debt, while Crassus needed Caesar's political position to get legislation passed, which would benefit his friends and allies. Pompey needed Caesar's position to get the legislation introduced paired, while Caesar and Crassus needed Pompey's soldiers, his clients, to vote for the acts. The bind that allowed all to work was the marriage between Pompey and Caesar's daughter Julia. Through this personal act the political workings of the state were achieved.

Under the Empire the system of civil and political patronage reached their zenith with the emperor. The emperor was patron to the whole Roman world and all the benefits an individual received came from the generosity of the emperor. Just like the household was dependent upon the *Paterfamilias* who acted as patron for his clients, both inside and outside his family and household, so too the emperor was seen as patron and *Paterfamilias* of the Roman world and its inhabitants, all were clients of the emperor.

See also: Economics and Work: Manumission; Slavery; Social Structure; Family and Gender: Adoption; Freedmen; Legal Divisions

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POPULATION

Population studies for the ancient world are difficult. Most societies did not leave detailed records and if they do exist they are often incomplete, biased, or for one city for a short period of time. Rome is no different, although there are some pieces of evidence that do suggest a general description of the population and how it changed over the centuries.

Rome had as part of its Republican government a census. The two censors were elected every five years and they held office for the first 18 months of the cycle. Their duties were extensive among other duties; they were required to take a full account of the property of the state, count and keep a register of citizens assigning them to their *centuries* and the army. There exist some literary sources that detail the number of citizens. They are usually related to the military since to be a soldier one had to be a citizen and hold a certain amount of property. If one examined the figures they would see some interesting trends. First, the number of citizens normally increased showing a general increase in the population. This increase, however, may not have been due to natural population growth since Rome often incorporated new territories giving selected cities, tribes, or individuals' citizenship all at once. In other words, the increase was often due to politics and not population. Second, there was occasion when the number of citizens declined. The most notable was the period during the Second Punic War with Hannibal when the number of citizens reported for 209 BCE was dramatically lower than for the period before 220 BCE. This decline was probably due to the losses sustained by the Roman armies. Finally, during the last century of the Republic, the number of citizens jumped geometrically due to the incorporation of the free Italians after the Social War when all Italians were made citizens. During the mid-Republic, the historian Livy writing two centuries later, records the population and citizens from official documents either set up on inscriptions or more likely in the state archives. These documents provide a general growth of the Roman state but only in so far as the growth of the men capable of bearing arms. The growth of the

general population is harder to determine since the Romans were not interested in recording other non-Roman cities or regions.

During Augustus's time and during the early Empire, there were a series of counts made that showed the general picture of citizens in Italy. It appears that at the end of Augustus's reign in 14 CE there were about 5 million Roman citizens in Italy. This number only included males. If a free citizen represented a family then the number would have been about 15 million (2.5 per citizen) and to that figure would need to be added slaves, perhaps about 3 million. If these estimates are correct then Italy would have had a population under Augustus of about 20 million.

For the rest of the Empire the figures are even harder to determine. Egypt may have had about 8 million inhabitants based on a few numbers discussed in several ancient sources. Spain probably had about 5 million inhabitants. North Africa may have added about 4 million, while Greece and the Balkans together held about 5 million. Asia Minor and the east held another 9 million, while Syria and Judea perhaps approached 6 million. Gaul with its productivity probably had about 7 million. Britain with about 300,000 and the other areas combined had about 1 million. Probably, the total for the early Empire was about 70 million during the time of Augustus. These estimates are only to give an idea for magnitude and not for exactness.

An estimate of the size of the city of Rome is difficult since there are so few sources. It is clear that Rome was a large city, the largest in the ancient Mediterranean by the time of Augustus. Rome probably reached its zenith during the first century CE. The physical size was twice that of any other ancient city and it stands to reason that the population had a similar magnitude. Scholars disagree on the population in the absence of any direct census figures. In 5 BCE 320,000 inhabitants received the free grain dole each month. Was this figure based on all citizens or was there some sort of other requirement? Were the lists kept accurate and up-to-date? If it is used as a starting point then the number could be multiplied by 2.5 to yield the size in the families that received the dole or about 800,000. If we then add the number of slaves that probably existed in the city, conservatively 50,000; the number of foreigners or another 50,000; the number of unmarried individuals that might not have been eligible to receive the dole or not allowed, the total number for the population may have been over 1 million. The problem with all of this is that there are many variables that influence the number.

Egyptian papyri show how the census was typically handled. The local towns were required to collect information listing male individuals and their family members in the household. Often the material gave a description of the city (since the papyri are fragmentary it often just lists a few areas) giving returns based on districts and houses. The papyri often give very exact returns with names, ages, sex, and relationship. This material was then forwarded to the region's capital and

then all the region's distinct units were compiled and forwarded to the provincial's capital and so forth. Unfortunately, the material no longer exists, but this information must have become the basis for taxes, budgets, military capabilities, and so forth. An example of a provincial census to determine the population is given in the New Testament where all residents of Judea were required to register. This was done so that the government would know how many people a province had and what kind of tax rate could be assessed on them.

Population estimates are difficult for the Roman world, but general trends can be made. These trends indicate that during the late Republic and early Empire, the population increased so that by about 100 CE there was probably close to 100 million people.

See also: *Economics and Work*: Slavery; *Family and Gender*: Childhood; Family Planning; Household; Marriage; Pregnancy

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PREGNANCY

Pregnancy in ancient Rome was similar that in other preindustrial societies. The evidence for Roman attitudes and knowledge about pregnancy and childbirth comes mainly from the writings of Pliny the Elder and Soranus. These authors writing in the first and second centuries CE were able to give a variety of material from both the folk medicine and scientific points of view and represented traditional practice.

When a Roman couple desired to procreate belief held that the seed deposited by the male developed and grew; therefore, the first task was to keep the seed safe. If a woman suspected that she was pregnant she would visit a midwife and if confirmed would counsel the woman the acts she must do and avoid. According to midwives, there were many activities in the first trimester that the pregnant woman should avoid, such as coughing, lifting, drinking, sneezing, leaping, and other potential jarring events. During this early stage Soranus recommended that she be confined to her bed and eat a light diet while avoiding drinking or bathing since this

might disrupt the seed; additionally, the absence of sex was crucial since it might disrupt the seed. Many of these ideas are still viewed as necessary. During the second trimester, morning sickness and food cravings were noted and the prescription was often fasting and a diet of foods known to not upset the stomach; and unhealthy foods definitely were to be avoided. It was also common to give oil rubdowns to soothe the stomach and prevent palpitations. The third stage was preparation for labor and childbirth. After the seventh month women were to decrease their physical activity, rest, and support for the extra weight. At last, the labor commenced.

Modern studies on neonatal mortality (children dying within one month of birth) indicate a wide variety with some societies approaching 50 deaths per 1,000 births. Maternal mortality meanwhile was probably around five per 20,000 child-bearing events. There are many examples of families who recorded losing their wife and/or child during childbearing. Julius Caesar's daughter Julia, wife of Pompey, died in childbirth; this event not only had an emotional drain on both Caesar and Pompey but dissolved their political union leading to Civil War. The loss of a child or wife affected both the rich, often mentioned in literature, and the poor, usually forgotten by history. The chances of success often depended on how well trained the individual delivering the child was, but there were no guarantees.

Pliny the Elder gave a variety of folk cures to help assist in childbirth and pregnancy. Many of the cures involved the use of bodily fluids from animals to induce labor. It is difficult to test these views given modern ethical concerns. Nevertheless, like amulets and other devices, these remedies could easily fall into the category of placebos that give comfort to the mother and her family. Unlike modern hospitals where the expectant mother often has to wait alone until the labor intensifies, ancient societies had the woman surrounded by friends and family members who were experienced in labor and birthing. Pliny's descriptions of what were successfully used in pregnancies and birthing would represent the common beliefs, often from hearsay. As opposed to Pliny's there was Soranus's view that were more scientific in nature.

Soranus provides a discussion on the midwife and the important materials she would need to deliver the child. It is clear from Soranus that midwives in the east were viewed with respect. Evidence from the east indicated that some women could be trained beyond midwives (*maia*) to obstetrician (*iatrosgynaikeios*), which required additional training and education. In addition, women could earn their livelihood and be seen as experts not only by the common people but by the elites as well. In the west, midwives tended to be from the servile classes. It appears that most of the midwives were either ex-slaves, probably those who bought their freedom from their practice, or the daughter of an ex-slave midwife; this can be seen from their names that had Greek origins. It appears that freeborn women beyond this initial manumitted phase did not enter the profession, and although the evidence indicates

that they were necessary for the Roman households, midwives were not something a prominent lady would aspire to become. From other post-Roman European societies it appears that mothers taught their daughters or slaves the practice. For a small community only one midwife would be needed and so it was probable that many midwives would have earned their livelihood from other means as well. In larger towns and cities the number of midwives needed would have been greater and probably prompted more competition and expertise. Roman law during the Republic placed midwives in the lower social status, again showing that the Romans probably viewed them with some suspicion, especially since they came from the Hellenized Greek east; however, like the use of doctors, tutors, or cooks who were placed in the same category, a Roman elite would nevertheless purchase a slave who was trained as a midwife for the family and relatives. For those who could not afford a midwife they were forced to rely on relatives and friends who had experience.

The Romans often attempted to either prevent pregnancy or if an unwanted pregnancy occurred, terminate it (abortion). The Romans attempted to prevent pregnancy by using a variety of means including the use of herbs and lotions smeared in the uterus before or after sex; the ingestion of plants or animals that would prevent fertilization; or other means to either prevent fertilization or expel the male seed. Most of these plans did not work. The Romans originally did not prohibit abortions until the third century CE. There were several supposed natural herbs and drugs that women used to promote abortions, although most probably they either did not work or would cause more harm to the mother than being successful. In addition, there were old wives tales that indicated certain actions, like stepping over a viper, would cause miscarriages. The most effective way to terminate a pregnancy was through the introduction of a surgical instrument to end a pregnancy; this often resulted in the death of both mother and fetus.

Many ordinary individuals would either attempt or know of someone who attempted to control their pregnancy. In addition, everyone knew of someone who had given birth and probably knew the midwives and other caregivers.

See also: Family and Gender: Adoption; Childhood; Death and Dying; Family Planning; Marriage; Women's Duties; Science and Technology: Health

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A DEATH IN CHILDBIRTH

In the letter excerpted below, Servius Sulpicius Rufus, a prominent Roman jurist, consoles his friend Marcus Tullius Cicero, the famous Roman orator, who had just lost his beloved daughter Tullia. Aged about 32, Tullia had given birth to a son in January 45 BCE; a month later, Tullia suddenly sickened and died, apparently of complications resulting from the childbirth. Cicero was devastated, telling his friend Atticus that he had lost "the one thing that bound me to life" (Haskell, 1942, 249). In the letter, Sulpicius offers numerous reasons why Cicero should master his grief, including the suggestion that it was somehow fitting that Tullia should not outlive the Republic, the death of which, thanks to Julius Caesar's recent victory in the civil war, seemed at hand.

Think what numbers of illustrious men have lately perished in one short period; how much the strength of the empire has been impaired . . . :and because the fleeting breath of one little woman hath gone out of her, will you suffer yourself to be so overcome by grief? . . . Remember, your daughter lived as long as life was worth enjoying: that she lived as long as the republic lived; had seen her father praetor, consul, augur; had been married to some of the noblest of the Roman youth; had experienced every good of life; and when the republic died, died herself. What reason is there then either for you or her to complain of fortune on this account? Finally . . . take care you do not cause it to be suspected that you are . . . not so much bewailing the loss of your daughter as the state of the times and the victories of certain persons

(Roberts, 1843, 138)

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SUICIDE

Suicide is the voluntary taking of one's own life. In modern Western societies, suicide is generally seen in a negative light. Most Christian religions do not accept or condone suicide as an option, even in cases of extreme pain and discomfort. For the ancient Greek and Romans suicide was looked upon differently, and was an honorable option.

Suicide in the Roman world often occurred if certain situations arose. Some of the more common reasons why suicide might occur would be if the individual had lost public honor and their reputation suffered. Another common reason was as a form of protest, especially against a tyrant, while for everyday issues it was frowned upon, not because suicide was seen as evil but rather because the individual was seen as a coward. In the Roman Republic if an elite was found guilty at a trial they were typically allowed to return to their home, put their affairs in order, and then commit suicide so as to avoid the public humiliation of an execution. This was later transformed into imperial orders, especially under Nero, for an individual to commit suicide and therefore save the rest of the family from death or certain poverty.

Famous suicides usually centered on individuals whose death was both tragic and necessary. The earliest and for Rome one that captured the essence of the Roman Republic was Lucretia. She was perhaps the most famous Roman woman who committed suicide for a political cause. Her rape by the Roman king's son put into motion the rebellion that established the Roman Republic. According to the stories, the Roman King Tarquinius the Proud sent his son Sextus Tarquinius to Collatia to gather more men. He was received by his relative Lucius Tarquinius Collatinus, husband of Lucretia who was a daughter of the Roman Spurius Lucretius. During the night when Lucius was gone, Sextus Tarquinius crept into her room and raped her. The next day she went to her father and told her story in front of witnesses, and while they were debating what should be done, she stabbed herself dying in her father's arms. Her death allowed the Romans under Brutus, another relative by his mother of Tarquinius, to drive the kings out of Rome and establish the Republic (Livy Book I, sections 57–60; Dionysius of Halicarnassus Book 4, 64–85).

During the Republic when Rome faced the armies of Hannibal, an enemy might be given some accord of honor. One of these was Sophonisba, who refused to accept the possibility of being led in triumph. She was a Carthaginian noblewoman who was betrothed to Massinissa, a Numidian king and ally. When Massinissa allied himself with Rome, her father gave Sophonisba to another ally. Upon his death by Massinissa, she was taken as prisoner and Massinissa soon fell in love with her and married her. Scipio Africanus, the Roman general, refused to recognize the marriage and demanded that she be given to him so that she could be taken to Rome for a triumph. Massinissa informed Sophonisba that she was

to be taken to Rome and that he loved her and could not stand the thought of her degradation. He suggested that she drink poison so that as a Carthaginian princess she would avoid humiliation. With great composure she died. Her story, whether true or not, served as a cautionary tale for the Romans of not being too proud or arrogant with their new found power.

At the end of the Republic there were a series of Romans who preferred to commit suicide than to compromise with tyrants. Cato the Younger was violently opposed to Julius Caesar and in 49 BCE openly called for the arrest of Caesar upon his return to Rome from Gaul for violating Roman laws. When Caesar crossed the Rubicon, Civil War raged with Cato fighting against Caesar on Pompey's side at Pharsalus. After Pompey's defeat Cato refused to submit and fled to Africa, where his army was defeated by Caesar in 46 BCE. Caesar besieged Cato in Utica who was unwilling to accept Caesar at any cost and committed suicide. His attempt was at first botched with a sword to the stomach, and only when the physician was attempting to help him, he died. Cato pushed him away and tore open his wounded bowels and died. His view of Republicanism spread to his son-in-law, Marcus Junius Brutus.

A daughter of Cato the Younger, Porcia, married her cousin Marcus Junius Brutus. Brutus is most remembered for his part in the assassination of Julius Caesar. Although Brutus fought for Pompey, upon the latter's defeat Brutus petitioned Caesar for clemency and it was granted. Some rumored that Caesar was actually Brutus's father, although Caesar was only 15 when Brutus was born. Brutus after the assassination of Caesar attempted to present himself as the savior of the Republic against Marc Antony and Octavian. While the latter two were fighting, Brutus began to march on Rome, whereupon Antony and Octavian put aside their differences and defeated Brutus at the Battle of Phillipi. After the battle, Brutus knowing he was defeated and realizing he would soon be captured committed suicide by falling on his sword. His body was cremated and his ashes sent to his mother for proper burial.

While Antony crushed Brutus, even his life would not be free from suicide. Although he was defeated by Octavian and perhaps committed suicide, his consort, Cleopatra is remembered for her act of dying. She was perhaps the most famous of all in antiquity for committing suicide. While not a Roman she was involved with Marc Antony, Octavian's rival after Julius Caesar's death. Their attempt to control the Roman world failed and after the death of Antony, she committed suicide. Most of the stories in antiquity relate that she was bitten by an Egyptian asp so that she could avoid being taken back to Rome and paraded in the streets. While most of the ancient authors professed this story, some modern researchers argue that it would not have been a pain-free death as mentioned. Rather, some have argued that she committed suicide by drinking a mixture of poisons.

Suicide often became not just a means for death but a statement of political beliefs and philosophic life. It allowed a political figure one last victory, not being a victim of the opponent.

See also: Arts: Cicero, Marcus Tullius; Seneca; *Family and Gender*: Death and Dying; *Religion and Beliefs*: Afterlife

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WILLS

Wills allow an individual (testator) to plan to leave their belongings to other people or entities with clear title or ownership. For the Romans the institution of wills and testament were a basic part of their *familia* and its power. The will was also a way for the testator to give his final opinion on the family and society, especially if he wished to slight someone who was more powerful or important. Of course the vast majority of people did not leave wills, and it is rather fascinating to examine what motives people had in producing a will and how many feared it might be tampered or forged.

The motive of writing a will was multifaceted. While it is accurate to describe that the will was meant to pass on economic and occasionally political materials to someone else, it often had other meanings. The economic aspect can be quickly dealt with, since it is the easiest to understand. When a Roman drafted a will it would clearly lay down what property would be transmitted. Typically, it would reference the farm or business as well as the house and its goods. The property might include multiple parcels of land each formally recorded. Often the property may have only been the household furniture or pieces of jewelry. The political aspect of a will was often who was declared an heir. Julius Caesar decided to make Octavian his primary heir and Marc Antony his secondary heir. Whether this led to Civil War as the ancient author Florus said is hard to tell, but both sides claimed to be the Caesar's heir. The edge went to Octavian since he was related by blood, but that in itself was not sufficient.

The other motives of a will need to be examined. Other ancient writers had different views of what a will was meant to be or do. Pliny indicated it was a mirror to

the testator's soul. The will would show what the individual had in mind and how he wanted to be remembered. Another writer cynically stated that the only time a Roman told the truth was in writing a will. Perhaps the biggest reason for writing a will was an attempt by the individual to come to terms with their own mortality. Deciding on who would benefit from your death allowed the individual to understand their own worth, both spiritually and physically. The making of the will gave solace to the testator and perhaps eased their own passing. The will allowed the testator to declare his admiration, love, hatred, disappointment, or whatever feeling to his successors. Normally, the will had clear levels of discernment, first were the male heirs under the power of the testator; then followed the male relatives of the testator; finally, the clan or extended family came. The will became an act of emotion. This could be seen in deciding to give a larger part of the inheritance to one child while disinheriting another. The testator could announce the manumission of a slave, or the creation of munificence for a city or group. The will was therefore a creation to protect the family, reward those whom the testator liked, and punish those who either disappointed or was hated by the testator.

The will or testament first of all needed an heir or *heres*. If the will named an heir or heirs this person(s) was allowed to inherit all of the property. In other words, an individual could not die both with a will, or testament, and without, or intestate. The testator made the will leaving property to individual heirs. This required that the person making the will had to be able to do so. This usually meant that the individual was not a slave or under the control of another. If the property was not actually named, it did not matter; the named heir(s) could inherit all possessions. In addition, it was possible to have several levels of heirs in case the first level was not alive or not able to carry out the wishes of the testator. The will often contained the signature of witnesses who attested to the fact that what the testator had declared was in fact written in the will. In addition, the witnesses could be called to give evidence if someone argued that the testator was not sane or if there was a question about the peculiarities of the will. One of the chief arguments before the Roman courts was the charge that a will was forged. The courts would often interrogate the heirs to ensure that they did not coerce or forge a will. An examination of the witnesses proceeded to discover if they had in fact witnessed the document and if the testator made the will as presented.

Wills allowed the Romans not only to pass on property but also the ability to declare their political, social, and economic heirs. It gave them the ability to tell individuals what they truly felt and how they desired to be remembered. Wills also ensured that the family name was honored and that all debts and obligations would be honored. One aspect of wills that frequently occurred was the manumission of slaves. These slaves typically were individuals whom the master or mistress had a long relationship with, such as tutors, bedroom attendants, secretaries, and family

companions. Augustus limited the number of slaves that could be set free since there had been abuses and often these ex-slaves became dependent upon the government. The act of manumission was often set as either part of the will, that is, the individual set free in the will, or as part of conditions or duties the *heres* was to do. Wills therefore became part of the Roman society way to ensure continual structure and community.

For the elites under the early Empire it was common for the testator to make the emperor one of his heirs. This was usually done to ingratiate themselves and their family even more with the emperor in hopes that the emperor would then leave the other heirs alone. If the family had been at odds with the emperor it was viewed as a way to make peace and hopefully protect the family and its assets. Most individuals did not have the property or means to leave a will. Most individuals who left a will were from the middle class or above.

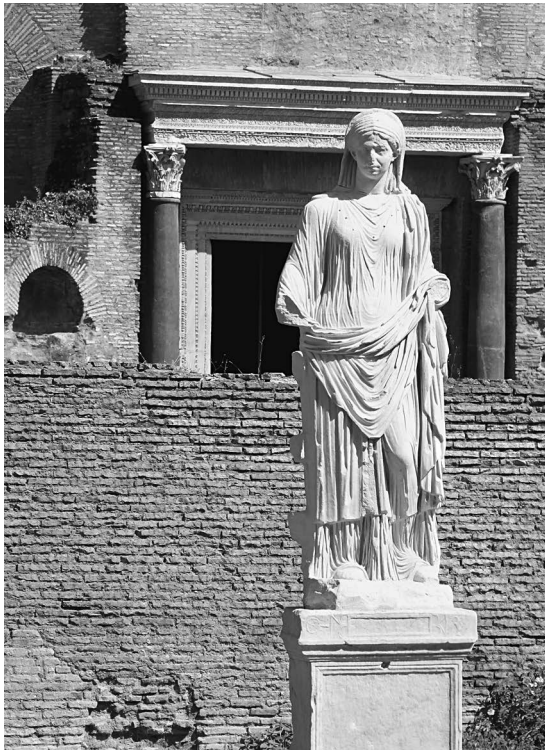
See also: Economics and Work: Social Structure; Taxes; Family and Gender: Death and Dying; Legal Divisions

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WOMEN'S DUTIES

The duties of women in Rome depended on their status, wealth, and personality. As with most premodern societies, women had few legal rights explicitly outlined. This can be seen in the numerous laws that required women to be under the control of their father and later husband or even son. A young girl by law could be sold by her father, and many of the authors decried a family for having a daughter. Many authors viewed girls as a burden and the family's hope lay in their sons. Other authors, however, showed great love for their daughters. Cicero clearly expressed his love for his daughter Terentia, even divorcing his second wife when she was not as upset over Terentia's death as Cicero thought she should be. The picture then is more complex than the two dimensional picture of women presented by some authors. Women, however, did have strength in the family and society.



Statue, Vestal Virgin, Rome, Italy. The priestesses of Vesta idealized the role of women in Rome. As keepers of the home and hearth, women were seen as the protectors of family life. They were expected to care for the young, cook, keep the household staff in line, and ensure peace and tranquility in the house. (Wessel Cirkel/Dreamstime.com)

A woman's strength lay mainly in her duties. While this may seem contradictory to the portrait often given, it nevertheless showed a woman's power. First and foremost a woman should be a mother. The Romans clearly thought that having a family, preferably more sons than daughters, was most important for the woman and her role. In the Republican period the view of increasing the state could only be achieved by a strong army, which in turn could only exist with a large population. Being a mother also meant raising the child. She was expected to train both boys and girls in the proper way to behave, both in public and in private with the family. While women may not have had the legal power lay down in law as men did, they did have the power of family persuasion. In the New Testament, Mary, the mother of Jesus, relays to her son at a wedding party that the wine had run

out and he should do something; Jesus, in a somewhat sarcastic rebuttal asks her what she would have him do; Jesus then turns the water into wine. In some ways it is clear that Mary is able to have her son do something even though legally he is in control; clearly, Mary has some influence or power over her son. A mother's duty extended to educating her children, especially her daughter(s) so that they could not only be a member of the community (i.e., marry and have children) but also survive in a world with few legal rights.

In upper classes their power lay in their ability to influence their husbands and other close male relatives and friends. With the exception of some priestesses, women did not hold political office. Again, they did have the personal power of persuasion, and from literature it is clear that they took full advantage of it. Women were often at dinner parties, even as equals, and could converse with other powerful

individuals in an effort to persuade and influence the political leaders. During the Empire the imperial women often had tremendous power that was not explicitly stated, individuals such as Livia, Agrippina the Elder and her daughter Agrippina the Younger (mother of Nero) all had persuasive power over members of their family. There are also numerous inscriptions showing the munificence of women to the community, such as setting up markets and endowing religious and community sites.

For the lower classes direct literary evidence rarely exist except for a few instances preserved on tombstones. But since society did not change dramatically over the next millennium and half, examples from the later periods can help give a portrait of women not otherwise known from Roman literature. Clearly women helped their families in business and on their farms. From both ancient and medieval sources it is clear that women worked on the farms as laborers alongside their male counterparts, even as today. Women were expected to help plant and harvest the grains. In addition, if the family owned a business such as an inn or tavern, women were expected to help out with cooking and serving the food. The area with the most evidence for women's duties was in the household tasks.

The household tasks, in addition to the normal cooking and cleaning, revolved around manufacturing of clothes. Spinning and weaving were traditionally seen as women duties and were celebrated in antiquity. These household tasks served several purposes. First, they provided the family with valuable income and maintenance, often needed for families on the border of poverty and survival. Second, the work allowed the family to keep a check and hold on the women to prevent their freedom or misuse by society, such as attack. The household tasks also served the purpose of creating a cult or spirit of domesticity creating the ideal Roman matron. Although this was often reserved for the elites, it did provide the government the argument to prevent women from exerting too much public influence. It may be that there was a struggle existing in Italy between the old Etruscan culture, which allowed, or was said to allow, women some public status versus the Latin culture where women were expected to remain in the private settings as the Greeks. An example of this struggle may be seen in the sumptuary laws during the war with Hannibal, which forbade women from wearing excessive jewelry. It was only repealed, over Cato the Elder's objection, after the war when the women protested in the streets. The objection could not have its roots in Greek culture since Greek women were usually not given as much freedom as Italian women, so the cultural bias may have had their roots in native ideas, the most probable being Etruscan.

For many of the poor women their duties often extended beyond these ideal programs and views. For some, existence was only possible by being involved in entertainment. For some the entertainment may have been working in a tavern or as a dancer; while for others it may have involved prostitution. The need for some families to survive on their daughters abilities is no different than our modern society.

See also: *Economics and Work:* Weavers; *Family and Gender:* Courtship; Family Life; Family Planning; Marriage; *Recreation and Social Customs:* Sump-
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FASHION AND APPEARANCE



INTRODUCTION

Roman fashion not only represented what individuals wore but included their accompanying personal accouterments so that they could show off their status and wealth. The public appearance of an individual announced to their fellow residents where they were from, their status, and even their ambitions. In Rome, like modern society, to be seen was important, whether it was in the law courts or in the shopping districts spread out around the city. Here the individual could show off their clothes and other urban amenities as they were seen. This often required the individual to use their toiletries so that they had proper hygiene.

The general clothing habits of the Romans depended upon a variety of factors. Ethnic dress indicated where the individual was from or their background. The Romans accepted the Greek eastern dress while disdaining the northern European dress. While they may have disdained their northern barbarian neighbors the soldiers often adopted their dress in their own military dress. The elites often made fun of the peasants and their rural fashion but often would write how they adopted their dress in countryside. Many of the general types of clothing included the underclothing *tunics* that allowed for some casualness outside of the public arena. What often separated the classes, however, were the colors and fabrics of the clothes worn. Depending upon one's status these could be quite expensive. Another distinction was in the type of shoes worn.

Formally, men wore the *toga*, which was the sign of being a Roman citizen. Often men's jewelry could be simple or lavish and ostentatious. The men also had various styles for beards, which came in and out of fashion over time. Peasants tended to wear simple clothes seen in rural fashions. These clothes allowed them to work in the fields and shops unencumbered. But it was the city fashions that most writers wrote about, especially the condition of one's *toga*.

Women likewise had their formal or public appearance. Writers were always commenting on their use of cosmetics and hairstyles. The evidence shows that women had a variety of possibilities for both as well as their jewelry. Archaeological sites give ample evidence of all these personal accouterments. Women even were portrayed wearing the bikini, which seems to have been worn for athletic activities rather than swimming.

Roman fashion then became the outward sign for its inhabitants to show not only their status but their background and even profession.

BEARDS

A peculiar and often individualistic male style for hair was the beard. Rome like other societies had the wearing of a beard come in and out of fashion. The growing of the beard typically marked the beginning of manhood when a boy crossed over from adolescence to adulthood. In addition, since the beard was generally a male effect, it was viewed as something that promoted maleness or Roman *virtus*.

While some have argued that early humans had flint razors, they most likely were shears for cutting or trimming the beard with early humans not having razors to shave. The Greeks tended to view the growth of the beard in a positive light with a thick beard seen as a mark of manliness and with the Homeric heroes all wearing a beard. It was said that Alexander the Great introduced the aspect of shaving to his men so that the Persians could not pull on their beards in battle. Likewise, the Romans in their early times had full beards. One would be called *Caesaries* to designate a grand and majestic beard. And it appears that early during the time of the monarch, Romans wore their beards at its natural length or *intonsus*, and later when men shaved, the term meant rude or uncouth. The late Republican authors indicated that according to the earlier ancient authors, the Romans did not routinely shave their beards until 300 BCE when P. Ticinius Maenas brought over a barber from Sicily. The implication in the sources is that the Romans even after this date were still bearded, but that occasionally they would trim them. This probably meant that the beard had a *tonsus*, meaning a cropped or clipped hair or beard, cut with a scissor (*forfex*) and not with a razor or shaved (*novacula*). The Romans used the term *barbatus* to mean wearing the beard to its natural length; as seen, this was the case for the Romans until 300 BCE (Pliny NH 7.59, Livy 5.41). Later writers, when shaving was common, used *barbatus* to mean rude and country manners.



Bearded man portrayed on Roman Theater from the imperial age. Roman men at various times wore a beard, especially before 200 BCE and after 120 CE with the Emperor Hadrian reintroducing it. The first shave or cut was seen as the beginning of manhood and was commemorated. Men who had unkempt beards were viewed as slovenly. (Francisco Javier Espuny/Dreamstime.com)

Pliny the Elder remarked that the first Roman who shaved every day was Scipio Africanus who had defeated Hannibal. He reports that Scipio was shaved, meaning that he did not shave himself, and that he was soon imitated so that all of the Romans, presumably the elites, followed. Shaving now became a regular habit. Of course, not all Romans could be shaved, not having an individual employed or going to a barber or *tonsor* who not only cut and dressed the hair but also shaved the beard, cut the nails, and pulled out stray hairs with tweezers. Wealthy individuals kept a barber employed, while the common individual would go to a barber's shop or *tonstrina*. A Roman rarely shaved himself, at least after 454 BCE when the first barber was introduced into Rome from Sicily; previously, it was normal to wear the hair and beard long (Pliny NH 7.59). The term *tonsus* often referred to slaves and rustics who had their hair cut short since their masters did not want their servants to be rude or uncouth. The rural population usually wanted their hair

and beard short to avoid getting their hair entangled in work and general hygiene. This did not mean that all Romans at all times were shaven especially from the lower classes, who were often jeered by writers such as Martial. The Romans during mourning let their hair and beards grow naturally without cutting until the distress or dangers had passed. This was an old custom and was meant to show their despondency and respect for the dead.

The term *barbatulus* meant having a youthful beard growing just around the chin, which was not shortened or shaped by the barber, usually associated with the youth. It was a custom during the late Republic for the young fashionable men to grow such beards as a sign of their virility and also probably to show their rebellion. It was also said that youths would use lamp oil to grease their face to make their beards and mustaches grow. This also gave rise to the term *barbatus bene*, which meant having the beard neatly trimmed, to give it an unnatural look of beauty and grace. This became common among the youth in the late Republic and then by the emperors beginning with Hadrian.

For most Romans during the late Republic the wearing of a beard, especially a long beard or *barba promissa*, was a sign of slovenliness and disgrace. The censors even required that when a countryman was recalled from exile he had to shave before he was allowed to be presented before the Senate. The shaving or cutting of the beard was seen as the mark of adulthood and for many nobles it was when the young man put on his *toga virilis*. Often he would make an offering of his clippings to his favorite god, thus Emperor Nero had his hair put into a gold box and given to Jupiter Capitolinus.

The emperors until Hadrian did not wear a beard, while Hadrian reintroduced it to Roman society. While clearly others continued to sport the beard, it was Hadrian who made it acceptable for the upper and middle class. Some said it was because he wished to hide some scars, but regardless, when the emperor sported something new, everyone followed suit. The wearing of the beard would continue well into the late Empire. Coins and some statues have shown this attribute.

Since Romans did not shave themselves it was important for them either see a barber, *tonsor* or to have their own slave do it. Many of the wealthy families had their barbers who became their trusted slave, especially since this individual had a blade on the throat each day. There were also female barbers or *tonstrix*, a title that occurs in numerous inscriptions and was apparently common. The wearing or not sporting a beard depended upon the social class and the era. While common in the early Republic and then reintroduced in the high Empire, it was not in vogue during the middle–late Republic and early Empire.

See also: *Arts: Portraiture; Sculpture; Fashion and Appearance: Hygiene; Personal Accouterments; Public Appearance; Toiletries*

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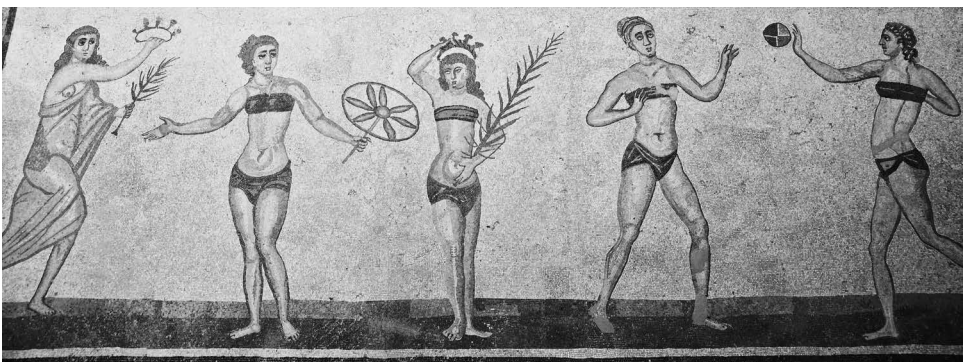
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BIKINI

The advent of the modern swimsuit worn by women in the 1940s CE and taking its name from the Bikini Atoll where nuclear testing occurred would seem quite distant and alien to the ancients. Nevertheless, archaeological materials especially through artwork have indicated that the ancients had a fashion similar to the modern bikini. While modern notions of sensibility are often translated to the past, it is important to examine the society by their standards and not ours. The testament and adoption of the bikini were not necessarily a comment on the lifestyle or moral positions of individuals in society.

The history of the bikini and intimate garments span the ancient world. They existed in the early prehistoric period with depictions of the Mother Goddess, and in the Greek world where women were depicted in bikini outfits doing athletic exercises. Minoan cave paintings from 1600 BCE portray women as they wore a two piece bikini and performed athletic or gymnastic exercises. Greek women would wear a breast band as an outer garment that would continue to be worn as



Mosaic of young women clad in bikini-style attire playing games, Sicily 300 CE. While women were normally required to be modest in their attire, images such as these shows that at the baths when exercising, women could wear more comfortable clothing for such activities. These attires were mainly worn in private settings and not for swimming. (Andrea Paggiaro/Dreamstime.com)

an undergarment later. While men would abandon the loin cloth design, women in Greece would continue wearing it in acrobatic exercises. In some ways this would only be expected given the nature of these exercises, but they are also in contrast to the general protectiveness of women in Greek society.

The Roman woman wore a variety of undergarments that either mimicked or replaced the bikini. The *strophium* was a sash or scarf (*mitra*) that was twisted or rolled into a long, round, and even form, fastened under the breast to support the young woman's bosom. It was not worn next to the skin but rather over a small *tunic* or *tunicula*. This can be seen in a literary passage of Turpilius who describes a girl being upset over losing a letter she had put between her *tunicula* and *strophium* with the *strophium* on the outside. Pausanias (v.16.2) in his writings about Greece and its arts describes a statue with the same idea, often seen on statues of Diana. It was not worn by all women but probably only those whose active life habits required assistance. The *strophium* was a foundation garment and gave support to the body.

An ancient bra akin to the bikini would be the *mamillare*. A *mamillare* was a bosom band made of soft leather (Martial 14.66), which elevated or confined the bust when excessively developed. It was not intended to compress the bust or female figure into slimness, such as a corset but was an aid for some women. Not all women wore or required a *mamillare*, but when worn, it was under the *tunic* next to the skin. Depictions are seen in paintings from Pompeii. It should be viewed as an undergarment not meant to be seen.

Around the waist the loin cloth was often depicted. The *subligaculum* or *subligar* denoted a cloth fastened round the waist then passed through or between the thighs and fastened to the waistband. It was meant to safeguard someone against accidental exposure. They could be worn either as an undergarment or by themselves as an outer garment similar to the bikini bottom. Vases depict both men and women wearing them. From Britain a leather bottom or thong was discovered and showing an ancient version of a modern garment. The bikini comes from the first century CE London where several other examples have been found. It is postulated that they were worn by young girls who engaged as acrobats or in other sports similar to the Minoan version 1500 years earlier. A statue from France has a girl wearing a bottom but no top and knee pads. It is also possible that this was worn as an undergarment or even sanitary garment.

These provincial forms occur on Roman art as well. From Pompeii a statue of a naked woman exists. It is about 3 feet high of marble and has a bikini painted on her in gold leaf. Catalogued as the "Bikini Venus" it shows how an ancient statue was adorned. It is possible that this was a common system and that many statues have lost their painted coverings over time. There were several statues of Venus recovered from Pompeii that had the goddess wearing a bikini as well as other revealing garments.

The most famous artwork that has bikini garments comes from the late Roman period from Sicily. The mosaics at the early fourth-century-CE villa Piazza Armerina show numerous women in various poses and environments wearing a two-piece bikini. The women are probably wearing *subligaculum* for the briefs. The top part may be a *strophium* or *mamillare*. It is difficult to determine which one should be used since the *strophium* was normally not worn by itself next to the skin while the *mamillare* was but not intended for display. The mosaic shows several women exercising in different poses. One seems to have a pair of dumbbells, while another has a medicine ball. Some women appear to be running, while others are receiving prizes such as a crown. Two bikini clad women are playing ball. The mosaics show a wide variety of possible exercises and active lifestyle. The most likely explanation is that the mosaic shows women exercising at the gym or bath.

The bikini seems not to have been worn for swimming but rather as athletic track, field and gymnastic clothes. The depictions in the mosaic do not show swimming and the ancient sources do not mention the type of clothes worn when swimming. The bikini was therefore to wear as an undergarment as today's underclothes, and as a workout outfit for the gym. Presumably, it was not meant to be seen by most people, that is, it was probably not worn in the general public setting to be seen by all.

See also: *Fashion and Appearance: Clothing; Toiletries; Underclothing; Women's Clothing*

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CLOTHING

Roman clothing, like its Greek counterparts, consisted of under or lower garments and outer or upper garments. This entry deals with the outer garments that were used in the Roman world regardless of location during the Republican period. The general term for the outer garment was *amictus*, which denoted the garment being wrapped around the individual rather than the inner garment that was drawn or put

on. The wrap was the simplest *amictus*, which was merely a long piece of cloth that was wrapped around the back over one shoulder and under the other before being brought around the front. The principle Greek *amictus* was the *pallium* as opposed to the Roman *toga*. Made of wool the *pallium* was large piece of cloth that was wrapped around the body and fastened at the neck with a buckle or pin. It was sometimes worn over the body alone while at other times over a *tunic*. It could be worn either thrown over both shoulders, as a cape, or over and under the different shoulders as mentioned above. The *himation* was worn in Greece as an outer garment by both men and women. In addition, the *chlamys* and *tribon* were also Greek outer garments for men and *peplos* for women. For Roman dress the *toga* was worn by men and the *palla* for married women. Men did not wear trousers except in the east and north and then only by the local indigenous population or by Roman soldiers. In addition, the barbarians also wore outer long sleeved *chiton* as opposed to the short sleeved *chiton* worn in Greece and Italy as undershirts or outer clothes for peasants.

The *himation* was worn by the Greek free born, which went down at least to the knees. It was oblong, thrown over the left shoulder and held by the left arm; it was then brought up to the right shoulder across the body and covered the neck for formal wear, or it was brought across the body and under the right arm exposing the right shoulder for casual wear. Women would also wear the *himation* but usually in the formal fashion and bringing it up to cover the head so that only the face was visible.

The primary outer Roman coat was the *paenula*. It was termed a *vestimenta clausa* or closed garment. It was formed by a round piece of cloth with a hole so that the head passed through. It would then have a hood. It could then be closed all the way down or it might have a slit in the front so that it could be gathered and put over the shoulder. It did not have sleeves so that the arms were free to move. The *paenula* was worn over the *tunic* particularly when leaving the city and going into the countryside. It was typically made of wool so as to protect the wearer from cold and rain. A similar type but with sleeves was the *bardocucullus*.

Outer clothes did not necessarily mean public clothes. Just like modern individuals who might wear a robe or sweats around the house in an informal fashion, the Romans did the same in similar clothes. The *synthesis* was a garment they wore at meal times as mentioned by Martial. It was not worn at other times or in public except during the feast of Saturnalia when all of Rome engaged in a carnival-like atmosphere. It seems from paintings and sculptures that the garment was loose fitting with the upper part of the body either naked or at least very loose. The garment could be either long or short sleeved, probably depending upon the time of year and the location. The bottom half of the drapery was also loose fitting allowing it to be folded and even drawn over shoulders if needed. It is possible that

there were two different garments that made up the *synthesis*, one being the upper garment that could be drawn up as a mantle and the other being a more intimate lower garment.

Other garments that were worn as outer garments included the *birrus*, which was a short cape with a hood and often used either by the rural inhabitants or by travelers. During the late Republic the *caracalla* came into use from Gaul and was used as an outer garment to protect the wearer from the elements as well, it was a short cloak, while the *lacerna* was a longer one also from Gaul. The *sagum*, likewise an outer garment, was made of coarse wool or goat's hair with the nap left on, and was put on so that it was tied in a knot or put on with a brooch on the left shoulder. The left arm was covered, while the right was left free.

Ceremonial outer clothes included the *falmmeum* or wedding veil that young women wore from head to toe and the *syrma*. The *syrma* was a long robe worn by actors for tragic stories or plays and who performed the parts of deities. It trailed on the ground. The robe was meant to give dignity and grandeur showing the figure as a hero or god/goddess. It was also meant to provide the actor as a way to hide their tragic boot or *cothurnus* at the back, which often elevated them.

The outer clothing was therefore meant to be a covering to ensure modesty and protection. When worn inside it was meant to be seen by the family or at least be casual. When worn outside the clothing either could be the formal dress, such as a *toga* or *palla*, or it was meant to provide covering for the individual from the cold or rain.

See also: *Economics and Work*: Fullers; Weavers; *Family and Gender*: Women's Duties; *Fashion and Appearance*: Ethnic Dress; Fabrics; Greek/Eastern Dress; Military Dress; Northern European Dress; Rural Fashion; *Toga*; Underclothing; *Politics and Warfare*: Military Uniforms; *Recreation and Social Customs*: Sumptuary Laws

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COLORS

The colors of clothing often had important characteristics for the individual or society. These colors also often identified the person's role or their class. Describing the different colors provide a clearer image of what the Romans wore and why. While clothes may have been viewed as lightness (white) versus darkness (black), it was more common to phrase them as bright versus dull. The newer and more delicate dyed clothes tended to be bright and worn by the wealthy, while the everyday clothes tended to be dull, even if clean, and were worn by the peasant. The Romans clearly valued colors as shown by Etruscan tomb paintings, Roman wall paintings and mosaics, and even late (Roman) Egyptian mummy portraits. Certain colors were viewed for specific activities. Dark colors were usually associated with mourning or grief, white for purity, virginity, or political canvassing, red for the military, while purple was reserved for the highest ranks. The use of high-priced dyes occurred only on high-priced cloth; the two went together and denoted status.

A common dull color probably used all the time was brown. It was not usually remarked upon since it was so common, especially for cloaks and outer garments made from wool. The dyes used for other colors also probably contributed to the continual production of brown. For example, clothing called *pullus* or *purpureus* would often be described as dark or purplish brown. Most clothing would have been dull due to the natural fibers or the types of dyes used. What made brown so utilitarian was its ability to hide stains.

Blue was not seen as a separate color in either Greek or Latin and as such did not enter the normal vocabulary. The Greek word *kyaneos* was a dark blue and was worn for mourning and was synonymous with *melas* or black. *Glaukinos* was more of a lighter color, which could include blue, green, or grey and was used for people with blue eyes. To achieve the color blue the dye would have been made from woad (*isatis*) or indigo (*indicum*) from India. Black was normally associated with mourning in the Greek and Roman world. Black, or *melas*, did not just mean the color but also the mood. If one was going to use the pure color it would have been *pullus*, *atratus*, or *niger* in Latin, which meant a glossy black color or *porphyreos*, *melos*, or *lampros* in Greek. Black clothing was diametrically opposed to white or purity and expressed the idea that the clothes were dirtied for a specific reason, usually grief. Once a garment was dyed black it could not be altered, whereas a different-colored piece dirtied could be cleaned and restored to its original color. Black garments are mentioned in literature for everyday clothes such as the *lacerna*, which was either black or white or the *calcei senatorii*, which were black. White was clearly a color that was not ambiguous. Known as *leukos* or *albus* it meant all light colors and not just pure white. Since white was the color of purity, and because it was difficult to dye and keep clean, it was a sign of status.

White was achieved by bleaching and was valued as a bright color as opposed to the dull everyday sights. Certain individuals were usually required to wear white such as priests, candidates for office, and citizen men.

Krokotos was a saffron-colored dyed garment. Usually it was worn by women and was part of their usual repertoire. Men would not usually wear it and those who did were open to attacks on their masculinity. This can be seen in the Greek play *Women at the Thesmophoria* by Aristophanes, where a male is dressed in a *krokos*-colored gown and knows that he will be displayed in public and shamed. A similar color would have been *luteus*, which was golden, saffron, or orange-yellow. It was long associated with the dress of Roman brides. It is often difficult to know which hue the term meant but was probably seen as a color associated with golden. Yellow was not a general term and was usually mentioned in the context of hair. Like orange it is difficult to determine from the ancient vocabulary. Yellow was significant in wedding symbolism.

Another popular color was pink that was relatively easy to achieve from the plant dyes. It was not mentioned much as a distinct color and was usually seen as a variation of red. Like orange, pink was classified as a subset of red. As a bright color it was valued for use in textiles. Red was one of the three important colors, the others being black and white. Red was viewed as the most colorful of all of the colors. Red was usually associated with the military and with rituals such as violence. Valued for being visible, the bright shades, due to the dye being produced with kermes insects, are often more important than the color itself.

A color that had great meaning was purple. It had a central symbolism that was not tied to the “color purple” but rather determined from the dye’s origin, shellfish. Shellfish dyes were always prized because of its distinctive qualities and due to the fact that it was difficult and expensive to obtain. In addition, unlike plant dyes, shellfish dyes would last longer. While the color purple could be made from plants and double-dyeing, shellfish produced a better range of colors from deep red through purple to violet. The Tyrian purple was the most expensive. Coming from the double dyed it had a particularly bad smell. Garments dyed with Tyrian purple sold for a thousand or more times the price than regular garments. The most common word for purple was *murex* or the place of origin, such as Tyre or Africa (Punic). To achieve the color it was expensive and hence the dyes were highly valued. Purple also denoted status and blood and was associated with heroes and the gods. Worn by kings in Rome and later the general who triumphed over the enemy purple ultimately became the color of the emperors’ clothes. Senators wore a purple stripe on their *togas* to distinguish them from normal citizens.

Color for clothing was an important component of the fashion industry in Rome. Used more commonly by the Romans than Greeks, color could be used not only a symbol of status but one of wealth.

See also: Economics and Work: Fullers; Weavers; Fashion and Appearance: Fabrics

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COSMETICS

The ancient Romans used cosmetics to enhance their feature just as modern individuals. Their use dates back to the early Republic when cosmetics were used for rituals and continuously became a much sought after commodity during the Republic and Empire. While mainly available and used by wealthy clients, poorer people were also able to use them but not as often. Many Romans believed that cosmetics should be used to preserve the natural beauty of a woman and not to change or embellish one's look. Women wanted to appear naturally beautiful rather than as someone whose features had been changed or altered since doing so would be seen as a sign of not chaste; in fact, vestal virgins did not wear makeup lest they be accused of not being chaste (Livy 4.44.11). Most writers did not approve of women wearing makeup since it was seen as a sign of being a prostitute. Seneca and Juvenal both viewed women who wore makeup and used perfumes as morally loose and untrustworthy. The poet Ovid, however, did advocate their use and in fact wrote a poem in praise of cosmetics.

For wealthy Roman women pure white skin, alabaster was seen as the deciding factor in one's class and attainment of beauty and so Roman women went to great lengths to attain this. This was even more difficult since the natural skin coloring of native Italians was not fair like northern Europeans. In addition, since most people spent their times outdoor, it led to tanning which in turn required makeup to ensure pure white skin. Most of the users of cosmetics were therefore wealthy women who could afford the materials and the time needed to have them put on. Due to the nature of the cosmetics and the general environmental conditions, it was often necessary to apply the makeup several times during the day. Poor women neither had the time to continuously apply the cosmetics, nor did they have the resources. In addition, it was common for wealthy women to have



Bas relief of a Roman woman and servant with a jewelry box, imperial age. Roman women would keep their cosmetics and toiletries in intricate boxes made of wood or stone. Used by most women, cosmetics were made from a variety of natural products and allowed them to enhance or highlight their features. (Heritage Images/Corbis)

well-trained slaves to apply the makeup. Women usually had their makeup applied in private with men not being present. Often a noble's house had a room where the *cosmetae* or female slave versed in applying makeup would put on the mistresses' cosmetics without distractions. A negative by-product of the makeup was the odor of some of the ingredients, which then forced women to use perfume to cover the aroma. As a corollary, a woman with a pleasant smell was seen as someone who was healthy.

A woman would first cleanse her skin, perhaps at a bath where she could enjoy companionship. Many of the great baths in Rome had barbers and *cosmetae* on site. They would moisturize their skin, often with oil. The first cosmetic layer applied was the foundation. It was often a paste with a mixture of lead, which gave the skin a white color; unfortunately, it was also poisonous and could have negative side effects. The Romans also used chalk or a mixture of animal fat, starch,

and tin; although these were not poisonous, they were not as good as the lead paste. Archeologists have discovered ancient skin cream dating from the second century CE, which was in a canister and white. The cream was primarily animal fat with starch and tin dioxide called cassiterite, which gave it the white appearance.

Women would then apply rouge or *fucus* over this foundation and by doing so would “stain” the cheeks. Rouge could also be used as a lipstick; it was made into a salve with ocher as the staining material. Red ocher comes from red tinted clay that occurs naturally. The clay was dug and washed to rid it of impurities, especially sand, and then dried; sometimes the ocher was heated to enhance the color. The Roman woman would also apply eye liner, usually black, to enhance their eyes. This was achieved through the use of kohl that was made from galena, a natural blue-grey mineral of lead sulfide, and soot. For eye shadow, the Romans initially used saffron; then when they came into contact with the Egyptians through their conquest, they were introduced to the green malachite stone, which was crushed and mixed to make the green eye color.

In addition to cosmetics, it was important to the Romans to use perfume. This was especially true since many of the cosmetics had an unpleasant odor. They were brought to Rome during the Republic by Phoenician traders from the east, and a small quantity could command a high price. In Rome, there was a perfume market where these expensive preparations and their imitations could be purchased. The real products were purchased by wealthy women and the knock-offs or imitations by everyone else. Some of the scents that the Romans used or liked included those from rose, a very popular scent. Others included honey, cinnamon, lavender, ginger, myrrh, and frankincense. They were often used with animal fat or suspended in honey or beeswax, which would also help keep the skin the soft. The earliest perfumes were imported by the Etruscans who used myrtle and pine resin.

To counter bad breath, they would chew on a mixture of baking soda and pumice. For those who had lost their teeth, it was not uncommon for false teeth made of ivory or bone, especially since the Romans wanted white teeth. Often the Romans would make a fine powder from dried flowers, berries, or odoriferous herbs and spread them on the body like talc powder as a perfume; this was called a *diapasma*. A cheap and common unguent among the Romans was called an *epilimma*.

Women would also dilapidate their legs with tweezers, but it is also known that resin was put on cloth and then on large parts of the body to pull the hair off, an ancient waxing treatment. These and other methods were used so that individuals, including both men and women, could go without hair.

The use of cosmetics and ancillary materials allowed the Romans, both women and men, to enhance their look so that they could mask their own body defects to achieve the ideal. This practice would continue up to and including the modern age.

See also: *Family and Gender: Courtship; Fashion and Appearance: Jewelry, Women; Toiletries*

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ETHNIC DRESS

Regional or ethnic dress existed throughout the Roman world. This was in part due to the fact that the Roman national dress was aimed mainly at the citizen class, and that the Greek dress that was common in the east aimed at Greeks, who could trace their heritage to the mainland or their colonies. The other regions of the Roman world were not required to wear Roman or Greek dress, and in fact were often forbidden to wear them unless they were citizens. The major regions were the north with subgroups such as Gaul, Germany, Noricum; the east with Egyptian, Persian, and Jewish; and Punic from Africa.

In the provinces, some local men would wear the *toga*, especially if they were attempting to emulate the Romans or if they had been granted citizenship rights. It appears that the adoption of the Roman dress by men was linked to their status. Women did not tend to assimilate the Roman dress so readily. What influenced dress in the provinces were their geographical position and their desire to be Roman; this often led to their dropping of their own local clothing. An example of this was the Gallic trouser that was steadily abandoned as Roman rule grew longer and replaced by the *tunic* or *toga*.

For the Romans, certain types of clothing were often indicative of being a barbarian. The best example was the trouser, the close fitting *bracae* of the north or the loose fitting eastern Parthian/Persian version. Often in art the defeated prisoners, regardless of their place of origin, would be depicted wearing the *bracae*; for example, Jewish prisoners on monuments and coins wore the *bracae* even though they came from the east. This stereotype allowed the Romans to clearly indicate who was the loser and the victor. For Germans it was customary for Romans to show them as only wearing a cloak, often made of fur. In the east, the Romans followed the Greek custom and portrayed the barbarians there as wearing looser trousers and the Phrygian caps along with the loose *tunic* over the trouser. Often the barbarian was portrayed as wearing a long-sleeved *tunic*. Both the long-sleeved *tunic* and the trouser went out of style with the Roman conquest but were still used in art. Women tended not to be portrayed in their native costumes and often wore long dresses.

The men of Gaul and Britain wore trousers as well as a long-sleeved *tunic* and a cloak. While the new elites emulated the Romans, it is probable that the lower classes continued with their traditional dress. While some men wore the *toga*, most women were not represented as wearing the Roman clothing. The non-Roman men would wear the Gallic coat with its long cape, a scarf, and undergarments. The coat was knee length and unlike the Romans was worn unbelted usually with sleeves down to the wrist but occasionally without sleeves. The neck hole was hemmed. Only men wore a cape that went over the shoulders and was sewn up the front with a hood and fell to the knees. A shorter shoulder length cape with a hood made of leather was worn by woodsmen, huntsmen, or agricultural workers. The Germans were said to wear few clothes, perhaps only a cloak or *sagum*. Women were often depicted with large hats as in a huge circle. Like the other northern provinces the costumes of Noricum and Pannonia usually consisted of a cloak or *sagum*. The major depictions of women portray them wearing long under-dresses with long tight sleeves and a high collar; over this was a shorter mid-calf length tubular dress. Both sexes wore hats made of fur with women wearing veils.

In the east, the *toga* again was only worn by Romans or native officials trying to emulate them. The usual form of clothes was a Greek *tunic* or *pallium* regardless of their country. The dress from Palmyra probably showed best how the eastern non-Roman/Greek dressed. The men tended to wear a full-length *tunic* with a length of rolled up cloth knotted at the waist or an Iranian styled *tunic* with side-vent with long sleeves worn over a pair of loose fitting trousers with the legs tucked into boots. Palmyrene men might also wear a Greek *pallium*. Women would wear long and full gowns that had long sleeves and their cuffs ornamental and would wear turbans with

jewels. These clothes were usually embroidered and made of fine cloth. The importation of jewels is probably an example of Persian influence. In Egypt the cloth was made from linen, usually coarse for the peasant and finer semitransparent for the elites. The upper-class Romans wore white for men and varied colors for women. The Jews would wear similar clothes from the east but with specific distinctions. As elsewhere in the east, the men wore *tunics* decorated with two vertical stripes and shoes without the hobnail as found in the west. The women wore a long sleeve length undergarment together with a shorter sleeveless *tunic* or *palla*. Jews were forbidden by their laws to mix the different fibers together and the *tallit* or Jewish version of the *pallium* had a tassel on each corner. Men usually wore white and women were forbidden to wear red. Women would wear the veil outdoors, which the rest of the Roman world had abandoned earlier. The dress of Carthage was similar to that from the east with long *tunics* and embroidered long sleeves.

Outside of Roman control in the east, the Persians and Parthians wore clothes made of wool and silk from China as well as cotton from India and linen from Egypt. The clothes were often decorated with metallic thread and while purple were the color of royalty, white was common as was blue and green. The Persians or Sasanians in the Late Empire tended to reject foreign culture but their dress had men wearing a loose long sheath tightened at the waist with a sash over pleated trousers tucked into their boots. Women would wear a blouse, skirt, and veil over which was worn a sari-like garment fastened at the waist. Alternatively, women could wear a *tunic* down to their knees which covered a pair of trousers.

The regional and ethnic varieties allowed the Romans to incorporate foreign styles. While the traditional Roman elites would not completely adopt the foreign dress, they would occasionally adopt some specific types. The provincials likewise would not give up their own distinctive dress completely but would adopt Roman dress when it was useful.

See also: *Fashion and Appearance: Clothing; Greek/Eastern Dress; Northern European Dress*

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FABRICS

There were different fabrics used in Roman clothing, the main ones being wool, hemp, linen, and occasionally silk. While cotton was known, it was not widely used. Wool production, however, was the main staple of Mediterranean society. Wool is a naturally occurring material from animals such as sheep, goats, rabbits, and camels. Unlike hair or fur, wool can be crimped, it is elastic, and it grows in clusters. The major source comes from sheep, with the variety depending upon breed.

Since wool is scaled and crimped, it can be spun easily into yarn due to the fibers' ability to attach to one another and stay together. The type of wool determines the crimp, that is, the number of bends per inch. Fine wool such as Merino might have 100 bends per inch and the fibers have a small diameter. When spun, the wool is very fine and is used in garments. Other breeds produce fibers with only a few crimps that make them coarser and more suitable for rugs or blankets. The wool fibers also clump together making them retain air, useful for insulation in keeping both heat and cold out or in thus protecting and regulating the body from the elements. Wool also attracts water and can absorb up to a third of its weight.

Wool is sheared from the sheep using large shears, scissor-like instruments, in the spring before the sheep were taken to the summer pastures. This timing insured that the sheep did not lose their protective layer during the winter months. In Palestine, the months for shearing were May and June and were a time of feasting for the shepherds. The shears needed to have strong hard blades to prevent bending and had to be sharp with a strong spring to prevent breaking. The Romans used both iron and bronze in the manufacturing of their shears. There were both three-piece shears, two blades and a separate spring, and two-piece shears, in which the spring was fixed with one of the blades. Before the shearing, the sheep are washed (about eight days before) and for the next few days kept in a clean pen so as not to get soiled. The sheep is set on its rump and the shearer removes the wool from the head and neck down to the shoulder and then works on the abdomen and thighs; the shearer then positions the animal so as to shear the wool from one side of the abdomen up to the top of the back before repositioning it to do the other side. The animal is then placed on the ground on its side and shorn from the hind

quarter and then flipped over and done on the other side. Afterward the sheep is set free and another animal is brought in and the process repeated. The shears need to be held close to the animal's body with the blunted points slightly elevated and the cutting proceeding with short clear cuts. This was crucial to avoid nicking the animal since flies could infect the animal. The wool was then gathered and prepared for the next phase, carding.

In carding, the wool was separated into fibers so that it could be turned into thread. Two brushes with needles were used. The individual held the brushes with the left (usually, the nondominant hand) resting on the leg on which some wool was placed, while the other carder was passed through the wool catching some of the fibers which now separated the material. The material was then aligned, while the waste was dropped out. This was a long, tedious, and repetitive process. Once all of the wool was carded, the fibers were ready for spinning and turned into thread. Most rural families assigned the task to young people, especially girls. From there the wool was ready to be weaved into cloth and then assembled into garments.

Another type of fabric was linen. Unlike wool that came from animals, linen comes from the flax plant; originally, it came from the Near East and was cultivated early. Linen is time consuming to make, but it was valued for its coolness in the hot weather. Numerous papyri from Egypt point to the making of linen and its value for clothes in the hot desert. Since linen was time consuming to make, it was also expensive. The ancient Egyptians used it to wrap their mummies since the cloth was seen as a symbol of purity. Linen is soft, but care needs to be observed to prevent creases, since the fibers are easily broken and tears could exist. In addition, the cloth wrinkles easily. The plant is cut close to the ground so that the stalks are long. The seeds are then removed followed by "retting"; during which the fibers are loosened from the stalks, usually by soaking in a tank, and then "scutching" when the fibers are removed from the stalks using a knife, which creates the long flax fibers and short fibers called tow and wooden waste or shive. The fibers are then heckled with heckling combs which separate the long and short fibers. The long fibers can then be spun into cloth.

The linen industry was very ancient with evidence from Crete during the Mycenaean period. The ancient Egyptians were well versed in the production of linen. Other linen-producing regions under the Romans included Spain, Germany, and even Britain. The linen appears to have arrived at the end of the Republic when Egypt became open to the Romans and its merchants. For most individuals, however, linen was not practical. It was too expensive and could not be supplied in sufficient quantities for the masses. Unlike the woolen trade, which was common and practical for the average individual, linen was reserved for only special garments and wealthy individuals.

See also: Economics and Work: Fullers; Weavers; Fashion and Appearance: Shopping Districts

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GREEK/EASTERN DRESS

Fashion is one of the most common attributes adopted by another culture, and the Romans were no different. While the Romans in Italy created their own national dress, they also imported other cultures' styles. One of the most copied were Greeks. The interaction between Greece and Italy dated to the first-millennium BCE when Greek city-states established colonies in southern Italy. As Rome expanded south, both politically and economically, they came into contact with these city-states. Rome ultimately came into control of the southern Italian Greek cities by the end of the Second Punic War. Throughout this period and into the next century, Rome exerted its political influence over the Greek homeland. At the same time, the Romans absorbed and adopted Greek culture.

Many of the Greek fashions became interchangeable with Roman fashion outside of Italy and Greece. As Alexander the Great and his generals conquered the Near East, Greek fashion became common and was adopted in these regions. When Rome conquered these same regions, their dress likewise was adopted. Thus, there was a mixture of pre-Greek/Roman, Greek, and Roman fashions.

The major Greek clothes were the *peplos*, *chiton*, *himation*, and *chlamys*. The *peplos* or *peplum* was a long garment that was reserved for the females; it was analogous to the Roman term *palla*. There were several interpretations as to the design

and how it was worn, although all the ancients viewed that the *peplos* was not like a *tunic* which was put over the head when put on, but rather one stepped into it and had it “wrapped” around the body. It was characteristically a tubular dress which had the top folded down to the waist so as to give the appearance of two separate garments. Some ancient writers describe it as a *tunic*, not put on over the head, while others as a large wrapper that covered the left shoulder but had the right exposed. The parts were joined by a brooch usually on the top of the shoulder, while in some instances it was under the right arm. The *peplum* then trailed the feet. The garment was usually made of wool and was heavier in nature than other garments.

The *chiton* could be worn by either sex with the man’s reaching down to his knees and the woman’s reaching to the ankles. The garment was typically lighter than the *peplos* and can be seen as analogous to a *tunica*. Like the Roman *tunica*, the *chiton* was an undergarment. Unlike the *peplos* that was draped or wrapped and held by a brooch the *chiton* was usually sewn, although it could be held at the shoulder by pins or buttons. The *chiton* was open on one side. It was held at the waist by a belt. The Doric *chiton* was sleeveless, while the Ionic had sleeves; the latter became the dominant form for men by the early fifth century BCE. It usually was held from the shoulder to the wrists by several pins or buttons, or even sewn. A large belt held the *chiton* in place and close to the body. Since the garment had more cloth than the height of the wearer, the excess was pulled up over the belt and allowed to hang down. The garment could be made of light wool or linen; those living in the countryside wore them of skins. Free born or wealthy wore the *chiton* with both shoulders covered, while slaves, workmen, and other lower classes wore it with the right arm and breast uncovered.

The *himation* was a heavier garment usually worn over the *chiton*, essentially a cloak and was worn by those of free birth. It was made of a heavier drape and reached at least to the knees. It was an oblong piece of cloth thrown over the left shoulder and then brought forward and held by the left arm; it was then brought up over the right shoulder and covered it or it could be brought under the right arm which left the right shoulder exposed. Women often drew the *chiton* up over their head as well.

The *chlamys* was an outer garment originating in northern Greece in Thessaly and Macedon. Again, it was an oblong piece of cloth, usually wool, which was thrown over the left shoulder with the ends fastened by a brooch on the right shoulder. It was often worn by those in command in the military. It served as a cloak for traveling, hunting, and for the soldiers.

For those engaged in physically active service they would often wear the *exomis* which was completely opened on the right side so that the shoulder, arm, and breast were exposed. It was used in art for individuals who were involved in manual labor and by the gods Vulcan, Charon, and the Amazons. In addition to

these garments, Greek women would wear the veil which could either cover their whole face and head or just the head. It was common for wealthy women, especially those unmarried, to be veiled to ensure modesty.

These clothes were adopted by the Romans after their conquest of Greece and southern Italy, and spread throughout the Roman world. While not replacing Roman dress in Italy, they did become the major fashions throughout the Near East by the Romans.

GREEK INFLUENCE ON ROMAN FASHION

In the following passage from his *Noctes Atticae* (*Attic Nights*), the Roman writer Aulus Gellius (ca. 125–ca. 180 CE) discusses Greek influence on Roman attire. *Attic Nights* was a commonplace book, essentially a scrapbook in which the author jotted down notes on things of interest he had seen, heard, or read. Topics covered in *Attic Nights* include geometry, grammar, history, philosophy, and social customs, such as fashion trends and attitudes. The book's title derives from the author's studies and travels in Athens and Attica, where much of the volume was apparently written.

For a man to wear *tunics* coming below the arms and as far as the wrists, and almost to the fingers, was considered inappropriate in Rome, and all the surrounding areas. Such *tunics* our countrymen called by the Greek name *chiridotae* (long-sleeved), and they thought that a long and full-flowing garment was appropriate only for women to wear, to hide their arms and legs from sight. But Roman men at first wore the toga alone without *tunics*; later, they had close, short *tunics* ending below the shoulders, the kind which the Greeks call *exomides* (sleeveless). Habituated to this older fashion, Publius Africanus . . . a man gifted with all worthy arts and every virtue, among many other things with which he reproached Publius Sulpicius Gallus . . . included this also, that he wore *tunics* which covered his whole hands. . . . Virgil, too, attacks *tunics* of this kind as effeminate and shameful, saying: “Sleeves have their *tunics*, and their turbans, ribbons.” [The historian] Quintus Ennius also seems to have spoken scornfully of “the tunic-clad men” of the Carthaginians.

(*Rolfe, 1927, Vol. II*)

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See also: Fashion and Appearance: Colors; Ethnic Dress; Public Appearance

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HAIRSTYLES

The Romans throughout their history changed their hairstyles according to the latest fashions. While most of our evidence comes from the imperial period, it is clear that during the Republic, fashions changed and probably at the same pace. Because hairstyles are distinctive, it is often possible to use the changes to track their chronology based on sculptures. Hairstyles in antiquity were often viewed the same as today; they became a symbol of status or even rebellion. Depending upon the gender, age, class, and region, the styles could be dramatically different from other regions or eras. From writers, especially those that viewed women spending too much time on their hair, it is clear that how women presented their hair was important, and indeed it was meant to flatter and create the appropriate erotic setting. Women would dominate the traditional setting of hairstyles and created the public view of what it entailed. While most of the artwork details women spending time doing their hair, it was still important for men. Tomb paintings show women gazing into mirrors and adjusting or fixing their hair.

Like the modern era where hairstyles are often dictated and influenced by the elites, who have time and money to try new and different looks, in antiquity too class was a determining factor. To have the time to sit and have ones hair styled required resources since they were kept away from other activities. For a shopkeeper to have her hair styled would have meant that she could not keep her business open and would therefore lose revenue. While this does not mean that getting one's hair styled was only reserved for the wealthy, it did mean that the individual should have the time and money to continuously have it done on a regular basis. It was crucial for the wealthy individual to make sure that the style showed their wealth and prominence. Therefore, it was common for styles to not to be simple or even natural



Stucco relief, woman putting up hair, Tunisia, Africa, second century CE. Roman women, especially the upper class, placed emphasis on hygiene and public appearance, such as hair styles. As this relief shows, some had slaves or servants who helped out. Many Roman women had intricate styles and were often influenced by the style of the prevailing empress during the imperial age. (Nicolas Fauqué/Corbis)

but rather complex often leading to gaudy. At the same time it was important for a woman to maintain her modesty and demeanor; this meant that a married woman would often wear the *palla* which could be pulled up over the head from behind or some other kind of veil/shawl. While this may seem contradictory, that is, having an expensive, complex, and perhaps gaudy hairstyle while still having a veil or wrap over the head, one must assume that the clothes were there to ensure potential modesty and proper behavior when demanded. One could also show modesty by having the *vitta* in their hair. This was a riband or band worn around the forehead and head of a freeborn woman; it could be

worn both before and after marriage. The purpose was to confine the hair in a modest and neat fashion, as Ovid relates, without one a woman would be seen as having easy virtue. Depending upon the wealth of the woman, the *vitta* might have jewels attached to them showing her position in society.

A crucial component of hairstyles was how one actually styled the hair. The hair stylist was someone from the lower classes, most probably slaves or former slaves (freedmen). They probably learned their trade not by formal education from reading and classes but rather through hands-on experience, first by assisting their “teacher” and then by practicing under the “teacher’s” watchful eye, until finally being competent enough to doing it alone, similar to modern apprentices. The “teacher” here should be seen really as the master and the student as the apprentice. The hairdressers had several tools to help with arranging one’s own natural hair. These included the hair bodkin or hairpin made from several different types of material including gold and silver, but most of those surviving are made from bone. These were straight pins sharpened on one end with usually a knob on the other. There were needles-and-thread or needles, similar to textile

needles but larger with the blunted tip so as not to injure the head if pricked. In addition, there were U pins and curling irons. All of these items were under the general term *acus* in Latin. For the hair bodkin to work, the hair must be tightly compressed since the bodkin uses isometric pressure, the opposing forces, on all sides to keep the bodkin in place. They, therefore, cannot be used on short hair or else they will fall out; likewise, the bodkin needs to be placed at 10, 12, or 2 o'clock position with the pin end at the corresponding position, 4, 6, or 8 o'clock, or else it will slip out. Since the ends always showed it was common for the "butt" to be decorated. Of course, these bodkins could be used for other items such as stylus and even weapons as indicated by Petronius and Apuleius. The bodkin, however, could not hold up fine and short hair. In the recent centuries, there has been the creation of U pins or "bobby pins," these, however, have not been found in archaeological sites. If they did not exist, how did the Romans hold their fine hair in place as represented on sculptures? The solution was the needle-and-thread. The hair, like a piece of cloth would have been held together by the thread and not the needle. The needles were probably longer and thicker than cloth needles since the hair is not permanently punched and they were easier to work with. Many of these large needles have been found and they probably point to being used in hairdressing. The result would have been a complex style requiring help, that is, a hair stylist. This individual would weave the thread through the hair to hold it in place, something the wearer could not do since most of the work takes place on the back of the head. Also, the sewing of hair would have allowed the woman to keep the style for longer periods since it could be slept in without the pain of a hair bodkin.

There is also evidence that women and men used wigs. Suetonius mentions that the emperors Otho and Domitian wore wigs. Women also had wigs made from natural hair that could be pinned or sewn on their natural hair. This gave them the opportunity to not only have more hair but also to have different hair colors. In addition, it was common for women to color their hair with a variety of recipes and compounds, many of which took time to achieve. The Romans viewed the hair as an essential part of their appearance, just as in modern ages and they spent as much or as little time and money on it as those today.

See also: Arts: Portraiture; Sculpture; *Fashion and Appearance:* Toiletries

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HYGIENE

For the Romans hygiene was an important aspect in their appearance and health. It was crucial for the Romans to have facilities needed to ensure their ability to wash, dress, and clean themselves. The most important requirement was the need for water, crucial for taking a bath, cleaning their clothes and homes, ensuring waste was disposed and overall comfort. The Romans originally received their water from local springs, but by the third century BCE, they needed to pipe in water from distances using the aqueducts. The water was then distributed throughout the city into fountains, baths, homes, and into the sanitation system.

For the poor, the use of chamber pots, which allowed them for the waste to be disposed of in the streets or sewers, and the use of public latrines, allowed them to remain somewhat hygienic. The latrines might be free or required a small payment. Typically, the latrines were benches with a row of holes, shaped like a keyhole, which afforded little privacy. The waste was often collected in holding tanks or was directly emptied into the sewer system. Latrines located near the baths and fountains would have flowing water from the bath/fountain runoff in a channel underneath, which carried the waste away. Public latrines, however, had individuals using a common brush or sponge on a stick for cleaning up after using the facilities and these were not cleaned or disinfected, meaning that they were breeding grounds for germs and infections that could be passed from one person to another. Wealthy inhabitants would have their own private latrines and baths in their homes with water supplied from the aqueducts, although most homes probably did not have these elaborate systems. Many of the wealthy homes had tapped into the public aqueducts, some illegally, and often were subject to disconnection and/or fines. The private homes also had their own water tanks that allowed for water to be used in daily cleaning and bathing. Most homes probably had a cesspit which did not feed into the sewers, and if they did have a sewer drain connected to the city's sewers the owners were required to make sure they were cleaned regularly and were in proper working condition. This often did not happen and they were becoming clogged and a breeding pool for diseases.

The baths received water from the aqueducts. The water was recycled so that it could be used to flush out the latrines into the sewers. The sewer system was interconnected allowing the waste to flow into the Tiber River, again not so hygienic. The main sewer line was the Cloaca Maxima built during the Etruscan period and flowed from the Roman Forum into the Tiber River.

The geographer Strabo remarked about the Roman sewers (Strabo: Geography 5.3.9 at http://penelope.uchicago.edu/Thayer/E/Roman/Texts/Strabo/5C*.html):

The Romans had the best foresight in those matters which the Greeks made but little account of, such as the construction of roads and aqueducts, and of sewers that could wash out the filth of the city into the Tiber. Moreover, they have so constructed also the roads which run throughout the country, by adding both cuts through hills and embankments across valleys, that their wagons can carry boat-loads; and the sewers, vaulted with close-fitting stones, have in some places left room enough for wagons loaded with hay to pass through them. And water is brought into the city through the aqueducts in such quantities that veritable rivers flow through the city and the sewers; and almost every house has cisterns, and service-pipes, and copious fountains.

Many of the homes had their latrines, toilets, or cesspits located near the kitchens, which probably encouraged food contamination. Since both healthy and sick individuals frequented the baths and the pools were not treated with disinfectants or recirculated like modern swimming pools, it is probable that the baths were not too hygienic either. In addition the frequency of the bath pools being drained and cleaned is not known, and was probably not common which further added to the problem.

These diseases added to the danger of living in the city. Although having a great amount of water flowing into the city each day, which could be used to help keep the city clean, it is clear that diseases persisted. The yearly pattern of disease was also cyclical. During the winter months, November to March, the number of diseases was probably small, affecting only the sick or elderly who were not strong enough to battle the cold weather. The Romans viewed the period from July to November as the sickly months when various diseases hit their height. Malaria, typhoid fever, and tuberculosis were common diseases that erupted during this time. Writers relate how it was best to leave the city during this period so as not to get ill. The number of people dying from diseases probably reached about 30,000 a summer. If the number increased dramatically during this time, it could lead to outbreaks including epidemics. More commonly, it would result in higher levels of illness, which the Romans often called the plague but were more likely a catch-all word for any eruption of illness affecting a large number of people.

In addition, there was the general case of garbage and human refuse, which collected in the streets. The decaying human and animal waste and corpses would have increased the number of deaths in the city through diseases. Most of the poor would not have had the resources to belong to a burial club or have the means for a tomb. For these individuals their remains either were left in the streets or deposited into a mass grave or thrown into the Tiber River. Again, these remains would have allowed diseases to flourish. On the other hand, an individual living in this type of environment would have also had a heightened immune system to many of these diseases. While they would not have been completely protected, they would have had some natural abilities to ward them off due to their exposure to them.

The poor would have been directly affected with this situation and resulted in the general climate of the city. The use of the baths, while not perfect, would have allowed the poor to receive some semblance of hygiene. The levels of hygiene would not be seen again until the modern 20th century.

See also: Fashion and Appearance: Toiletries; Recreation and Social Customs: Baths; Science and Technology: Aqueducts

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JEWELRY, MEN

Men's jewelry or ornaments were based upon their status and wealth. Roman tradition and propriety had that the adult Roman male would only wear one item of jewelry, the signet ring. Although during the Empire it was not uncommon to see a man wearing several rings. This ring, called an *anulus* was a finger ring originally made of iron and used as a signet for sealing documents and papers. Later golden rings were adopted but only for senators, magistrates, and *equites*. The signet ring

was worn on the fourth finger of the left hand. The image on the seal of the ring was called the *signum*. The cut gem that makes the impression was set in and held by the *funda* or bezel of the ring, which means sling so that the seal was held like a stone in the sling. Often the ring had letters of the owner's name in reverse so that when stamped into wax one could read it normally. An example, is a ring found at Herculaneum with the owner's name on it, it reads "M[arci] PHILI PRIMIG[genii] GRANIANI." Some of the rings had sayings promoting good fortune or good luck such as one saying *CORINTHIA VIVAT* meaning "long live Corinthia" a reference probably hoping for good luck. The lettering on the back of this gold signet ring in reverse was on a carnelian seal stone depicting a tragic actor holding a mask. Young boys might also wear rings carved with a phallus, a symbol of good luck. Some rings were not just symbols of the individual or inscriptions of who they were; rather they might be keys that probably went to a small box, perhaps their strongbox for papers or money.

Most men did not wear earrings since this was seen as a symbol of degeneracy or being effeminate. If they did wear an earring it was usually only one. Men might also wear armbands or *armilla*, copied from the Germans and Persians. These were often given to soldiers as rewards for bravery. In addition, soldiers often wore embossed rings on their armor as decorations. Men, especially soldiers, would wear a *fibula* or brooch which held their cape or cloak on either at the shoulder or, more commonly, around the neck. A *fibula*, however, was never worn with a *toga*, which was a one-piece garment.

The most common ornament that a man might wear was a cap. The upper-class man wore the cap when in the country or traveling. If he was a freedman, he wore this cap as a symbol of his freedom, the *pilleus*. It was a round felt cap, which either had no brim or just a small one or lay close to the temples. The *pilleus* or occasionally *pileus* (*pileum*) was normally worn by fishermen, artisans, and sailors and was often depicted on statues of men like Daedalus or Odysseus as well as the gods Castor, Pollux, and Hephaestus. It was placed on a slave when sold to indicate that there was not warranty on the slave, and it was worn by everyone during the Saturnalia in Rome. These caps were not worn by women. The *pilleus* seems to have originated with the Phrygians. It was the symbol of the freedman, which is most interesting. Since it would have been noticed and even worn by a large number of the population, it clearly was noticeable and had meaning. This meaning is best seen in the silver coin of Marcus Brutus that he issued in 43–42 BCE, one–two years after the assassination of Julius Caesar. The coin shows on the reverse a *pilleus* between two daggers with distinctively different handles (perhaps meaning the two daggers of the two main conspirators, Brutus and Cassius), and underneath *EID MAR* meaning the "*Ides* of March." The message is very clear: it was supposed to remind people that on the *Ides* of March the nation received its

freedom (the *pilleus*) by Brutus and his colleagues through the assassination of Caesar. The obverse shows Brutus interestingly wearing a beard. The *pilleus* was chosen because it meant freedom, and here specifically freedom from tyranny. For the freedman seeing this coin there would have a distinct special meaning since they had been freed from their master's tyranny, symbolized by wearing the cap. Given the number of freedmen living in Rome and its common sight by other Romans it was a powerful message.

Soldiers would wear a variety of decorations or ornaments related to their profession. These would include badges, caps, and ribbons. In addition, the generals were allowed certain pieces of ornaments if they had been successful in a campaign or won a triumph. Men might also wear a *corona longa* which was a long wreath of flowers hung over the neck and chest as a festive ornament. On their *tunic* or *toga* they may wear the *paragauda* which was an ornamental band of gold or colored silk that was sewn into a *tunic* to decorate it. Introduced under the Empire it seems to have been a substitute for the *clavus* and had further distinguishing epitaphs for the number of bands attached, usually one through five.

The jewelry that men wore was supposed to be less boisterous or gaudy than those of women. During the Republic, especially during the Second Punic War, steps were taken to control what could be worn since the city was in a state of danger. The Senate passed a series of sumptuary laws mainly aimed at women to ensure compliance to this belief. Most men seemed to heed this order until the end of the Republic. The regulations against ostentatious display of wealth and a spirit of conformity gave way to new ideas, including the wearing of jewelry more often, different types and styles, or more ostentatious pieces reflecting more independence.

See also: *Arts:* Art Collecting; *Fashion and Appearance:* Personal Accouterments; Public Appearance; *Science and Technology:* Metallurgy

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JEWELRY, WOMEN

The Romans like in other cultures had a variety of personal jewelry or ornaments that allowed them to adorn their bodies. Many of these were gender specific, while

others were worn by both sexes. Jewelry allowed individuals to not only display their wealth, but it was often part of their class and social standing. Many of these ornaments were meant to be worn in a public arena and could be used to further designate one's power. This entry examines jewelry in general with a particular emphasis on women.

A common piece of jewelry for both sexes was the *anulus* or ring. This ring was usually the only piece of jewelry worn by men. Another ring worn on the first joint of the forefinger was called a *condalium* and has usually been interpreted that the wearer was a slave. A statue, however, seems to show a woman wearing a *condalium* and so it may be any ring worn on the forefinger.

An *inauris* was an earring fastened through a hole or *fenestra* bored into the lobe, or a pierced ear. They were worn by women but not men, although apparently some Greek youths wore one earring in a single ear. Many of these were very elaborate with hanging drops inside a loop or very simple with just a loop. When an earring had two separate pearl drops hanging down from the same earring, it was called a *crotalium* coming from the term rattle since the two pearls when shaken would hit each other and make a rattling noise. The large pearls shaped like a pear were much admired by the Roman women and were called *elenchus*. They often had two or three and had them not only dangling from earrings but also from finger rings. Those pearl earrings having pearls that dropped down shaped like a drop of water were called *stalagmium*.

A *fibula* was a brooch used to attach articles of clothing and was used by both sexes. It was not used on the *toga*. They could be made of different types of material such as bone, ivory, gold, iron, and often had valuable stones or gems set in gold. They had a pin that fastened on the catch of the rim and held the material loosely in place usually on the shoulder or at the throat. It could also mean a hook instead of a pin to fasten a belt, often used by the military. The hook of the *fibula* went into the eye or hole of the belt on the opposite end. A *fibula* could also relate to the fastening of the fillet around the head of a young lady to keep her hair in place. The *fibula* was a common piece of women's jewelry.

An *armilla* was commonly worn by men as an armlet usually consisting of three or four large coils of gold or bronze to cover a large part of the arm. It was also used to describe the circles of gold or rings worn mainly by Greek women upon their wrists, arm, or above their ankles. Men who wore them were usually ridiculed as effeminate. Often the bracelets were in the form of snakes. A *dextrale* was a bracelet worn on the right arm below the elbow. One that was worn on the wrist of the right arm was called a *dextrocheium*. A *spinther* was a bracelet worn by women on the left arm. These bracelets were usually made of gold and did not have a clasp but rather remained on the arm by the natural pressure and elasticity of the metal hence its name, meaning to constrict. A *torquis brachialis* was a

bracelet made of twisted gold like the *torquis* but forming several coils which was then worn on the lower part of the arm. The *torquis* was a single circular ornament usually made of a several twisted wires of gold usually worn around the neck as a collar. They tended to be worn by the Gauls. Women would wear the *spathalium* around the wrist which had small bells as charms attached to it. It got its name from the palm tree with its pendant capsule containing the fruit and flower and was similar to a modern charm bracelet.

An anklet made of high-quality metal and usually worn by Greek women, although there are representations found at Pompeii, were the *periscelis*. They were often depicted on women who were courtesans and dancers, usually on those with bare feet and legs. Petronius in his writings had the wife of Trimalchio wearing them and portrayed them as a sign of ostentation and ridicule. A necklace meanwhile was called a *monile* and commonly worn by women in both Greece and Italy. They were designed in a variety of shapes, fashions, and with different items including gems and coins. Those made with beads or glasses were called *monile baccatum*.

Children would wear a *bullā*; this was an ornament of two concave parts. When put together they formed a globe, which in turn contained an amulet for safety and good luck. The *bullā aurea* was made of gold and worn by children of noble families with a gold chain, while the *bullā scortea* was made of leather and was attached to a leather strap and worn by children of freedmen and the lower classes. The *bullā* was worn by children until they reached puberty when it was dedicated to the household gods. An ornament worn by women similar to the *bullā*, but often containing precious gems or stones, was the *bullula*.

Women would also wear the *catena* which was a gold or silver chain worn round their body or over their shoulder and sides. A *catella* was a small and fine chain of gold and silver made by jewelers to hold various trinkets. Very fine and delicate, they were very intricate. Larger ornaments worn by soldiers and persons of distinction across the breast were *phalerae* which often had pendants and other ornaments. Women could often wear a necklace made of gold coins or a medallion as seen in several mummy portraits or paintings from Egypt and in carvings on sarcophagi.

Women wore a variety of pieces of jewelry dating from Rome's early period. These pieces grew in elaboration during the early Republic, but attempts were made to suppress them in the Second Punic War when sumptuary laws were enacted. Throughout the early second century BCE, noticeable attempts by women to influence the Senate to repeal the laws were made. Although they were never repealed, the laws ultimately fell into disuse as more women, supported by their families including men flaunted the law. The jewelry and ornaments worn by

women allowed them to have their own distinctiveness setting them apart from each other and from men.

See also: Arts: Art Collecting; *Fashion and Appearance:* Cosmetics; Personal Accouterments; Public Appearance; Women's Clothing; *Science and Technology:* Metallurgy

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MILITARY DRESS

The military had a variety of dress uniforms in addition to the traditional armor which often represented a particular region or group. For example, the *reno* was a very short cloak covering shoulders and breast down to the abdomen. Seen especially on early representations of Germans and Sarmatians, it was later adopted by the Romans during the first century and is seen on the Trajan's Column. Likewise, the *abolla* was a cloak or mantle fastened by a brooch under the neck or on top of the shoulder, also seen on Trajan's Column; it was used instead of the *toga* and was meant to provide quickness and ease of getting dressed. The Romans were very adept at adopting dress from the local region if it helped them.

Another part of the military dress, in addition to their clothes and armor, were the decorations. Like modern medals, Roman decorations were given for valor and courage. Polybius writing in the Republic remarked how after a battle the general would call for an assembly and single out those who deserved meritorious mention. After relating the deeds in the current battle and those of soldier's past career, the general would then hand out specific decorations. Often it would be the *torquis* or torc which was a circular ornament made of gold wires twisted together and worn around the collar or neck originally by the Gauls and Persians. The Romans adopted this decoration to reward their troops for bravery. The *miles torquatus* was an ornament presented to the soldier for his valor, but he did not wear it around his neck but rather fixed it to his breast plate. The *armilla* was a bracelet of three or four rungs made of gold given to a soldier also as a symbol of valor. Originally

part of the Sabine dress it may have come into Roman use during the wars against this mountain tribe in the third century BCE. Another decoration that was about 4 inches in diameter was the *phalerae*, bosses of gold, silver, or other metals with relief cast of gods, emperors, or other images, often with charms given as military decorations to soldiers and worn on the breast as medals for meritorious acts. They could also be attached to legionary standards, especially when a unit had distinguished itself in battle. A soldier might also win the *corniculum*, diminutive of *cornu*, meaning small horn which was an ornament bestowed upon a meritorious soldier by his commanding officer for bravery, and worn on the helmet, either on the sides like animal horns or in support for the crest. Other decorations and rewards such as silver cups, replica of the unit's flag, horse goods for cavalry men, and money were also given out for bravery.

In addition to these awards there were the great crowns won by generals and soldiers, normally for either great heroic deeds or for commanding the army. These crowns or *corona* were usually of garland or wreaths. Several different types existed including the *corona triumphalis* or the triumphal crown of laurel leaves without the berries worn by a conquering general in triumph; another was the crown of gold in imitation to laurel leaves held over the general during his triumph by a slave or freedman; a general might also obtain a crown of gold and of considerable value, sent as a present to the general who had obtained a triumph, these usually came from a provincial delegation and was seen as a gift of thanksgiving. The *corona ovalis* was a chaplet of myrtle worn by a general earning an ovation, a sort of mini-triumph. The *corona oleagina* was a wreath of olive leaves conferred on the soldiers and their commanders when a general received a triumph, but these particular men were not involved in the actual fighting. The *corona civica* was an oak leaf crown presented to a soldier who had saved the life of his commander or who had slain the opponent's chief in open combat. This was considered the highest reward and had only been awarded to a commander three times when he had killed the enemy leader in battle. The *corona muralis* was the mural crown decorated with the towers and turrets of a battlement and was given as a reward for valor to the first soldier scaling the walls of the city. The *corona obsidionalis* was a garland of grass and wild flowers presented to the commander of an army who came to the rescue of a besieged army, the least in value, it was the most difficult to obtain. The *corona castrensis* was a gold crown with palisades presented to the soldier who was first in crossing over the enemy stockade. *Corona classica* was a chaplet of gold imitating the beaks (*rostra*) of ships presented to the admiral who had destroyed an enemy fleet. All these crowns represented the highest achievements in battle and allowed the individual to be recognized. These awards allowed soldiers and their commanders to be recognized for their heroism and bravery. The *lemniscus* was the thin fillet or band

attached to military crowns that were then considered more honorable. Often the *lemniscus* was seen as an award as well. Originally, it was the thin membrane lying between the bark and wood of the tree, later it was dyed wool.

Upon completion of service the soldier also received an award, the military diploma. This was a document inscribed in bronze that attested that the soldier had served his unit and was permitted to retire. Issued during the Empire it was a copy of the decree notarized by the emperor listing the honored unit and its men and kept in the archives in Rome. These diplomas were given to noncitizen soldiers who had served in the army for 25 years and upon their retirement gave them citizenship. The diploma consisted of two metal plates hinged together, the outside of the first had the decree granting citizenship and the outside of the second had the names of the seven witnesses; likewise, the inner part of each was reproduced so that when hinged and joined together and sealed it contained a secure copy. These diplomas were then presented to the provincial archives where the veteran settled upon his retirement and gave him the rights and duties of a citizen. The military awards allowed the Romans to celebrate their bravery and reward the troops. These decorations could give them a sense of honor and provide them with monetary rewards.

See also: Fashion and Appearance: Clothing; Politics and Warfare: Military Uniforms

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NORTHERN EUROPEAN DRESS

While the dress for Roman citizens, the *toga* or *stola*, would have been universal in theory, in practice, in the countryside and in the provinces it would have been different. Here local customs would play an important part as well as how Romanized the provincial region had become. The local dress would have been similar during the pre-Roman invasion period to well into the Middle Ages. The Romans for the most part did not have much to say about the clothes and even manner of the northern inhabitants, but some evidence does exist in archaeological and literary sources.

During the early period the tribes in Gaul and Germany probably continued to wear the utilitarian garments mainly made out of skin they had used for centuries. From the literary and archaeological evidence from graves it is found that they also adorned themselves with jewelry that gave individuals the opportunity for personal identification and prominence. A bowl found in Denmark, the Gundestrup bowl, shows what a local outfit looked like around the time of Christ. A seated male grasps a torque in one hand and a snake in the other, while his headdress has antlers springing out from the top as a sign of fertility. His outfit resembles a tightfitting pullover sweater that has long sleeves and is tucked either into his pants or is a continuous garment with skintight shorts down to his knees. The figure has a belt at the waist. The outfit has a texture similar to that of fur. His shoes are trim and formfitting. It is probable that this was a type of outfit available for northern tribesmen. Another plate shows soldiers dressed the same way, while yet another plate shows two women wearing sleeveless one-piece garments, one down to the ankle and the other longer and hanging loose. The dresses seem to be fastened on the shoulder like the Greek and Roman style. The museum believes that the bowl came from northern France around the time of Christ.

Moving into the Roman period the Latin author Tacitus wrote about German clothes saying they were a *sagum* fastened by a clasp, or if lacking, a thorn. He further indicated that the wealthy might have a tight fitting vest which showed the shape of the limbs, similar to the Gundestrup bowl. They wear skins with those living further from the Romans being more particular since they cannot engage in commerce as readily. Tacitus says that women wear the same type of clothes as men or those made of linen dyed purple that are sleeveless exposing the arm and part of the breast. The *sagum* was a coarse piece of wool or goat's hair in the shape of a square or rectangle. When it was put on it could be folded in two and attached with a brooch on the shoulder. The right arm was left open and exposed.

From archaeological sites several pieces of clothing have survived which shed light on how they were made and what they looked like. Found in the Thorsberg bog in Germany, a set of men's clothes has a shirt and trousers. The remains are from the first century to the third century CE. The pattern making is quite advanced and the set-in sleeves and the seat of the trousers as well as the foot design attached to the bottom of the pant leg clearly show a sense of fitting and function for the northern climates. The pants have belt loops. From Denmark a woman's plaid monochromatic brown skirt was found with an accompanying plaid stole dating from the second century CE. Another costume from Denmark is like the Doric chiton made in one length with the upper edges together at the shoulders and a girdle at the waist. It was made of one piece with the arm hole in one side and the other side fastened at the shoulder with it exposed. Both of these female costumes are similar to those found on the Gundestrup bowl. The jewelry from Gaul and Germany are mainly torques and heavy bracelets.

The British were likewise similar to the Gauls. Julius Caesar wrote that those in the south, in Kent, were like those in Gaul, while those in the north were savage wearing only skins and painting their bodies blue. He further said that they wore their hair long. More fables had the northern Brits naked except for chains of iron around their neck and waists and painted and tattooed. The natives, especially those who were in power, however, ultimately adopted Roman clothes; hence Boudicca wore a *chlamys* over a *tunic* of every color, probably plaid. After the conquest, the Roman *toga* was accepted by the local elites who desired to imitate their new masters.

While dating to later Roman period, it is probable that the clothes worn by the Saxons were similar to those worn in earlier times. These included a long coat reaching down to the ankles and a robe or cloak over both shoulders, fastened on the breast by a brooch, and worn by the nobles. The soldiers and everyday citizen wore a close coat down to the knees and a short cloak on the left shoulder. The women wore a long robe with loose sleeves and a hood. Both sexes wore shoes and the men had leggings similar to bandages reaching above the knee. Many of the poor went barefoot or had crude boots.

The clothing of the northern tribes was more in line with what was needed for the harsh and cold environment. The clothes were meant to provide comfort and warmth and utilitarian rather than the stylish Roman garments. Like in Rome, status was often indicated by jewelry with ornate torques and brooches, many of which survive. What is interesting is that the Romans, including those in Italy, adopted many of the northern European clothing styles, especially those living in the rural environment.

See also: Fashion and Appearance: Clothing; Ethnic Dress

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PERSONAL ACCOUTREMENTS

What items individuals use to help them in their daily hygiene and fashion are an important commentary on society. While some groups used few manmade objects, relying instead on natural objects, other groups attempted to make tools that can replace the natural ones. The items needed by individuals to help them maintain

health, hygiene and personal fashion can be seen as personal accouterments. These items would naturally flow and intermix depending on the individual's class, position, and wealth. While most Romans did not have access to many of these tools, a good number of wealthy and middle-class families did, or at least had access to some. In addition, these accouterments were more available in the city than in the rural areas.

The mirror or *speculum* was made of white metal, originally through a mixture of copper and tin but by the Empire silver since it is not as brittle. The mirror usually had a grounded pumice stone and a sponge attached to the handle to keep it bright. Typically, the mirror was rounded with a handle that could be held by one person or oblong squared that required someone else, usually a slave, to hold. Mirrors have been represented on vase and wall paintings and have also been found in archaeological settings. Mirrors of tin were available more and were cheaper to the lower classes than those of silver.

To pull hairs out by the roots the Romans used a *volsella* or tweezers that have been found in excavations as well as were mentioned in Martial. The same term was used for dental and surgical tweezers. To trim their hair, the Romans could use the *forfex* or scissors. To curl the hair, the Romans had the *calamister* or *calamistrum* which was a two-piece iron tube. The outer part was hollowed like a reed, hence its name, and probably went half way around the inner tube or cylinder. The hair would have been wrapped around the inner tube and then pressed by the hot outer tube so as to give a curl. To hold hair in place, the Romans also used a large comb in a convex form which was fitted on the back of the head to keep the hair close to the head. The comb or *crinale* could keep the hair bunched up and in place. Another comb, the *pecten* was like a modern fine tooth comb. Made of boxwood, the comb was double sided with an ivory bar through the middle to hold so that the either side could be used as a comb. A large toothed comb called the *rarus pecten* was used in hair cutting so as to pull the hair away from the head and hold it in place while the scissors cut, thus preventing the hair from being cut too short. To part the hair down the front, the Romans would use a bodkin or pin called a *discerniculum*. A pin in general was the *acus*, which was often designated as *acus comatoria* or *acus crinalis* which was a large pin several inches long used to hold the hair in place. It was made of gold, silver, wood, ivory, or bronze and was pointed on one end with a butt on the other. It was placed through the hair after it had been turned up or plaited to keep it arranged. Several specimens have been found in Pompeii; and a reconstruction of a statue from Florence shows how they were worn. Of course, a man or woman going bald could wear a wig, which was common for wealthy Romans who had lost their hair.

For the Romans needing a tooth pick there was the *dentiscalpium*. The best qualities were made from the leaf stalks of the mastic tree, an evergreen shrub

growing throughout the Mediterranean, while many poor Romans used quills (Martial). After picking ones teeth one could then brush them using toothbrushes and *dentifricium* or tooth powder which not only cleansed the teeth, but whitened them, at least for the wealthy. The Romans viewed blackened teeth as undesirable and if they could not clean them they were either recommended not to show them in public, or to use false teeth.

The Romans also had cases called *dactyliotheca* to keep their gems or jewelry such as rings in. Martial makes references to these cases, and remains from Pompeii show a bowl with a center post in order to string the rings on, similar to modern ring cases. An actual jewelry box, an important item, the *pyxis*, had a lip that came over the edge of the box, like a tortoise's mouth as Pliny explained. The box was usually made of boxwood but could also have other materials. To keep ointments of particular value safe, the Romans stored them in vases of onyx stone or even gold called *alabaster* or *alabstrum*. They were shaped like a pear or tear drop, broad at the top which then tapered down to a point at the bottom. The general term *unguentarium* was a scent-bottle or vase for ointments, perfume, and unguents. They could be made of baked clay, alabaster, or glass which has been discovered at Pompeii in different styles. They were often buried in tombs.

To keep their masters cool it was common to use fans or *flabellum* which was made from the lotus plant leaves, peacock's feathers, or cloth over a frame. The fans were always opened and were at the end of a long stick. These fans required another person to wave them and they did not receive the benefit; as such, these fans were manned by slaves. Fans have been represented on paintings from Pompeii and other sites. To keep the sun out a slave would carry an *umbrella* or parasol over the head of their master.

The Romans used a variety of accouterments to help them with their hygiene and appearances. These tools have continued well into the modern ages, often without little change.

See also: *Arts*: Art Collecting; *Fashion and Appearance*: Beards; Cosmetics; Hairstyles; Jewelry, Men; Jewelry, Women; Shoes; *Toga*; Toiletries

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PUBLIC APPEARANCE

What distinguished Roman citizens from a noncitizen was their dress. For the Roman male it was the *toga* and for the Roman woman a *stola*. These public garments clearly identified not only the citizens but also their class and rank. For the Roman the wearing of these formal garments was indicative of their persona. The first emperor, Augustus, attempted to recapture the formality of the past when he ordered that citizens entering the forum, the law courts, and religious ceremonies had to wear the *toga*. The point here was that their public appearance was crucial. The Emperor Claudius in presiding at a trial where a Greek was accused of claiming to be a citizen ordered that during the prosecution he wear noncitizen clothes but during the defense change into a *toga*. It is clear that during the Roman period the lawyers were required to wear the *toga*; in fact, Pliny the Younger remarked how when he left the city for his villa he was relieved not to have to wear the oppressive *toga*. Likewise, the *stola* was seen as the official dress of a Roman married woman. It was so crucial that when a woman was declared an adulteress she could not wear it and instead had to put on a *toga* like the prostitutes, showing the idea of loss of feminine status.

That the *toga* became the official dress of a Roman can be seen in its constant export overseas. After the Second Punic War there are numerous references to the supply of *togas* for the Roman armies overseas. The dress was clearly identified with the Romans. During the attack on Asia Minor by the Greek Mithridates, anyone dressed in a *toga*, was marked for assassination; Roman citizens, in fact, abandoned wearing the *toga* for a while lest they be marked. The *toga* and *stola* then were seen as official public dress codes which clearly differentiated the citizen from the noncitizen. The wearing of the *toga*, called *togatus* soon became to mean the idea of being a Roman. In addition, since the *tunic* was a working-class dress someone with a *toga* was seen as not from the working class.

Children, both boys and girls, were taught to wear the traditional Roman dress from an early age. At first both boys and girls wore the *toga praetexta* or the *toga*

with the purple border. This distinguished the child from noncitizens, more important than their sex. When the boy reached puberty he exchanged the *toga praetexta* for the all-white *toga* or the *toga pura* or *toga virilis*, which were also worn by common citizens. Equestrians wore the *trabea* which was a short *toga* with a distinctive form and color and were entitled to wear purple stripes on their *toga*. They could also wear special shoes identified as equestrian shoes and a gold ring. Senators were distinguished even further with the broad purple stripe, the *latus clavus* and senatorial shoes. Magistrates could wear the *toga praetexta* meaning they had purple borders, which identified them as office holders. The censors were permitted to wear an all-purple *toga*; military generals given the right of triumph could wear

the *vestis triumphalis* which was a purple *tunic* with gold palm branches covered with a *toga picta* or purple *toga* with gold stars. When the girl married she wore the *stola* with a different headband and with ruffles down to her ankles for modesty. Other signs of distinction for the Romans included the *toga candida* where candidates for magistrates wore a special whitened *toga*, or the *togae pullae* where men wore somber colored *togas* for mourning; they would also keep their hair unkempt. Widows would wear a fringed shawl. Slaves who were recently manumitted wore a cap or *pilleus*. Augustus required that those citizens, presumably elites, who did not wear their *toga* to the theater to be relegated to the back rows where the noncitizens and slaves were required to sit.



Roman official, Herculaneum, Italy, first century CE. The Roman official seen here in this statue wears a military garb with a cloak attached to his left shoulder. In public a Roman would be expected to wear his *toga* or other presentable dress such as here. Working on the farm or in a more menial setting a Roman would wear casual clothes. (Alan Lucas/Dreamstime.com)

When mourning occurred it was common to wear clothes of somber color and even to dress one status down, meaning senators wore equestrian dress. During times of disasters, during the Republic, such as after the Samnite victory at Caudine Forks or Hannibal after Cannae, both men and women were forbidden to wear rings or other displays.

In terms of the formal dress it was common to wear the *toga* in different fashions. It was also common to have *lacinia* which were drops on certain clothes which not only served as ornaments, usually being weighted with lead inside but also kept the ends of the clothing in place. Other public dress included the *sagum* which was adopted by the Romans from the Celts. It was a mantle made of wool or goats' hair with the nap left on. It was either square or rectangular which was folded in two and tied or fastened on the left shoulder. The left arm was therefore covered, but the right arm was open and free. It became the clothes of the *lictor* for the provincial governor. The *sagum* was also worn by soldiers. Since it was not as cumbersome as the *toga*, it became common for both soldiers and citizens to wear it during times of stress when speed was crucial and the *toga* could not be managed easily. For the officers it was common to wear the *paludamentum* over their armor, like the *sagum* for the common men. It was larger and made of finer texture, better colors but essentially the same style. Unlike the Greek *pallium* it was not as cumbersome or as large.

A common worker would wear the *tunic*. While still a Roman citizen and having a *toga* which they would wear on special occasions, most common citizens would not wear the *toga* every day. Rather, the rules and legislation concerning the wearing of a *toga* was normally applied for the elites. The public dress was therefore that which was seen as the formal garment and what was expected to be worn in the streets by a Roman.

See also: Arts: Portraiture; Sculpture; Fashion and Appearance: Beards; Clothing; Jewelry, Men; Jewelry, Women; Shoes; Toga; Urban Amenities; Recreation and Social Customs: Adolescent

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RURAL FASHION

For individuals living in the rural regions it was common for their clothes to be more open and free flowing. This was in part due to the need for the wearer to have more freedom of movement to ensure that they could do their manual labor, especially in the extreme weather, without becoming overheated or too cold. Examples of rural fashion are found in art work and literature. The earliest and in some ways the most basic type of clothing was the *pellitus* which meant clad in fur or skins. This was a common style in the prehistoric Roman period continuing in the northern regions of the Empire. It also was common amongst the peasantry, especially in the rural areas where fur/skins were commonly available. Livy and Ovid relate how hunters and fowlers commonly wore the *pellitus*. The garment could be a simple dress or could be an outer garment, an *amictus*, made of fur.

A *cento* was a garment of sewn scraps of clothes that were like patchwork and were usually given to slaves, as the agricultural writers Cato and Columella relate. Due to its name, related to those with poorer means, it also meant the blanket that was put under the saddle of a horse or donkey to prevent galling. The *alicula* was a short cloak that in art depictions looked like wings as the name implies. The cloak was smaller than the *chlamys* which it resembled and was fastened in the front around the neck by a brooch. Martial relates that they were worn by the poor, while Petronius says that they were worn by sportsmen. It was useful for covering the shoulders and providing some warmth while allowing the wearer to have the freedom to move their arms.

A garment coming from Gaul, which was adopted by many in Rome, was the *caracalla* that functioned similar to the Roman *tunica* but was of different size and form. It was composed of a tight vest which provided protection and yet allowed movement and had long sleeves to protect from elements. The skirts fell down to the mid-thigh and had slits. According to the ancient author Strabo, the Gauls would wear this in addition to their pants. During the Empire, the Emperor Aurelius Antoninus Bassianus, son of Septemius Severus, wore a modified garment that reached down to his ankles and had a hood. Because of his wearing this garment he is often called the Emperor Caracalla. This garment became very popular with all classes, especially the common population. This garment could also be distinguished into the *caracalla major* which was the long garment and the *caracalla minor* which was a short cloak; both of these appear to be late additions.

An outer cloak that could be worn over another garment, including a *toga*, was the *lacerna* which seems to have been imported into Roman society during the end of Republic from Gaul. It is probable that the soldiers of Julius Caesar brought it back. The garment had a loose mantle which was opened in the front and fastened at the neck by a brooch or buckle. To ensure warmth and perhaps privacy, it had a hood. During the Empire it was used by all classes, including the military.



Mosaic, Roman, imperial era. The farmers and peasants in the countryside did not normally wear the *toga* or other public dress. Rather, their clothing allowed for manual labor such as here with a farmer collecting produce and carrying it in a panier hung from a pole, and more suitable for movement than public display. (Neil Harrison/Dreamstime.com)

A garment worn by the Gauls and Germans was the *reno* or *rhen* which was a small cloak that covered the shoulders, back, and chest down to the waist. It seems to have also been worn by the soldiers. A more typical covering of the head was the *cucullus* which was like a funnel (hence, the term) which was a piece of cloth attached to another garment and could be pulled up onto the head like a hat. The hood or cowl was often worn by those working outside such as farmers, slaves, or fishermen to protect them from the elements. When not in use, the *cucullus* was pushed back and rested on the shoulders. A similar garment was the *bardocucullus* which came from the region of Illyria from the Bardaei tribe; although others indicate it came from Gaul. It was an outer garment similar to the *paenula* worn by the rural people and was made of

coarse material, probably wool, with a hood. It covered the whole body and had long sleeves (which the *paenula* did not) and at the ankle had a small slit but not as long as that of *paenula*. The *paenula* was an outer garment with a hood but without sleeves which was worn on cold or wet days. It was a round cloth with a slit for the head but otherwise closed, like a serape, but having a slit up the side at the bottom to allow for freedom of movement. Another cape with a hood worn by all classes, but especially those in the rural areas, was the *birrus*. It was made of long nap, like beaver, which protected the wearer from cold and moisture. A coarser hood was the *tegillum* which was commonly worn by rustics, fishermen, and shepherds. It likewise covered the head and shoulders. Often individuals would also wear

braccae which were similar to pants. They covered the area from the waist down to the feet. Those in the northern parts of the Empire and rustics wore more loose pants.

Many of the clothes worn by the rural inhabitants had the qualities needed for protection from the environments and the ability to allow work. They were usually made of wool or fur and were used year round. For some workers, such as shepherds, the garments needed to be worn at night so they needed to keep them warm. The rural fashions should properly be seen as not only those items worn by the rural peasants but also those clothes worn by the urban poor. The distinction of rural fashion comes mainly from their simple coarse garments, usually unadorned, and readily functional nature.

See also: Economics and Work: Farming; Fashion and Appearance: Clothing

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SHOES

The earliest and simplest covering of the feet would have been made out of simple hides. The Romans had the *carbatinae* which were single pieces of ox-hide in which the foot was placed on and the hide then turned up over the foot. The laces were passed through holes around the hide and tied on the top and around the ankle. The one piece served as both sole and uppers. While the Greeks tended to go barefoot, even when out of the house and on the streets, most Romans tended to wear shoes or feet coverings. Most Romans would not consider it respectable to be seen outdoors barefoot. When in the house Greeks tended to go barefoot and upon entering a house, whether theirs or someone else, they would take off their shoes. The Romans wore sandals or *solea* in the house, which were only taken off when they had their meals in the dining room. The *solea* in its simplest form was just a sole underneath the feet with a strap across the top of the foot. It appears that both sexes wore it without any kind of differentiation.

When the Roman stepped outdoors with his *toga*, he was expected to wear the shoe or *calceus*. Each social/political order as well as each *gens* had its own particular kind of *calceus* which would distinguish it from the others. The plebs and *equites* wore a black *calceus* with the ordinary citizen wearing what

was called a *pero* which rose to the ankle or calf and had a simple tie. It was typically laced in the front and was made of raw or untanned leather often with the fur on. These were especially common among the peasants, ploughmen, and shepherds. Above the *equites* were the senators of the second class or order who wore the *calceus senatorius* which were black and tied with four straps around the leg. These senators were usually not of the patrician class. The first class had the patrician who wore the *mulleus* or *calceus patricius*. These had the leather passed around the back of the heel where there were hooks, which the straps passing over the top of the foot, were then fastened to. Patrician senators had a further ornament, a crescent shaped clasp called a *luna*. The clasp was ivory or silver which acted as a buckle to fasten the sides of the boot just above the ankle. Often a senator was said to have his shoes *lunatus* meaning ornamented with these *luna*. The leather was red and had a high sole and was originally part of the regal dress but afterward became the dress of general for their triumphs and it then was adopted by the consuls. It ultimately was appropriated by the patrician senators.

Another type of shoe was the *calceus repandus* seen in Etruscan monuments and passed into Roman culture. It was a shoe with a long pointed toe bent upward or backward. It was a common shoe and appears on statues and images in coinage. The diminutive of *calceus*, *calceolus* was used to denote a small boot or shoe such as that worn by a lady. They reached the ankle and the soles were with low heels, unlike those of the male counterpart, and could have ties or not. If they had ties they could be drawstrings at the top or a slit over the top of the foot with the laces or ties passed through. Women usually wore shoes of white or colored leather when outdoors. This gave rise to competition in the Empire of the sexes wearing stylish shoes. Men would also wear shoes of colored leather, especially white and red, while the emperor and other great men wore shoes adorned with gold and gems. The late Emperor Diocletian was criticized for being the first to wear shoes of gold and gems.

Boots such as the *cothurnus*, which was a high boot of Greek origin, were also worn. It was usually associated with the huntsman or someone who worked in the fields. It was made of leather and engulfed the entire foot and leg as high as the calf. The laces ran up the front and at the top the boot folded down to protect the tying. Unlike other shoes that had the soles shaped for the particular foot, the *cothurnus* had a straight sole meaning it could be worn on either foot, handy when needing to put them on quickly. Some boots were also ornately designed, often on the statues of gods and goddess. The *cothurnus* was not usually worn by the Romans in public. *Cothurnus* could also mean the boots worn by tragic actors, which had a cork sole several inches thick so as to give them a rise in stature. This would give them a more imposing figure making them more grand

and dignified. The actor would also wear a long robe to conceal the out-of-place shoes.

Wooden shoes, *sculponeae*, were worn by slaves and peasants since they were hardy and would not wear out so quickly. They had thick wooden soles. Cato the Elder in his book on agriculture makes reference to them in the early Republic. The rural huntsman and later the military wore the *caliga* which was a boot with large nails in them to give them traction. These were worn by the rank and file and even centurions but not officers. The *caliga* consisted of a closed shoe which covered the entire foot and had a sole with thick nails and the straps across the top of the foot.

The foot coverings came in a variety of different patterns, shapes, and colors. In addition, they allowed individuals to differentiate themselves depending upon class and economic backgrounds. Like modern society, the style and fabric of the shoe became important when wishing to make a statement.

See also: *Fashion and Appearance: Clothing; Politics and Warfare: Military Uniforms*

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SHOPPING DISTRICTS

Where people purchased clothes and other articles for their appearance was an important part of the daily life in Rome. In the city of Rome there were distinct areas that were known for their shopping centers. One of the chief spot was the *emporia* which were along the Tiber River below the Aventine Hill. Running about half a kilometer long (487 meters) the Portico Aemilia connected with the *emporia* and had numerous shops that allowed the merchants to show off and sell their goods to other merchants who would then sell them to the consumer.

The *emporia* acted as middle men or bulk distributors. Other porticos sold articles as well. In Region III where the Coliseum was built, there was the Portico of Livia (wife of the Emperor Augustus) which was over 300 feet long and 225 feet wide. The Portico, one of many in Rome, provided shops and covered ways, so consumers could purchase their goods without the elements distracting them. Presumably this region had been one of the traditional shopping areas. The actual Portico had been built on the ruins of the house of Vedius Pollio who had abused his slaves, to the Emperor Augustus's disapproval, and who had left the house to the emperor upon his death in 15 BCE. Augustus tore it down and his wife Livia and stepson Tiberius built the shopping district there dedicating it in 7 BCE. The Portico Argonautarum in the Campus Martius was a great market built by Agrippa in 25 BCE; it sold luxury items. In the Republic the Sacra Via was lined with shops that sold luxury items, such as gold and gems, and especially women luxury items. The Saepta Julia was a large rectangular enclosure near the Pantheon and Portico Argonautarum, again it was a place where luxury items were sold.

To the north of the Coliseum lay the *subura*, where the poor lived, in districts IV and VI. Businesses in the *subura* included wool makers, glassmakers, bronze smiths, pottery workshops, and clothing factories. These shops were small family operations, usually ran out of the first floor of *insulae*. Here all sorts of people worked and eked out a living. The clothing factories provided the shops with the necessary material to make their garments. Most shops selling these garments must have been fairly small, family-owned business. These shops would have signs indicating their wares and were tended by the owner or if successful by his slave.

To the south of the Coliseum lay Region II, the Caelian Hill, with the immense Temple of the Deified Claudius (Caligula's successor). The most important building, however, was the great Market or Macellum Magnum built by Nero. With its great dome, the market became one of the great bazaars of ancient Rome, and this entire region became one of Rome's most important commercial centers. A Republican Macellum was built near the Sacra Via which mainly sold food stuff but probably also clothing and other bodily necessities; it was destroyed at the end of the first century BCE to make way for the Forum of Augustus. The Macellum Livia was probably a minor market place.

Perhaps the most famous later market or mall was the Market of Trajan inaugurated in 113 CE after nearly a decade of construction. Designed by the architect Apollodorus, it was cut into the Quirinal Hill next to the great imperial forum to Trajan. Unlike previous markets and porticoes, Trajan's market was larger and more complex with nearly six stories of shops. The ground floor hemi-circle resulted in an engineering feat that allowed the hill to be held back without collapsing as in

a straight line wall. With two halls at either end in the shape of a hemi circle with domes, they also strengthened the integrity of the wall for the hill. The upper terrace had irregular shops conforming to the street and most likely held taverns or wine shops. On the sixth level was the great Aula of Trajan, a two-story hall, but its purpose is not completely clear. The upper levels appear to have been offices for officials, while the lower level held the shops, especially food stores. It is most likely that garment shops were located there as well.

While the political *fora* held court cases and political activities, there were numerous other *fora* that engaged in commercial activities. These were called *fora venalia*. Some of the *fora* engaged in vegetables, oil, wine, cattle, and although a specific garment forum is not known, it is probable that a garment district did exist. The shops must have varied according to their styles, quality, and price. The garment stores probably had two types: one was a factory that created the garment from yarn or finished cloth and then sold by the maker; the finished cloth may have been purchased from the wholesale markets like the *emporia*. The second type of shop selling clothes was a retail shop that only sold finished garments.

The jewelers and metal smiths were makers of luxury items. These items would have been both custom-made and preset designs. The custom designs were especially popular with the wealthy. Those that were common were probably made for the middle class who wanted to show off their wealth but were not able to purchase high-end goods or custom-made jewels.

The shops in Rome varied and allowed individuals to buy a variety of goods for their use. These shops were established in a public setting and gave the owners the ability to show off their wares to the inhabitants who constantly moved from one street to another. There existed in Rome therefore a considerable numbers of shops that would not be seen again until the modern era. What made Rome unique during the late Republic and early Empire was its ability to support a large and varied number of shops showing that Rome, more than any other ancient Mediterranean city, can be seen as the first true western metropolis.

See also: *Economics and Work*: Merchants; Shopkeepers; Trade; *Food and Drink*: Trade Routes; Transport; *Housing and Community*: Forum; Public Architecture

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TOGA

The *toga* was the garment reserved for citizens of Rome and was meant to be worn in public. The story of the early Republic Roman Senator Cincinnatus who was plowing his field and upon seeing delegates from the Senate arriving ordered his wife to get his *toga* so that he could receive them is probably anachronistic but nevertheless a true sentiment of the Romans. A Roman was to receive fellow Romans and foreign dignitaries while dressed in this formal clothing. What follows is a discussion on how the *toga* was worn and its appearance.

The size and manner of wearing the *toga* differed from age to age but the general design can be seen from statues and reliefs. The major drawback from these portrayals is that most are from the imperial age and probably only represent the latest and perhaps the most outlandish designs. This is probably true for the period when the statue was made, but they may have come into common vogue, especially among the elites, within a short period. Etruscan statues probably give a good idea of how the *toga* was worn during the early Roman period. Here the *toga* was made of a semicircular or lunated piece of wool cloth so that when worn it was not large enough to form any bends or *sinus* across the chest. The cloth was first drawn tight across the back in which the left part was above the left shoulder and then the edges were draped in the front with both sides hanging down from their respective shoulders. This produced the *contabulatio* or the long parallel folds giving the appearance of lapping over one another like folds. The right was then drawn up tightly under the chin so as to not produce any *sinus* and draped back over the left shoulder and down the back. As such both arms would be covered. Alternatively, the wearer could hold the cloth above his left shoulder and pulling it tight while the left side draped down his left side; and then move the material in the back down to his right and bringing the material up under his right armpit before throwing it over the left shoulder, this would leave his right arm exposed. This was the first form during the Etruscan period and was called the *toga restricta*.

During the Republic, the size of the garment was increased, which required a change in how it was worn. The cloth when brought across the chest was allowed to form a bend or *sinus*. This gave a bit more freedom. This type is seen in many of the statues of the late Republic. It was now not drawn as tight either under the armpit, which allowed the right arm free, or under the chin after draped from the right shoulder. The latter allowed a sling to be created for the right arm and was adopted by the Republic orators. This was similar to the Greek design of the *pal-lium* and probably was meant to imitate them. This style was called a *toga neque restricta, neque fusa*, one neither restrictive nor loose. The final style was the *toga fusa* seen in many statues of Augustus and the later emperors. Here the cloth

was enlarged so that instead of a semicircular it produced nearly a full circle when laid out. The inner part would still be hollowed, but in doing so the outer edges would have even more folds. It was put on the left shoulder first with one-third falling in the front down to the ground between the feet; the remainder was then put around the back and passed under the right armpit, then in the front it was doubled up in the middle with the rest thrown over the left shoulder and allowed to hang down the back. The part that is doubled up in the front produced two major folds, one falling about the thigh above the knees or for more distinctive look at the knees, while the second fold was just above the waist from under the right arm to across the body over the left shoulder which looked like a shoulder strap. The lower fold would also allow the initial part that hung down the front to the ground to be brought up and

tucked in so that the individual could walk without being impeded. This was called an *umbo* and like the *umbo* or knob on a shield it stood out like a round mass.

One could then adjust the *toga* so that one end was thrown over the head, while the other end passed around the waist behind it. This gave the appearance of a girdle, hence, the name *cinctus Gabinus*. Wearing it over the head made the individual appear more distinguished. The process of wearing the *toga* was called the *togatus*. Since the *toga* was heavy and hard to move about, they were not worn for strenuous work but rather for official business and public appearances. Usually



Bronze Statue of Roman citizen wearing a *toga*, first century CE, Pompeii, now in Naples, Italy. The Roman male wore the intricate formal clothing or *toga* for public events. These events included meetings in the forum, law courts, business transactions, and religious events. A Roman was expected to wear his *toga* at important events. (Araldo de Luca/Corbis)

the cloth was white although during times of mourning the cloth could be more somber. For the poor, the *toga* was not usually cleaned and so with its dirt looked like the *toga* used by the elites in mourning.

The different types of *togas* were the *toga praetexta* which was white with a broad border of purple. It was worn by the children as well as the chief magistrates, namely, the dictator, consuls, praetors, aediles, and some of the priests. It was worn like the regular *toga*. The common *toga*, made of white wool, was the *toga pura* or *toga virilis*. A consul celebrating a triumph

AN ORATOR'S ATTIRE

In the following passage from his *Institutio Oratoria* (*Institutes of Oratory*), the Roman philosopher and orator Quintilian (ca. 35–ca. 100 CE) provides a lengthy and detailed description of the appropriate clothing for a Roman orator. Of particular concern was the way the *toga* was worn and displayed.

With regard to dress, there is no special clothing peculiar to the orator, but his dress comes more under the public eye than that of other people. It should, therefore, be distinguished and manly, as, indeed, it ought to be with all prominent individuals. . . . The speaker who has not the right to wear the broad stripe [indicating senatorial status] will wear his girdle in such a way that the front edges of the *tunic* fall a little below his knees, while the edges in rear reach to the middle of the backs of his legs. For only women draw them lower, and only centurions higher. If we wear the purple [i.e., senatorial] stripe, it requires little care to see that it falls becomingly; negligence in this respect sometimes generates criticism. Among those who wear the broad stripe, it is the fashion to let it hang somewhat lower than in garments that are restricted by the girdle. The *toga* itself should, in my opinion, be round, and cut to fit; otherwise, there are a number of ways in which it may be unshapely. Its front edge should by preference reach to the middle of the shin, while the back should be higher in proportion as the girdle is higher behind than in front. The fold is most becoming if it falls to a point a little above the lower edge of the *tunic*, and should certainly never fall below it.

(Butler, 1922, Book XI)

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wore the *toga picta* which was also worn by the consuls and praetors under the emperors when they celebrated the Circensian games and is often seen depicted on the diptychs with the consul holding the *mappa* or handkerchief to start the races. The *toga picta* worn by the triumphant general was usually purple and not white.

The *toga* was the national dress for the Roman citizen and was one of the garments that identified him as such. Non-Romans were not supposed to wear it and it gave an identity to the Romans, regardless of their class or wealth.

See also: *Arts: Romanitas; Economics and Work: Fullers; Family and Gender: Paterfamilias; Fashion and Appearance: Clothing; Fabrics; Public Appearance; Politics and Warfare: Elections; Roman Rule; Recreation and Social Customs: Class Structure*

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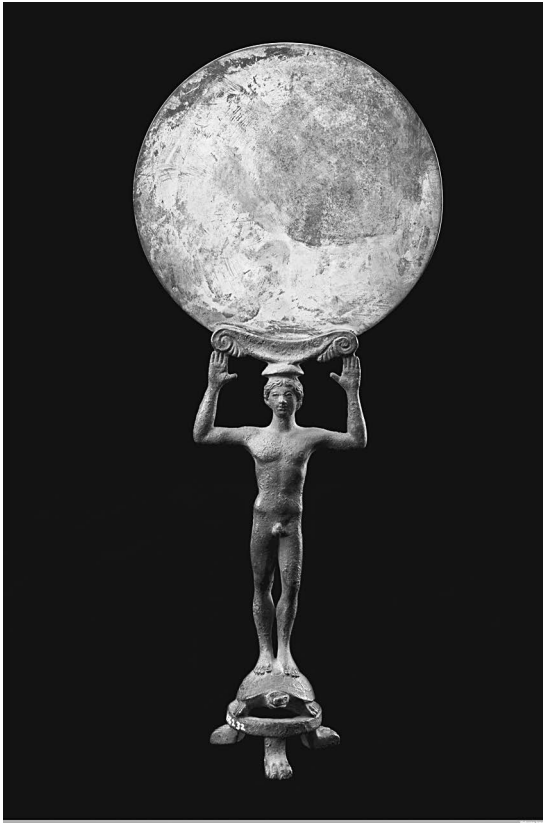
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TOILETRIES

Although men could distinguish themselves in the arena of politics, the games, and business, women were expected to be in the background. While women were engaged in these areas as well, most were expected to be centered in the home. This does not mean that women were expected to be out of sight, quite the contrary, they were expected to symbolize their family's status. For many women this meant ensuring their public appearance was flattering and keeping in spirit of the family. To accomplish this task many women had extensive toiletries. Often the female toiletries and how they were used were attacked by the male writers of the time. These attacks further indicate the strength and broadly accepted role for women. Men on the other hand were not expected to overly devote themselves to their appearance. Their appearance would come from their physique, an attribute created by exercise, while their outward appearance would be clean and neat. Their hair and beard were trimmed, clothes and sandals clean, and no body odor or bad breath.



Copy of Roman mirror on original bronze base, Egypt, imperial era. The mirror is held by a young man standing on a tortoise, associated with Aphrodite, goddess of fertility. Roman men and women would have used mirrors when washing and applying cosmetics. The use of toiletries encouraged hygiene. (Wellcome Images, London)

Roman views had that appearance was important since it indicated a woman's self-discipline. Women would wear fine clothing and gold jewelry but some authors indicated that it was important for women to be mindful of the impression they wanted to give. For some authors less meant more. Women would attempt to make their skin soft and supple; sometimes this would be achieved by some outlandish means such as applying crocodile feces to their face. For those who had dark complexion it was common to lighten them with *psimythion* (white lead powder) or to darken a light-skinned complexion with purple dye. Women would wear wigs, use hair dyes, depilate, or use eye shadow.

To ensure that they could manage their variety of materials, evidence exists of a wide range of toiletries which

of course led to a rise in the marketplace for these goods. Elegant containers were needed to hold substances. These containers were often more for show than function. In addition to slaves who helped wealthy women groom themselves, it was crucial to have the right type of tools. In a wealthy home one might have a slave who was in charge of the mirrors, another might be relegated to the combs to be used, while another for makeup jars. These accouterments would be made by the finest gold and silver smiths and were taken to the public baths so that they could be shown off, subtly of course. A second-century CE Christian writer, Clement, remarked on what a woman might have on her dressing table: hairbands, hairnets, earrings, a shawl, anklets, and rings, as well makeup. These same materials were also used by the

jurist to precisely define toilette articles. They included mirrors, oil containers, water basins, and unguent vessels which he lists under *mundus muliebris*. This phrase dates to the second century BCE and generally referred to all items of a woman. In addition to the jurist's articles they would also include combs and a curling iron.

Many of these items are depicted on funerary monuments for women. Combs and mirrors were very common on the reliefs. The combs were made of wood or ivory and could be single or double sided. They were usually double sided with one side being long teeth with smaller ones on the other side. Often the combs were made of boxwood. Mirrors had existed for centuries, and the glass mirror with a metal coating on one side had made its way to Rome via the Middle East. An inexpensive way to make the glass mirror was to pour molten lead over glass for the backing. The mirrors could be round or oval and were attached to narrow handles and could be ornately decorated. Some mirrors did not have handles and were stored in boxes, often of ornate material such as marble. There were large mirrors that were hung on walls or held by attendants. Another common article depicted on funerary monuments were slippers, usually worn at home but occasionally taken to the public baths where the floors could be too warm for bare feet.

Another class of articles for the hair included the *calamistra* or curling irons, *discernicula* to part the hair, and *reticulate* or hairnets. The curling iron appears to have had a hollow outer tube with an inner solid tube and the hair was wrapped around the inner solid tube and then inserted into the hollow outer tube which was then heated to produce the curl. To part the hair, the *discernicula* might have been similar to long pins that were also heated. The table would have bowls and boxes of cosmetics. This idea gave rise to the comics indicating that women kept their eyebrows in a box (Petronius Sat. 110, Martial 9.37). It was also common for women to have sewing needles and other materials at their dressing table. Likewise, there were pins of different sizes to hold up or arrange the hair. Looking like a pin were applicators to put on makeup. The *cistae* were boxes used to store the supplies and utensils. These boxes were rectangular, footed, and usually made of wood. Like a modern organizer they were divided into separate compartments for the supplies. It is probable that they also kept jewelry inside them. Some of the archaeological specimens have keyholes indicating that they could be locked for safe keeping.

Women also had portable toiletry kits. These kits would include a mirror, and a compact. An example of the latter was found among the burial goods of a young girl, which was shaped like a seashell carved from amber, and had a purplish dye, probably rouge.

For the average Roman woman some toiletry articles would have been necessary, a comb, inexpensive mirror, and pins. It is doubtful that a common peasant would have expensive boxes to house their goods, and probably they did not have

perfumes or even dyes. On the other hand they would have some makeup and applicators.

See also: Fashion and Appearance: Beards; Cosmetics; Hygiene; Recreation and Social Customs: Baths

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UNDERCLOTHING

The garments that were worn under the *toga* or *stola* fall into several categories. The basic undergarment was the *tunica*, but there were other clothes that could be worn close to the skin. The general term used for the first layer was the *indutus*, which meant any close fitting garment. It usually refers to any clothing that a person puts on or inserts their arms or body into; this is opposite of *amictus*, which was a loose fitting outer cloth that was wrapped around the body. *Indutus* was therefore undergarments for both sexes. An individual would often wear the *subucula* or the *interula* which can be described as the innermost *tunic* made of wool and worn next to the skin. The *subucula* usually had long sleeves which the outer one did not, so that it provided covering for the arms. It appears to have been worn by both sexes as Varro indicated. A more specific term for a woman's *indutus* would be the *indusium* which was worn underneath the *subucula*. Another garment for a woman's *subucula* was the *supparum*, typically made of linen with short sleeves.

An individual who was scantily clad was said to be *nudus* which did not mean naked but rather a person who was not wearing any of the outer clothing but only those that were next to their skin. The word seems to imply wearing something that only someone who worked in industry, farming, or hunting would wear. The references seem to apply to these workers who would wear an *exomis* or a very short *tunic*.

These underclothing garments would then be covered by the *tunica*. There were varieties of *tinics* that were worn by both sexes. The general term, *tunica*, was seen as the basic undergarment. It did not need to have the previous types of clothes worn but could be instead worn next to the skin itself. It was made of

wool and was common with both Greek and Roman individuals of both sexes. It can be translated as a shirt, frock, blouse, or chemise since in all instances it could be worn either by itself or with an outer garment. There were varieties that corresponded to the gender and class. The most common was called the *colobium* which was the ordinary *tunic* of the Greek and Roman male. It was the general *tunic* of the Republic in everyday life. It was worn like a long night shirt which was girded around the waist and reached down the thigh to just above the knees. The *colobium* had short sleeves which covered the upper part of the arm similar in length to a modern tee shirt. This garment could be worn as the undergarment for the *toga* or *stola* or worn by itself. Typically, the rural and day laborers would wear this *tunic* as a general clothing article by itself so as to give freedom of movement. A more rustic and perhaps idealistically mythological form of the *tunic* was the *exomis* which only covered the left shoulder leaving the right shoulder and arm exposed. It could be fastened at the top of the left shoulder leaving it exposed as well, or it could have just one sleeve, the left, while leaving the right exposed. It again was employed by those who were active such as slaves, artisans, and rustics. Thus, a person, who wore a *tunic* like this, where one arm/breast was exposed, was called *expapillatus*.

Another type was the slit *tunic* which was sown on the left side, while the right side was open with a slit which allowed for free movement and showed the right side while exercising. It was fastened on the upper part at the shoulders by pins. It was commonly shown in art with both shoulders pinned or with the right unpinned. It was not uncommon for someone to wear two *tinics* as undergarments (or even more). This resulted in the innermost *tunic* being called the *tunica interior* or *tunica intima*. The outer one was then called the *tunica* while the middle if more than two, the *interior/intima*. Often the inner one had long sleeves, which were called the *tunica manicata* or *manuleata* or *chiridota*, which had sleeves down to the wrists. Originally, they seem to have been worn neither by the Greeks or Romans but by “barbarians” and were only later adopted by the Romans as a form of luxury item to keep the individual warm. It appears to have come from both the Celts and the Asiatic suggesting its Scythian origin. Roman writers would usually use the term for foreigners or for the effeminate, although women were not so derided.

Woman would often wear the *tunica muliebris* which was usually longer and looser than that of men's. This *tunic* was fastened by a girdle under the breast instead of the waist as in men's *tinics*. The sleeves tended to be longer reaching down to the elbow instead of the upper arm. The sleeves had a slit running up to the shoulder and was fastened or closed by pins or rings which left some of the flesh exposed. It was typically seen as an extravagant female style which was worn by a Roman matron under her *stola*.

These undergarments could then be worn either by themselves or as true undergarments under the more formal and public garment, the *toga* or *stola*. They were typically worn for the management of body temperature since the woolen garments could breathe and allow sweat or perspiration to be managed. The garments could be layered to provide warmth if needed. As the Romans expanded into the north these undergarments became more important for the management of the body in harsher climates.

See also: *Arts: Romanitas; Fashion and Appearance:* Bikini; Clothing; Fabrics; Personal Accouterments; Women's Clothing

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URBAN AMENITIES

Having the necessary clothes was crucial for the resident of Rome, but so were the other amenities often taken for granted or not even noticed. For example, it was important to protect the head and face from sunlight least one gets burned; likewise, it was important for the travelers to be comfortable so that their clothes were not soiled. It was crucial in the house to be comfortable when guests were present. All of these and additional amenities were needed to ensure protection and comfort.

When one was old or sick it was common for them to be protected. Since the Romans did not have underwear except for the loose *subligaculum* or *tunica* they might need more protection. Keeping the legs warm was important for the elderly or infirmed. Here the Romans might wrap strips of woolen cloth called *fasciae* around their legs. These wrappings were called *feminalia* or *tibialia* according to their position on the body. The *feminalia* also called *femoralia* were short pants which covered the thighs (*femora*) and tied around the waist going down to

below the knees. They appear to have been used by the delicate, even the Emperor Augustus. When they were no longer in use as an undergarment for warmth, they were adopted by the troops in the north for warmth and worn by both troops and officers. The *tibialia* was a legging or long gaiter that went around the shin (*tibia*) from the knee to the ankle. They again were not normally worn except by those with delicate constitutions like Augustus (Suet. Aug. 82). They were later adopted more by soldiers and those in the field.

The *ventralia* or *ventral* was a belly-band formed by an oblong piece of cloth tied around the waist and went over the abdomen. They were usually worn against the skin either under a *tunic* or as the only covering, but neither as a *subligaculum* nor for decency. It was sometimes used for medicinal purposes or as a money belt. It also appears to have been worn while swimming. A few statues show it being worn over a *tunic* as an outer garment.

The *focalia* or *focale* was a wrap for the neck and jaws similar to our neck scarf. It was originally only worn by those who had delicate dispositions or who were ill. This all changed when the Romans came into contact with the northern European climate and Roman soldiers began using it to keep them warm. It was ultimately worn exclusively by the soldiers as an outer garment.

In the city it was common to wear a cap to keep the sun out or for the occasional warmth. Most men of the upper class rarely wore a cap; if the weather was bad they would protect themselves with the *lacerna* and *paennula* since they had hoods, or *cuculli*. If they only had a *toga* on they might pull it over their head as seen in statues of priest *toga*. The typical workman who was outside all day would wear the conical felt cap or *pilleus*. It probably dated from the very early times of Rome since several of the oldest priesthoods, the Pontifices, Flamines, and Salii continued to wear it. When the Roman traveled out of the city the upper classes would protect their head against the sun with a broad rimmed cap of felt called the *causia* or *petasus*. The *causia* was a high-crowned and broad-brimmed felt hat which the Macedonians invented and occasionally are seen on portraits of Alexander the Great. The Romans adopted it after their conquest of Greece in the second century BCE and it was commonly used by sailors and fisherman since it provided coverage for the whole head and neck protecting them from the sun. Also from Greece was the *petasus* which was a felt hat with a low crown and broad brim which the Romans soon adopted. It was used in both places to protect the individual from the sun and other weather. They could sport different styles and shapes but were typically tied under the chin with a strap to keep the hat situated. The Panathenaic procession depicted on the Parthenon marbles in the British Museum show the horsemen wearing the *petasus*.

For women out and about there existed some specific fashions. For those of the upper class they had a parasol or *umbraculum/umbella*. Like the modern umbrella

it could open and close and was typically carried by an attendant, usually a slave. The material was supported by converging ribs or *virgae* which folded down to be carried. The *umbraculum* would protect the lady from the hot bright sun and possibly the rain as well. They became fashionable in the late Republic and early Empire. Indoors, to cool the individual a slave or attendant would use a *flabellum* or fan. These fans were stiff and did not open or shut like oriental fans but were permanently open. Made of leaves of lotus plants, peacock feathers, or even cloth, they were often painted brightly. They were on a pole or stick that allowed the attendant or slave to move the fan up and down creating a breeze. The person who waved the fan was called a *flabellifer* who was typically a young slave boy or girl. A more personal amenity was the handkerchiefs or *sudarium/sudaria* which was made of finest linen used by both sexes. It was carried either in the hand or on the person tucked away and was used to wipe the perspiration from the face and hands. Women also kept their hands cool with glass balls carried in their palms or balls made of amber which also often had a pleasant fragrance.

These and other amenities were meant to provide the Roman, especially the wealthy, with comforts to help them keep warm or cool depending upon the season and setting. The uses were often transferred from those needing help due to age and delicacy to general settings due to climate. The use of these items, although not essential, allowed for comfort.

See also: *Fashion and Appearance*: Clothing; Public Appearance; Personal Accouterments; *Recreation and Social Customs*: Baths; Brothels; Games; Pleasures; Sport; Travel; *Science and Technology*: Aqueducts

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WOMEN'S CLOTHING

Women wore distinctive clothing that clearly marked them in society, often dependent upon their class or social status. For example, it was customary for some women to wear a veil; this was especially true of a priestess performing a sacrifice. The *rica* was a woolen square cloth with a fringe around the edges which



Marble relief, Dancing Maenad, Herculaneum, Italy, ca. 70 CE. Women in the Mediterranean were expected to show modesty. The scene from Greek mythology showing Dionysus and the dancing Maenad probably reflects the dress throughout antiquity. (Wessel Cirkel/Dreamstime.com)

allowed it to be worn as a veil for formal occasions. Another example of the same type of garment was the *ricinium*, which is the diminutive of *rica* where the cloth was usually folded over and worn on the head usually tighter than the *rica* and during times of mourning. From paintings it is clear that this style of clothing was worn by a woman in either mourning or as a suppliant before a temple. Another form, the *ricula* was again the diminutive of *rica* and was worn by young maidens. A type of veil for young women was the *calyptra* which was worn by young girls in both Greece and Rome to conceal their face from strangers and ensure chastity and modesty. Worn over the head and wrapped around the face, it concealed all aspects except the nose and one eye before falling down to the mid-torso. A special veil was the *flammeum* which was the marriage veil made of brilliant yellow and was large enough to cover the whole body from head to toe. During the traditional wedding ceremony it covered the head to hide the woman and protect her modesty. She would wear it to her new home hiding her face only to have it uncovered by her new husband.

A *cyclas* was a loose drapery of fine texture worn around the body like the general *pallium*. It was sufficient to cover the entire body and had a border of purple or gold. Because of its value it was usually only worn by wealthy women. A *palla* was the Latin term for a woman's article of clothing that was worn either

by one of dignity or conversely and diametrically by a dancer or singer. It was rectangular but oblong shaped which was folded in different fashions. The top was first folded down horizontally about one-fifth of the way to produce a parallelogram. It was then folded in half vertically so as to double it, bringing the two sides together so that one side is opened and the other closed. The individual would then put it on by slipping into the one open side and sliding their head through the opened top. The front and back were then joined by a brooch or pin on the left side or closed side and then another one on the right side or open side. The *palla* was thus a loose piece of clothing; sometimes the cloth after being folded was sewn so that it became more round or closed; it was then put over the head. The *palla* covered the feet and could be fastened by a girdle, both of which the *pallium* was not. The Roman women could wear the *palla* as both an inner garment, even in public, or as an over garment to protect the inner garment. Hence, the *palla* could be worn over the *stola*. The *stola* was the female robe characteristic of the Roman matron and should be seen as the female *toga*. As a *tunic* it could have both long and short sleeves and could be worn as either an inner garment with a *palla* over it or as an outer garment. It was seen as a full garment. It was worn very long which covered the back part of the feet. For those women who were not permitted to wear the *stola*, they often wore the *palla* over a *tunic* since it could be drawn up to cover the head.

The *castula* was a woman's skirt worn next to the skin and coming up to just under the breasts. In some works of art this was the only clothing displayed, but in Rome the breasts and upper torso were covered with a *tunic* so that the two garments became an upper and lower *tunic* proper. Sometimes the *castula* was worn over the *tunic* and again fastened below the breasts as an outer garment.

An outer clothing was the *diplois* that was a doubled cloak which when worn was able to be doubled back to produce a shawl since it was large and not able to be worn as a single pass. It originated in Greece but was common enough in the Roman world. Some women would wear the *endromis* which was a large woolen blanket, usually coarse, that could cover the entire body preventing it from getting cold. Worn initially by men after working out in the gymnasium, a version of the *endromis* made of finer material and in imitation of men was created and worn by women.

A type of clothing worn by women for pleasure was the *coa vestis* or Coan robe which was virtually transparent so that the woman seemed naked. This type of clothing was usually worn by singers and dancers as seen from Pompeii in its paintings and mosaics. Another type of clothing worn by musicians was similar to the *stola* which had a great length and was wider at the bottom than the top so that it would trail and provide ease of movement.

For the women of less means it was common to wear the clothes of their male relatives. It was not uncommon for a wife to wear her husband's older *tunic* or outer clothes. While they perhaps may not be as proper or fitting as neatly; they did provide the family with ways to ensure the clothes were put to good use.

See also: *Economics and Work*: Fullers; Weavers; *Family and Gender*: Women's Duties; *Fashion and Appearance*: Bikini; Clothing; Cosmetics; Hairstyles; Jewelry, Women; Public Appearance; Shoes; Underclothing

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FOOD AND DRINK



INTRODUCTION

The diet of individuals can tell us about their health, status, wealth, and general life conditions. The Romans were no different with the urban elite diet being quite different from the urban poor diet. In the city the variety may have been more, but it was usually destined only for the wealthy. In the rural areas the same distinction existed with the rural elite diet again being more bountiful, while the rural peasant diet was more mundane. The major difference, however, was that the diet of the rural peasant was more nutritious and probably more plentiful than the urban poor.

There were a great variety of foods and drinks available for the Romans. The mainstay remained the cereals and vegetables that were supplemented with fish and meats. While poultry was more common than beef, pork was a common Roman dish. In addition, fruits were also eaten and often were made into delicacies. The Romans used spices; some were imported luxury items, while others were local. The Romans would normally drink water or wine, while in Egypt and the north, it was common for the lower classes to drink beer.

Many of the food items needed to be transported to Rome and other areas. Using the existing trade routes into and throughout the Roman world, supplies could be brought into the Mediterranean world. For example, numerous spices came to west from India and China. This transport required food preservation to ensure that they made it safely to Rome. The most common way to store food was by using amphorae. Numerous archaeological sites have the remains of broken amphorae attesting to its common use. Records indicate that dining while traveling depended upon the status and wealth of the individual and whether they had access to fresh foods.

Once the food made it to the markets, cities, and homes it needed to be prepared and served. Roman kitchens, usually located in the back of houses, cooked

the meal. The serving of the meal could be made by food servers in the great houses for their dinner party or banquets. In the great palaces, the state banquets were famously recorded by authors offering little stories or morals. Both simple and extravagant Roman dinnerwares have been found in excavations.

The Roman table was therefore a mixture of different foods and drinks that depended upon the status and wealth of the individual. While most Romans had simple meals prepared at local shops, the wealthy were able to enjoy their lavish meals in their homes. All Romans did have the possibility of special meals at the festivals that were often paid by the state or wealthy individuals. This practice increased the elites' clients and allowed for a continual connection with their political base.

AMPHORAE

The process for storing goods, usually liquid or grains, which existed in the ancient Roman world, entailed the use of different devices. The major devices were amphora, pithos, and jars all made of pottery. Amphora tended to be thin with a long neck having two handles so that an individual could pour the contents into other containers. The stoppers were made of perishable or temporary material such as wax or pottery; this allowed the amphora to be reusable since only the stopper had to be replaced and the amphora did not have to be broken to empty its contents. The bottom typically was pointed so that the amphora could be easily stored in the ground, such as in dirt or sand, or in a rack with a hole in the bottom for the amphora point. This also made stacking the amphora easier onboard ships, often up to five high or on racks with ropes passed through the neck. From archaeological remains it is found that the amphorae were probably packed in straw on land or reeds onboard ships. They were used for ballast and provided stability for the ship.

The amphora, meaning two handles, were made of terracotta and produced in great quantity. The classification of the amphora was made by Heinrich Dressel in 1879 and the name often given to them is Dressel 1, 2, and so on. Amphora did not come in any standard size. In fact they varied greatly from a foot to over 5 feet tall, with most being about one-and-a-half feet tall. Amphora held about 39 liters of wine, but archaeologists have classified well over 50 types. Amphorae were produced on pottery wheels on which the body was made first and partially left to dry; afterward the neck, rim, handles, and foot were made and attached and then fired. The interior was treated with resin so that the liquids would not permeate the clay. The amphora was often marked with inscriptions or graffiti. These stamps gave



Roman amphorae, Pula, Croatia, imperial era. Amphora carried liquid and dry products such as wine, olive oil, and grain across Roman territories. Inexpensive to make amphora remains are found throughout the Mediterranean region attesting to their availability and importance. There was no standard size or shape, but most had a pointed bottom. (Vladimir Zhuravlev/Dreamstime.com)

information about the producer, contents, and weight. The first type, Dressel 1, appeared around the end of the second century BCE in Italy; it was heavy and had strong walls and was durable. During the first century BCE, the next phase, Dressel 2–4, became more common. These types would predominate during the next two centuries. They were produced throughout the Roman world and although not fabricated as a standard type, they were standard enough to allow for the general typology. The height and size of the Roman amphora reduced as time went on, probably allowing for easier transport. This does not mean that all of the amphorae were reducing in size, but most of the recovered ones were now thinner. By the early first century CE, the production of amphora shifted from Italy to Spain. The most common types of amphora were Dressel 7–13, used to store *garum* or the fish sauce that Spain was well known for; Dressel 20 was used for olive oil.

A larger storage jug, was the pithos (pl. pithoi), which could store large quantities of liquid and grain. The pithos was a common storage vessel dating from the Neolithic period. They should be seen as barrels or casks as opposed to the smaller amphorae. The pithos was tall, roughly 5 feet, and had a base that allowed free standing without the aid of racks or ropes. The pithos had several handles that

could be used for lifting. Although most heavily used in the Bronze Age, they continued throughout the ancient world. Unlike fully filled amphora that would weigh about 100 pounds, the fully loaded pithos would weigh anywhere from one to over two tons. Due to their weight the pithos were probably brought in empty and then filled. They were often sunk into the floor so that filling and emptying was easier. Their mouths were wide enough to put a bucket into to allow ease of use.

The remnants of the amphora are often found in trash heaps. The most famous is the Monte Testaccio in Rome. It is a large hill filled with Roman amphora probably containing over 50 million amphoras. The hill that is about a kilometer in circumference and about 35 meters high is near the Tiber River near the ancient olive oil warehouses. The amphora remains here usually had a capacity of about 70 liters and appears to mainly conform to the state importation of olive oil. Although the mound dates from the imperial period, it is probable that there were other heaps throughout the Empire at various dates.

Amphorae were used as shipping containers throughout the Roman world. Remains have been found in nearly every Roman site. As with modern boxes and carrying containers, amphorae were inexpensive to make, easily reused, and provided for a multiple of uses. While the containers were probably designed for liquid goods such as wine, fish sauce, and oil, they were also used for grain and other dry goods. Since they were impervious to water, wind, sunlight, and other elements, they could keep goods secure. They were easily transported and although they were not always in standard sizes, for the most part they were probably classified and sold as being large, medium, and small containers.

Amphorae were used throughout the Roman period and it was only in the late Roman and early Medieval period, especially in the north, that the rise of the wooden barrel began to overtake them in use, especially for beer and wine. The discovery of amphora throughout the Roman world has allowed archaeologists to determine their place of origin, dating, and general types. Archaeological remains throughout the Empire have broken remains of amphorae which have allowed scholars to trace their production and transportation accounting for their dissemination throughout the Mediterranean. This in turn has allowed historians to study the flow of goods and commerce throughout the Roman world. It is clear that the production of amphorae changed over time from Italy in the Republican period to Spain in the Late Republic/Early Empire to Africa in the Late Empire. Remains have indicated that this also seems to follow the flow of production for wine, olive oil, and fish sauce from Italy to Spain to North Africa.

Underwater remains of ships show a great use of amphorae and how they were stored and used on ships for trade. The study of production and type has continually allowed historians to understand their use and importance in the Roman world.

See also: *Economics and Work*: Industry; Laborers; *Food and Drink*: Food Preservation; Transport; Wine; *Science and Technology*: Ships; Weights and Measures

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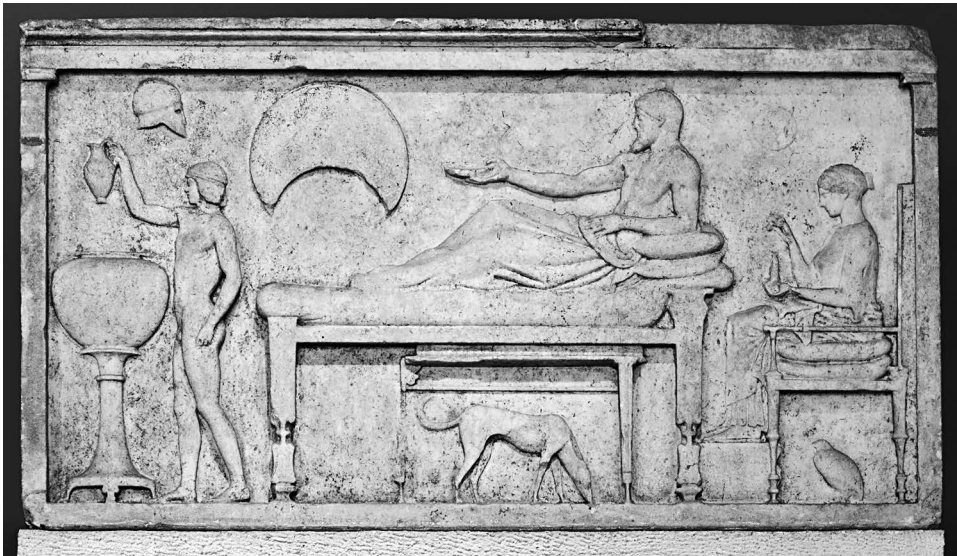
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BANQUETS, PRIVATE

The Romans often had extended dinner parties called banquets. The gathering of friends and acquaintances can be under the guise of the dinner party, meaning a small group of nine or fewer guests, or a banquet, meaning more than nine or more than one table. While some dinner parties had more than nine, more often than not they were probably banquets.

The banquet was usually a dinner for a celebration, and not an intimate gathering. The banquet might play host to well over a thousand people in the forum, but more likely it was a gathering in the twenties for a celebration. The celebration might be a wedding or birthday and was usually a happy occasion. The Romans would dine like at a dinner party where there were three couches, each with three guests, to each table. Most dining rooms could only hold one table so if there were more guests it was necessary to use other dining rooms or open spaces. Since this broke up the continuity of the participants, these large gatherings could not be as intimate as dinner parties, hence a banquet.

The meal would be like the great dinner party with each table receiving the appetizers, main meal, and desserts, but the tables outside the main or head table with the host and guest of honor usually received an inferior meal. Nevertheless, the meal was still a time of celebration with music, dance, and readings. The poet Martial complains of a dinner party he went to where the host proceeded to read his own poems. Martial remarks that the only reason this man gave a party or banquet was to read his dreadful poems. He complains that the lettuce and fish sauce were served followed by book 1 of the poems; the main course was delayed



Banquet scene from Greece, 450 BCE. As in this Greek funerary stele, banquets were an important part of Roman society. Many elites had lavish banquets celebrating their families and allowed friends to enjoy the various festivals throughout the year. The festivals were opportunities for the state and its people to celebrate their accomplishments. (Ahmet Ihsan Arıturk/Dreamstime.com)

for book 2 while the dessert by book 3, then book 4, and finally book 5. Martial concludes that the host should save everyone the abuse and give the poems to the fishmongers to wrap their fish. This of course is the harsh commentary on a banquet. Other hosts such as Cicero, Julius Caesar, or Maecenas made sure that the entertainment was of the highest quality. The host would give a diversion of readings, music, and humorous recitations called *acroama*. For wealthy and powerful individuals, especially the emperors, these men doing the readings might be freedmen or valued slaves known for their knowledge of Greek. The readings may be from Homer or some well-known poet. The host would also hire flute players or other musicians. Martial hated singing since it tended to kill the conversations that were going on. Finally, one might have an *aretalogus* who told amusing and hopefully edifying stories. These fables, one might think of Aesop, were meant to show how society behaved and how it could improve.

The banquet encouraged this type of free-flowing meal and enjoyment. While a dinner party might have conversation after dinner, a banqueter was expected to be entertained, perhaps by a new play or dance. The banquet provided an opportunity for a wide variety of people to come together and have a good time. One way was to be entertained by jesters or a fool, a *scurra*, who was seen at parties and banquets, both respectable and boisterous ones. Often the individual was grotesque or

malformed which gave him the license to make fun of all of the guests, even the hosts without retribution. In fact, it was seen as showing good form to take the abuse. Sometimes there were multiple *scurra* who would engage in riposte and slapstick to the amusement of all. Some banquets ended with gambling with the dice. This was not confined to the lower levels for even the Emperor Augustus enjoyed dice playing and gambling. During the Empire, it was not uncommon for these large parties or banquets to have gladiatorial contests, a tradition that went back to the early foundation of Rome. Strabo remarks how in Campania, south of Rome, an invitation to a party might read for “dinner and gladiators”. Often the banquet would go into the early hours of the morning usually with heavy drinking. These often degraded into shouting, more drinking, and brawling.

While the night of eating at Trimalchio as related in Petronius’s fictional freedman in the *Satyricon* is more of a dinner, it could be seen as a banquet given the type and quantity of the food. Trimalchio provided the white and black olives, hot sausages, plums and pomegranate seeds in part one as appetizer. In part two of the *gustatio* he gave Peahen’s eggs stuffed with cooked sparrow and with spiced egg yolk. In part three of the appetizers he had a plate of the zodiacs with different foods, each appropriately corresponding to their sign: chickpea (Aries), beef slices (Taurus), kidneys (Gemini), flowers (Cancer), African fig (Leo), barren sow’s paunch (Virgo), a balance with a muffin on one and a cake on the other (Libra), a small fish (Scorpio), another fish called an oblade (Sagittarius), crawfish (Capricorn), a goose (Aquarius), and two mullets (Pisces). All these appetizers’ treats were in three courses. For the main meal or *cena* there again were three courses with the first being various birds, a rabbit in the shape of Pegasus, fish, and sow’s bellies. For the second course there was a whole wild roasted boar, with baskets of various kinds of dates hanging from the tusks, with small cakes shaped like piglets around the boar since it was a female. For the third course, three white pigs were led into the dining room where the guests were to select one of them so that the cook could butcher it and prepare it immediately; the pig came out a short time later to which Trimalchio complained that it was not gutted and called for the cook to beat him; his guest prevailed upon him not to beat him, so he ordered the cook to be right there and then finish the gutting whereby precooked sausages and pudding poured out to the shrieks and amusement of the guests as Trimalchio looked on in delight at his carefully planned joke. Finally, the dessert or *secundae mensae*, cakes with grapes and fruits, pastries shaped like birds, oysters, scallops, and snails were served.

While this was a dinner party it was also a banquet for the guests who were treated to the great food and show by a wealthy Roman. While most banquets were probably less subdued, they nevertheless allowed society the opportunity to enjoy the meal and camaraderie of their friends and neighbors.

GLUTTONY IN THE LATE REPUBLIC

In this passage from his *Noctes Atticae* (*Attic Nights*), Aulus Gellius (ca. 125–ca. 180 CE), writing in the second century CE, references a poem by the grammarian Marcus Terentius Varro (116–27 BCE), who wrote in the first century BCE, about the gluttonous tendencies of some of his fellow Romans, and their love of exotic foods.

Marcus Varro, in the satire which he entitled *On Edibles*, in verses written with great charm and cleverness, discusses exquisite elegance in banquets and foods. He has set forth and described in poetry the greater number of things of that kind which such gluttons seek out on land and sea.

As for the verses themselves, he who has leisure may find and read them in the book which I have mentioned. So far as my memory goes, these are the varieties and names of the foods surpassing all others, which is bottomless gullet has hunted out and which Varro has assailed in his satire, with the places where they are found: a peacock from Samos, a woodcock from Phrygia, cranes of Media, a young goat from Ambracia, a young tuna from Chalcedon, a lamprey from Tartessus, codfish from Pessinus, oysters from Tarentum, cockles from Sicily, a swordfish from Rhodes, pike from Cilicia, nuts from Thasos, dates from Egypt, acorns from Spain.

But this tireless gluttony, which is ever wandering about and seeking for flavors, and this eager quest of dainties from all quarters, we shall consider deserving of the greater detestation, if we recall the verses of Euripides of which the philosopher Chrysippus made frequent use, to the effect that gastronomic delicacies were sought and desired not because of the necessary uses of life, but because of a spirit of luxury that disdains what is easily attainable.

(Rolfé, 1927, 65)

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See also: *Economics and Work*: Agriculture; *Food and Drink*: Delicacies; Diet of Rural Wealthy; Dinner Party; Food Servers; Rural Elite Diet; Serving; State Banquets; Urban Elite Diet; *Recreation and Social Customs*: Etiquette; Festivals, Private; Leisure; Public Festivals at Rome

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BEER

The production of grain and its first use has been hotly debated since grain production is labor intensive. Was it cultivated first for food or for beer? The collection of tiny grains, separating them from the chaff, grinding the grain into flour, required intensive labor. Since it was so labor intensive to obtain the grain, many archaeologists believe that it was first collected for the alcohol which accompanied the feasting. For the early inhabitants who discovered that fermented grain resulted in an alcohol buzz, the production of beer may have allowed them to motivate their fellow workers. The community partaking in beer drinking as a social environment allowed workers to be rewarded and encouraged. The current theory is that the cultivation of grain over 11,000 years ago was probably more for drinking the fermented product than for bread production. Until the Neolithic period grains were not regularly used, and only after grains were used for beer making a shift to cultivation for food production happened. That is not to say that beer making resulted in the cultivation, rather the complex system of feasts linked beer and cereal cultivation. This same idea would later be transferred to grape production and wine making.

The Romans usually viewed beer as a barbarian drink. While wine was the preferred drink of the Greeks and Romans, beer was more prominent on the outskirts of the Roman world where grapes either did not grow or had difficulty growing. The major areas under the Romans where beer was produced and drunk included Egypt, the Near East, Asia Minor, Germany, Gaul, and Britain. The Romans did not believe that beer was fit to be consumed and made fun of other cultures that made and consumed it.

The Egyptians provide the best evidence for the creation and consumption of beer which had been in existence there for over 10,000 years. The ancient Pharaohs gave beer as part of their workers' wages. A typical allowance was five loaves

of bread and two jugs of beer. The ancients mainly used barley or emmer, an early type of wheat also known as hulled wheat for beer making. After the barley or emmer was harvested and threshed, the grain was malted, then it sprouted; barley unlike wheat keeps its husk that protects the seed during malting preventing the growth of mold. Malting involved the process in which the grain was allowed to germinate in water and then stopped. Malting allowed natural enzymes to be formed that then converted the starches into sugars ranging from simple monosaccharide dextrose to maltodextrines. In addition, the malting allowed the creation of proteases that breaks down proteins into usable compounds for yeast.

The grain was then dried to about 14 percent and then stored for several weeks to overcome seed dormancy; the grain was then soaked in water to take in moisture, about 50 percent, and then transferred to the drying floor where it was constantly moved and air dried to form dried malt. This dried malt could be smashed and used immediately for beer or after smashing made into small lightly baked loaves that could be used later. The malt would be mixed with cereals and then soaked in water to form a mash which was then fermented by the yeast. Often something sweet, like dates, might be added to give the beer more flavor. Typically, in Egypt bread was crumbled and mixed with water and dates or other added sweet material and then strained through a sieve with water. The mixture was then put in vats and fermented before being stored in jars. There is also evidence that the grains were heated together with yeast and uncooked malt to produce a mash that was then fermented. The fermentation process produced a substance with alcohol content between 6 and 12 percent. This substance was not the beer of modern times, or even the unfiltered beer often created earlier, rather it was still unfiltered mash which many individuals drank out of the vessel with reed straws. Often much of the early beer was not high in alcohol but was high in carbohydrates and proteins and probably was nutritious, useful for keeping laborers fit.

The early drinking of beer was usually done with a straw. This was done to prevent the individual from consuming the sediment. In Near Eastern clay cylinders, individuals are seen drinking the beer together with straws. From this it appears that drinking was a social event. While most of the straws were made of natural material that has long since disappeared, some permanent examples made of bronze have survived.

In Egypt, beer was a common drink, consumed by all the classes. Since grain was used for wages it was easily converted into bread and beer. Since both bread and beer in Egypt came from barley it was common to see examples of both used together. Since one could make beer from the partially cooked bread loaves, it was probably the case that the barley was made into loaves which some cooked for a short time to make beer, while others were cooked longer for bread. There is evidence that there were large breweries in Egypt and the Near East. But since the

beer would spoil quickly due to the heat of the region, it is clear that the beer could not be transported a great distance. This meant that most beer-making facilities were local and only for regional consumption. In addition to Egypt and the Near East, beer was produced in Asia Minor and the Balkans as well as by the Scythians on the steppes.

While the Romans knew of beer, it was not usually drunk by them. The Romans preferred wine, but in the north the Celts drank beer. The Roman historian Tacitus indicated that the Germans had a drink that was fermented from barley and other grains to resemble wine, probably beer. The Germans were also accused of long drinking bouts by Tacitus. Since the Romans viewed beer as barbaric, it is not surprising that they viewed these bouts with disdain.

In the late Roman period, beer became popular again in the north, and by the fifth century CE, it was being produced, often in the form of mead that was made from fermented honey.

See also: *Economics and Work*: Agriculture; *Food and Drink*: Cereals; Rural Peasant Diet; Urban Poor Diet

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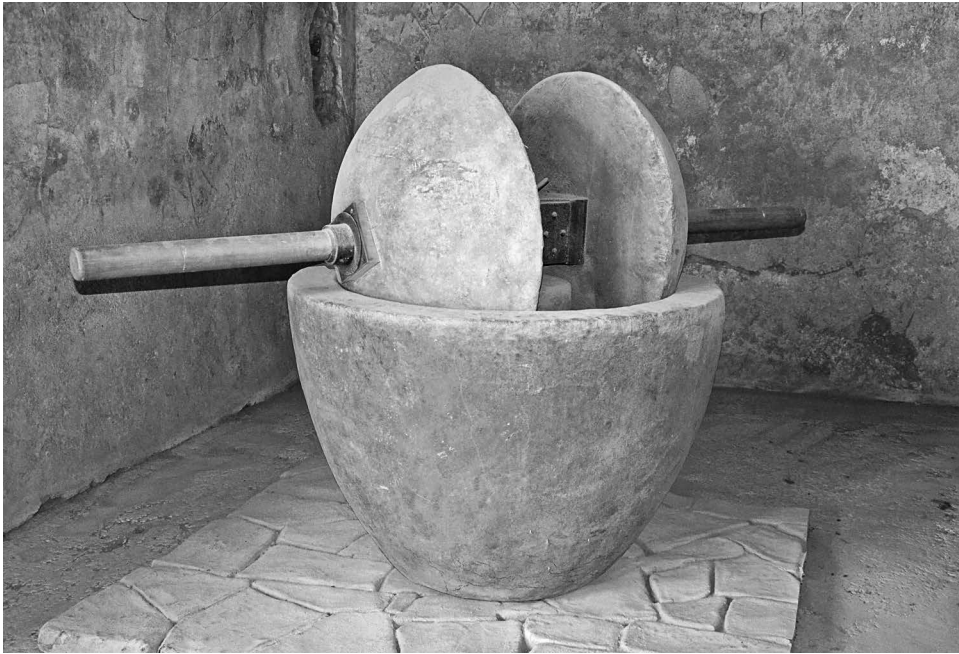
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CEREALS

Cereals comprised the major food supply for the ancients since they provided the majority of the calories needed to sustain life. The variety of cereals allowed for different levels of sustenance for both humans and animals.

Wheat, ultimately the major grain for human consumption, had varieties derived from wild and domesticated types. The three major types were Einkorn, emmer, and spelt which were covered or hull grains, and did not thresh free of



Hand mill, Pompeii, Italy, ca. 70 CE. Used to grind grain such as wheat and barley into flour, mills ensured a steady supply of flour since cereals amounted for 70 percent of the family nutrients. The major cereal was wheat, while barley was consumed by the peasants and poor or during times of famine. The steady supply of grain, especially from Egypt and North Africa, were crucial for the city of Rome. (Bopra77/Dreamstime.com)

their coverings making the grains more difficult to mill and requiring more labor. As time continued the hybridization of these grains allowed new types of wheat to have higher gluten content making them better for bread. Einkorn or *Triticum monococcum* is one of the most ancient grains known to have been domesticated, and was grown in southern Turkey, and around Jericho, nearly 11,000 years ago. It is a diploid grain because it has two sets of chromosomes (modern wheat due to hybridization has six sets of chromosomes). It was grown in the upper Euphrates valley and spread throughout the Mediterranean world and was one of the first grains cultivated or domesticated. The wheat was also known as faro. Einkorn has the highest levels of lutein; it also has a higher level of protein than modern wheat.

An early hybrid of Einkorn is emmer, *Triticum dicoccum*, which has four sets of chromosomes or a tetraploid; the wild form was *Triticum dicoccoides*. Emmer was also called faro. It is a hardier form of wheat that could grow in more areas, especially, in warmer climates. It successfully replaced Einkorn in many areas between 4,000 and 1,000 BCE. Emmer has smaller grains and is related to the

modern wheat durum. Emmer became popular with the Egyptians who grew them along the Nile and was the type of grain used in sacrifices.

A later hybrid developed was spelt which is the oldest hexaploid and precursor to modern wheat. Spelt was a hybrid of emmer and was more adaptable. Spelt has longer and narrower heads of grain than modern wheat. Planted in the autumn and grown over the winter, spelt was harvested in the Spring/Summer. With a strong husk it was more difficult to split the wheat from the chaff than earlier grains; because of this it required threshing and winnowing. Spelt was common in Germany and Switzerland by the seventh century BCE and into Britain by 500 BCE. Spelt appeared before bread or modern wheat, *Triticum aestivum*. Bread wheat also has six sets of chromosomes, two sets from three different grasses. Spelt is seen as a subspecies of modern wheat and was a hybrid of emmer and other wild grasses similar to modern wheat; in fact, spelt could arise from a hybridization of emmer and bread wheat. Modern wheat was even hardier than other varieties of wheat and could grow in even colder regions.

The ancient Romans believed wheat was best grown on the rich plains which could hold water for a considerable time. The sowing time varied according to the type of land and the country. In Italy, lands were sown in September for wheat and barley. The winter wheat was then sowed later only if the autumn crop failed. The ancient authors argued that the land should be heavier for the best production. Barley was sown on loose dry soil.

Barley was the other major grain or cereal grown throughout the Mediterranean. While it was not viewed as the best for human consumption, it could be used when needed. The Romans knew of two varieties of barley, the two and six rowed; the two-rowed barley has less protein than the six rowed. The two rowed is used for malting and the production of beer in Europe, while six rowed is used for animal feed. Barley was an early domesticated crop, used especially in bread and beer. In Greece, barley was used as part of the ceremony for the Eleusinian mystery that had the drink as a mixture of barley and herbs. The barley groats or whole grains were dried and then roasted before mixing in porridge. Since barley was seen as inferior, it was commonly used to feed slaves and gladiators.

Millet or proso millet was another type of grain. Although it was not part of the Near Eastern grains that entered Europe under cultivation, it is probable that it arrived at the same time or perhaps even earlier. It was valued because of its short growing season and productivity. Although the Romans thought that it depleted the soil, it was still an important crop for humans and poultry. The Romans did not use it for animal fodder. It was more important in the diet of the Gauls and was used by the Romans as food. Another grain was rye which the Romans believed improved the soil. Pliny described rye as a poor food. It was used only when starvation was imminent. It grew in any soil and was very productive. He indicated

that mixing wheat with rye made it palatable. Like the other grains, barley and wheat, rye also was initially cultivated in the Turkish highlands. It was not a common grain until the Bronze Age in Europe. It was known in Rome and Greece but was viewed as inferior and it was not actively cultivated. It was ultimately used in the German lands.

The final cereal cultivated was oats. Originally, cultivated in the Fertile Crescent, it was a late cereal growing in Bronze Age Europe. It was usually seen as a secondary crop with a lower temperature requirement and could be grown in wetter conditions than the Mediterranean. Oats can be planted in either the fall for a summer harvest or the spring for an autumn harvest. Oats can be made into oatmeal and used for porridge, or ground into flour and baked, and if necessary could also be eaten raw.

The Roman cereals allowed for the production of foodstuffs which in turn allowed for society to be taken care of. The major crops, wheat (with their spin offs), barley, rye, and oats contributed to the growth of society.

See also: Arts: Agricultural Treatises; *Economics and Work:* Agriculture; Farming; *Latifundia*; *Food and Drink:* Rural Peasant Diet; Urban Poor Diet; *Religion and Beliefs:* Persephone; *Science and Technology:* Agricultural Devices

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DELICACIES

Romans feasts were traditionally known for their delicacies, items many modern consumers would not even consider to be either delicacies or even worthy of eating. One of the most famous gourmets was Apicius, who wrote in the first century CE compiling a collection of recipes. The final collection of his recipes was published in the fourth or fifth centuries CE in *De re coquinaria* (On the Subject of Cooking). The work was divided into a series of books. The first book deals with preserving materials and making selected items such as spiced wine, vermouth, different scented wines, keeping meats fresh without salt, to preserve fruits, keep truffles, and other recipes. The second book deals with chopped or minced meats.

These meats included those from fish, such as scallops, lobster, cuttle fish, and others. For example, to make lobster or crabmeat croquettes, one cooked the lobster or crab, the shells are then broken, the meat is abstracted from the head and pounded into a pulp with pepper and broth and formed into a cake and then fried and served. One could then make brain sausage and other minced meats such as pheasant, chicken, and pork. Apicius ranked dishes with peacock first, the second being rabbit, third spiny lobster, then chicken, and finally a young pig. Clearly these dishes were not normal fares for the average Roman.

Apicius then moves on to vegetables and how to prepare them. The vegetables included were beets, asparagus, pumpkin, squash (both prepared in multiple ways), cucumbers, melon, cabbage in various ways, leeks, beans, radishes, and a host of others. Clearly, the importance of vegetables in the Roman diet was like modern society. He mentions a variety of ways to prepare vegetables; for example, there is the pumpkin, Alexandrine style: the pumpkin was boiled and the water pressed out, added to it was salt, pepper, cumin, coriander seed, and others. Wine and pignolia nuts with honey, vinegar, and broth were measured out with condensed wine and oil; and it was then poured over the pumpkin and served.

Apicius describes the making of boiled dishes, stewed brains, cold vegetable dishes, pumpkin pie, salted fish balls, other fish dinners with a variety of ways to season them. Fruits were also prepared as special dishes in addition to just having them fresh. It apparently was a delicacy to have finely minced meats of different varieties. These include seafood, sausages, and beef. For example, a relatively simple fish dish was to clean and cook fish with some shredded dry onions with the fish on top in a pan. One would add stock and oil and cook it; and when done one would put broiled bacon on the fish with some vinegar and onions.

In a later chapter he describes how to prepare seafood dishes. These included not only shellfish, especially lobster but also rays, cuttlefish or calamari, oysters, sea urchins, mussels, sardines, and fish proper such as mullet. A common recipe was that of broiled lobster. The live lobster was split into two and seasoned with pepper and coriander sauce along with oil and then broiled on a grill. When done they were basted like modern times with oil or butter. The book also contains the recipes for fish sauces.

Some of the other books had more exotic dishes. For example, there were ways to cook ostrich, probably not a common family's dish, as was crane. Partridge, turtle dove, and flamingo or parrots were also described. Chicken of course was probably a common dish. As with modern families it was common for the elites to try exotic dishes to show their wealth. Meats were also figured by Apicius. In addition to normal meats he also makes reference to sow's womb, a favorite delicacy in antiquity. One could also boil or grill a sow's belly or udder. The belly or udder was first boiled, and then tied together with reeds and placed in an oven

or roasted on an iron grill. One then could add crushed pepper, wine, and broth to give it more taste. The sauce was then thickened and poured over the roast before it was served. More normal types of meat included pork, a common staple in antiquity. Many of the recipes were probably used by common Romans since the individual would roast the meat with different types of seasoning. Included in these recipes were the various sauces that one might use. Liver and lung were also cooked. Mushrooms were a common side dish or a major dish unto themselves. Of course, snails were also served. Many Romans raised snails for their dinner table with one of the delicacies being to put them in milk. The snail was pulled out of their shells and put into milk and salt to fatten them up; they were cleaned hourly and when they were fully fattened and then fried in oil and served in wine sauce.

Boar was a common dish for the elites as was venison. Wild goat and sheep were also desired due to their exotic nature and less fat than domesticated animals. While most common families could not afford beef, wealthy families who wished to serve it at parties found a variety of ways to prepare it. A common dish for all Romans would have been pig or lamb. Both types of meat could be prepared in a wide variety of ways. Several recipes for hares also exist. For example, the hare is parboiled in some water and then placed in a roasting pan with oil into an oven. When roasting it was placed in gravy of crushed pepper, onion, rue, celery seeds and basted several times with the gravy. Of course hare was probably a staple for many rural families in addition to the elites who had it brought in and prepared for their parties. A favorite of the ancients were dormice, not the common mice, but a large arboreal rodent like squirrel. It was stuffed with pork or other small pieces of dormice and pounded with pepper, nuts, and broth. The dormouse was then stuffed in an earthen casserole pot and roasted in the oven or conversely it was boiled in a pot.

Although most of the recipes were for delicacies not eaten by the common family, many of the types of food were available to them. The rich diet of vegetables and seafood were common for ancient Romans.

See also: *Food and Drink*: Banquets; Dinner Party; Festivals; Serving; State Banquets; Urban Elite Diet

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DINING WHILE TRAVELING

When wealthy Romans traveled they had a variety of dining options available to them. A late Roman document provides a great amount of detail about a wealthy Roman traveling and living for a short time away from home in a different city. The document shows the social groups in the party and how they coped with dining while traveling. Theophanes was an official who traveled from Egypt to Antioch. His party included four other household/staff members, perhaps trusted high-level slaves or freedmen, as well as five or six duty slaves. These duty slaves are referred to as “the boys.” A chef was also included in the group. The document provides nearly day-to-day account of the expenses over the five-month period of the travel.

Theophanes’s travel from Egypt to Antioch indicates that the group purchased their food along their way. He spent about two weeks in one city and it is probable that he stayed with friends who entertained him. Most of the costs are minimal and seem to be gifts for officials. The expenses seem to be for quick meals on the road.

There were certain foods that were purchased every day. They tend to be the basic perishable staples that the group needed. These staples included two types of bread, fine for Theophanes and his working companions and common bread for “the boys.” In addition, he also purchased some flatbread called *tourtia* which was seen as a special type of bread. Other daily commodities included green vegetables and gourds. In addition, eggs, olives, fruits, dried figs, and nuts appeared regularly. Included in the daily purchases was firewood for cooking. The purchase of wood indicates that Theophanes and his group had access to a stove or cooked over an open fire; and from the accounts it appears that while in Antioch they probably rented a house with a kitchen.

These daily items in the city, especially bread, eggs, and greens were common and readily accessible at most markets. In addition, they could easily spoil and therefore could not be kept for long periods. Items that were bought commonly, but not necessarily every day, were meat, wine, oil in two qualities, salad vegetables including lettuce and cucumbers, cheese, and fish, both fresh and pickled. These foodstuffs did not spoil as readily as others and could be stored. Meat, for example, was purchased fresh which could be eaten that day and the next, as well as salted which could be stored for several days. What is interesting is that the amount of meat was not trivial, and averaged about three-fourth pound per day. It was unlikely that Theophanes ate it all by himself. The Romans did not tend to eat large chunks of meat but rather small amounts intermixed with salads and other foods since they had several courses. Most likely the meat was distributed to several members of the party and was probably not eaten every day. If the daily average was eaten every other day, then the party would have had about one and half pounds for the five chief members of the party and some left over for the

slaves or about 3–4 ounces at the most per person. In addition to meat there were also sausages and fish. Like meat, cheese could be kept for several days and it is most likely that the quantity purchased was again not small or trivial but enough for several meals. The slaves, while not having the quantity or variety of meat, fish, and sausages like the important members, nevertheless could have leftovers made into stews and soups.

Wine was an important element of the purchases and it is clear that it was consumed by the whole group; the slaves having an inferior brand. Theophanes also purchased products irregularly that would have been used daily, but their amounts were easily partitioned or they could be stored indefinitely. These products included honey, salt, vinegar, vermouth, and spices. Finally, there were the irregular foods that were probably purchased when happened upon, in season, or when desired now and then. These included some vegetables such as onions, leeks, carrots, and artichokes, while syrup, certain fruits, garlic, and even snails for the slaves. Interestingly, lentils and beans were absent. It is possible that they were part of other components purchased, or had been brought with them on their own, or they did not eat them.

The morning breakfast was probably bread purchased the day before dipped in unmixed wine and was probably taken at or just after waking up. The midday meal, *ariston*, seems to have been a simple fair of bread or *tourtia*, nuts, and dried figs, perhaps with some smoked sausages. Sometimes the accounts indicate that pickled fish, bread, cheese, cucumbers, and eggs together with wine were consumed at lunch, usually not all but a few selections. The main meal, dinner or *dipnon*, was similar to the lunch but probably had a larger amount and more selections. The courses included uncooked appetizers of vegetables with fish sauce, cheese, eggs, and olives, while the second course or main meal had cooked meats and fish, followed by deserts of dried fruits, nuts, and grapes.

The return journey again shows the purchase of foods eaten for that day. It is most likely that travelers would not lie in large supplies of food since they would have to carry them and would not have the means for keeping them fresh. Like modern travelers they would have packed a quick lunch after eating their breakfast and then at the end of the day enjoyed the feasting and drinking with other travelers, many who tended to travel together for protection. The dinner would have been a time of rest and relaxation after a hard day's travel.

The traveler would need to plan his journey so that he could have access to food in addition to lodging. The towns and stations along the way would have taverns and inns so that travelers could purchase their supplies. Like modern travel, these shops were probably overpriced and had rather poor quality. The arrival in a large city would allow one to have more opportunities if he could find the right markets and stores.

See also: Economics and Work: Trade; Food and Drink: Trade Routes; Recreation and Social Customs: Travel; Vacations

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DINNER PARTY

An important part of the Roman life was the socialization that occurred at meals. While it is proper to call some gathering banquets where large numbers of people were entertained, the other type was a dinner party for fewer guests. These latter parties were often intimate social gatherings of friends and family members. The purpose was first to share a meal, but it was also a place to converse about all things, including politics. The dinner party should therefore be seen not only as a meal but also as an extension of the Roman political and social life. One typically invited his peers or superiors to the party while at the same time allowing his socially inferior client to attend. Most Romans, including the elites, had simple family dinners. However, when the occasion called for them to get together, the party was not only a time of celebration but one of rituals. Typically, the wealthy family would have several dining rooms. If he was dining alone with his family or perhaps a few close friends, the Roman would have eaten in the *cenatio* or family dining room. But if he was entertaining someone important or had a large group of diners, he would have used the *triclinium*.

Some individuals would attempt to get themselves asked to a dinner party. These parasites wanted either to look important in the eyes of their competitors, or they desired to ask the host or other guests for help. If one was an equal and was invited to a dinner, it was usually at the tenth hour for an informal or friend's dinner or at the ninth hour for a formal dinner party. One could accept the invitation or if there was a good enough excuse, refuse. Refusal, however, often carried with it resentment and perhaps led one to not being invited again. Of course, like in any society, accepting and then not showing up was considered to be the height of rudeness; although showing up on time was not required. If, however, one had empty spaces it was easy enough to fill with clients or parasites. It was often the case that these clients and even good friends were invited at little notice, apparently not causing much of a concern or insult.

Individuals arriving to a dinner party during the late Republic were often dressed in a "dinner suit" or *centoria/cubitaria* or in a mixed dress, *synthesis*,

which was a *tunic* and a small cloak. The cloths were of bright color and often were seen as signs of gaiety and ostentatious behavior. One host changed his clothes 11 times showing a new design each time. His excuse, according to Martial, was the heat. The dinner party usually had nine people arranged on three couches. The most important was the *medius* which was in the middle between the *summus lectus* and the *imus*. Occasionally, instead of three couches there was one large semicircular couch called a *sigma* which had seating for six guests, although sometimes as few as three or as many as seven or eight were present. There was a saying that seven makes a dinner and nine a brawl, showing the penchant for small intimate parties. The town of Urso had a limit of nine guests at the dinner party for a political candidate, perhaps reflecting the idea that larger parties often led to issues. Larger parties, however, were common; Julius Caesar in Gaul dined with two tables, meaning twice the normal size or 18 guests. They were often his staff, learned Greeks, and local native aristocrats. Most houses, however, had dining rooms with space for only one table and so when Caesar visited Cicero or others and there was mention of two or three tables, it is clear that more rooms needed to be used. Some of the great houses had multiple dining rooms; Lucullus was known to have at least three in his Roman house and Trimalchio's Puteoli house had four downstairs and one upstairs. The visitors might know who the guests would be ahead of time, but they might also be in for a shock, such as Cicero who found his host's mistress as a guest, something not normally done.

Many individuals held parties to impress, as mentioned by Lucullus and Apicius, who left behind two works, one on cooking, and the other on sauces. Wealthy individuals would try to outdo each other often leading some to bankruptcy. The dinner party might have fascinating treats. The Trojan Pig which originated in the second century BCE was cooked so that when the porker was split open, contents such as sausages and black puddings might pour out. A pike caught in the Tiber River in Rome was considered a specialty as were oysters. Although boars were not at first a delicacy, by the second century BCE, they were viewed as suitable for dinner parties and in the first century BCE were served whole for the guests. For the formal dinner party it was important to have the right kinds of food and either the host or his wife made sure that the cooks knew what to serve and how to prepare it. It was clear that a wealthy dinner party could lead to gluttony and abuse. Attempts were made to set the maximum price which could be spent on meals and the number of guests; these limits were usually ignored as soon as they were passed.

The guest would arrive and take off his outside shoes and replace them with slippers which he would then take off when he reached the couch. Until the Empire, guests usually did not drink before the meal. The host then gave their guest their seating arrangements, three to a couch and three couches. The host and his family took their place on the *imus lectus*. The most important guests were then seated at the *lectus medius* which was also known as the *consularis lectus*. The final group

was seated at the *summus lectus*. There was then the dinner, usually three courses, with the hors d'oeuvres, the *cena* proper, and then desserts. While they often ate heavily, most Romans realized that they would have a wide variety of foods to choose from and paced themselves accordingly. In addition, when there were multiple tables the guests at the second and below usually ate inferior to the head table.

It was common for the guests and host during the meal to occupy themselves with other duties. Some could read or give dictation of letters or other documents and it was not seen as impolite or rude. Usually there was a discussion on the

A MISSED DINNER PARTY

Pliny the Younger (62–ca. 113 CE), a Roman lawyer and magistrate known particularly as a letter writer, dropped the following note to his friend Septicius Clarus, who was supposed to join Pliny for a convivial dinner party, but never showed up. Pliny, with tongue in cheek, promises revenge and taunts his friend with a description of what he had missed.

How did it happen, my friend, that you did not keep your appointment the other night to have dinner with me? Now take notice: the court is in session, and you will fully reimburse me the expense I laid out to treat you, which, let me tell you, was no small sum. I want you to know that I had prepared a lettuce and three snails apiece, along with two eggs, barley water, some sweet wine and snow—I most certainly will charge the snow to your account, as it was spoiled in the serving. Besides all these curious dishes, there were olives, beets, gourds, shallots, and a hundred other delicacies, equally sumptuous.

Likewise, you would have been entertained either with an interlude, the rehearsal of a poem, or a piece of music, as you like best, or—such was my generosity—with all three. But the oysters, chitterlings, seas urchins, and Spanish dancers, of a certain, I know not who, were, it seems, more to your taste. However, I'll have my revenge; you can count on it. What kind of revenge will be a secret for now. . . . How pleasantly would we have spent the evening, in laughing, joking, and friendship! You can get a better dinner at many other places, I'm sure. But you can be treated nowhere, believe me, with more unrestrained cheerfulness, forthrightness, and freedom.

(Pliny, 1915, Vol. I)

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day's political happenings, at least during the Republic, while under the Empire it became more and more dangerous to talk politics at dinner, especially due to the spies listening when the wine flowed freely.

Most dinners had an abundant supply of wine and this in turn ensured the discussion was lively. It may also point to the reason for keeping the number of guests low. During the second century BCE, the use of wine became important at dinners and individuals clearly desired to obtain high-quality wine for their dinner parties. During dinner there were also artistic and cultural events that helped the guests relax. Other pastimes such as gambling also occurred.

At what point did a dinner party pass to a banquet. It would apparently depend upon the individual and the circumstances, as well as the number of guests and the tempo. Dinner parties were seen as more intimate, banquets as more boisterous. For the average Roman both events were not common, although one may be invited as a client now or then.

See also: *Food and Drink:* Banquets; Delicacies; Dinner Party; Festivals; Food Servers; Serving; State Banquets; *Recreation and Social Customs:* Adolescent; Festivals; Leisure; Pleasures; Public Festivals at Rome; *Religion and Beliefs:* Sacrifices

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FESTIVALS

There existed a wide variety of festivals celebrated throughout the year by the public and the family. Many of these festivals were minor, while a few were peculiar to the city of Rome. While the festivals had a religious aspect, most probably did not center on religious observations, save for the use of priests or the most pious. Many festivals required business and work to be avoided by Roman citizens necessitating prayers to be offered. These were either ignored outright or were used as an excuse to avoid work but without any religious observance. The public festivals (*feriae publicae*) were of three types: the *feriae stativae* had fixed days, *feriae conceptivae* were movable feasts where the priests or magistrates declared the specific date, and *feriae imperativae* were days of celebration for a victory declared by the

magistrates with imperium, namely, consuls, praetors, or dictators. At many of these festivals there would be public sacrifices and feasts supported and paid by the aristocrats and magistrates. Many of these festivals were related either to the agricultural settings or for military/political celebrations.

Some of the major festivals throughout the year not discussed elsewhere included January 1, dedicated to the New Year and to the god Janus when small gifts were exchanged. The *Agonalis*, was a feast held on four days, January 9, March 17, May 21, and December 11 when the chief priest offered a ram to Janus. The *Sementivae* was a movable feast in January for the spring sowing with offerings made to Tellus and Ceres, agricultural deities. In February there was the feast of *Fornacalia* for the celebration of the grain ovens in each ward which supplied the city with bread. The *Reegifugium* on February 24 was celebrated in the late Republic as Independence Day when the kings had been expelled and the people could rule themselves. March was sacred to the god of war Mars. Several festivals were celebrated on March 1, 9, 14, 19, and 23. April saw the celebration for the Latin League and their gods in the movable feast called *feriae Latinae* held with the Romans and Latins on Mount Alban. This feast survived into the third century BCE. Here a communal meal was eaten by the Latin League representatives after a white heifer was sacrificed. In each of the 30 wards of the city a pregnant cow was sacrificed to Tellus on the feast of *Fordicidia* to promote animal husbandry on April 15. The unborn calves were offered as sacrifice and their ashes were used in purification rites for the April 21 feast for *Paraila* which was a celebration for sheep and shepherds when the sheep pens were cleaned and celebrations to Pales were held. The *Vinalia Priora* was also held on April 21 as one of two festivals for wine production when wine casks from the previous autumn were opened and celebrated for Jupiter and later Venus. Finally, from April 28 to May 3 it was the *Floralia*, a festival to Flora, for the grain production. The month of April was very busy with the break between winter and spring when time was freer and the weather not oppressive.

In May the movable feast of *Ambarvalia* was celebrated at the end of the month and was both a public and private festival for the purification of crops. Several animals, sheep, pigs, and oxen, were led around the ancient walls of Rome before being sacrificed. Like May, June did not have many festivals, but on June 13–15 the Lesser *Quinquarturs* occurred where the guild of flute players who played at festivals were honored. This was probably because June was a busy work month in agriculture.

The festivals in July included the Games in honor of Apollo from July 6 to 13 which were very popular in the late Republic and were set aside for markets and fairs. An interesting festival on July 7 was the *Nonae Caprotinae* which was a festival for the serving women; Juno Caprotina was worshipped to celebrate the help of serving women who saved Rome from a Latin army. In August, the feast of

Vinalia Rustica was celebrated on August 19 when the grape harvest started. The first grapes were collected. September had a few festivals with the most important being the *Ludi Romani* or *ludi magni*. In October a rare type of festival, a fast day, was held on October 4 to honor Ceres. Originally, it was held every five years, but Augustus instituted it every year. On October 11, the Festival of *Meditrinalia* was celebrated for the new wine vintage. The feast of purification of military arms, armor, and shields were celebrated on October 19, the *Armilustrum*. The Plebeian

STOIC VIEW OF SATURNALIA

Lucius Annaeus Seneca (known as Seneca the Younger) (4 BCE–65 CE) was a philosopher, author, and tutor to the Roman emperor Nero. Late in life, Seneca wrote a series of letters, known as his “moral epistles,” to his friend Lucilius. The *Ad Lucilium Epistulae Morales* (*Moral Letters to Lucilius*) comprises 124 essays in the form of letters on a variety of topics. Infused with the principles of Stoic philosophy, the letters discuss such Stoic ideas as the belief that personal virtue is the source of an individual’s happiness and that emotions are an obstacle to virtue. Excerpted below is Seneca’s 18th moral epistle, in which he considers the best way for students of Stoic philosophy to behave during public festivals such as Saturnalia.

It is the month of December, and yet the city is at this very moment in a sweat. License is given to the general merrymaking. Everything resounds with mighty preparations—as if the Saturnalia differed at all from the usual business day! So true it is that the difference is nil, that I regard as correct the remark of the man who said: Once December was a month; now it is a year. If I had you with me, I should be glad to consult you and find out what you think should be done—whether we ought to make no change in our daily routine, or whether, in order not to be out of sympathy with the ways of the public, we should dine in gayer fashion and doff the toga. As it is now, we Romans have changed our dress for the sake of pleasure and holiday-making, though in former times that was only customary when the State was disturbed and had fallen on evil days

(Seneca, 1917, Vol. I)

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Games to Jupiter occurred on November 13. The festival of Bona Dea, not celebrated at the temple of Bona Dea, but at the house of the consul or praetor, was only attended by women. The great festival of Saturnalia December 17–23 on the winter solstice was a universal time of celebration. In the late Empire, the festival of Sol Invictus on December 25 became important.

These festivals, and others, allowed the people to celebrate the gods of Rome. They were time for rest, relaxation, partying, and renewal. Interspersed throughout the year they allowed an individual time for breaks between the busy agricultural cycles. These rural celebrations were carried over to the urban life and the festivals continued to be celebrated.

See also: *Food and Drink:* Banquets; State Banquets; *Housing and Community:* Palaces; *Recreation and Social Customs:* Festivals; Public Festivals at Rome; *Religion and Beliefs:* Sacrifices

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FISH

Romans living near the sea, rivers, and lakes had access to a variety of fish. The types and quantity of fish available differed according to these locations, but it is also probable that most Romans had access to some kinds of fish and sea creatures.

The most common or cheapest fish is the sardine or European pilchard. They feed on plankton and form schools near the shores. The schools lived anywhere in depth from 75 to 300 feet. Caught by nets they are able to be hauled into boats and taken to shore for processing. The fish is about 6 inches or less and can be eaten either as appetizers or as the main meal, especially by the poor. The sardine is usually grilled but can be eaten like sushi if salted. Another type of small fish is the anchovy which is well distributed throughout the Mediterranean Sea. The anchovy was commonly used in the preparation of *garum*, the fish sauce (mentioned later). Another common small fish is the sea breams or bogue which means bug eye, a characteristic of the fish. Swimming in schools and feeding on plankton, they need

to be eaten soon after catching or else they spoil. They are often used as bait for larger fish.

Another larger fish used for food that swims near the shore in schools is the mackerel. They are smaller than the bonito and tuna. The species in the Mediterranean is the Mediterranean Horse mackerel. It is an oily fish and it must be eaten quickly lest the person eating it gets food poison from spoilage.

A larger fish is the Atlantic Bonito which is also found in the Black and Mediterranean Seas. It too lives in the shallow waters and is an important food source. They can grow to about a foot and weigh 10 pounds and in size are between the mackerel and tuna. They eat other fish and swim in schools. While not liked as much as tuna because of its higher oil content it is often used as bait; it is caught in nets. They are grilled with the larger ones and cut into steaks.

A larger fish is the tuna or Atlantic Bluefin Tuna; although currently extinct in the Black Sea, they were originally in both the Black and Mediterranean Seas. They are a large fish, capable of growing up to 900 pounds and measure 6–8 feet in length. They feed on other small fish such as mackerel and sardines. Typically, the fish was cut into steaks and grilled. The ancients did not smoke their fish, rather they salted them; the Romans may have used salt to preserve the tuna for transport.

Another common food is squid or calamari. With the exception of the beak, most of the squid is edible. Typically fried, the squid was and is commonly eaten throughout the Mediterranean, where it is commonly found. In addition, the spiny lobster living on rocky coastlines was also popular and was considered a delicacy by the Romans. Another lobster species is the Mediterranean slipper lobster, growing 1 foot long and having no claws, it was highly regarded by the Italians. Like the spiny lobster, it too was caught by nets or trawling. They probably were not as popular as the spiny lobster. Mediterranean mussels are found throughout the Mediterranean and Black Seas, where they are typically steamed and often eaten with other dishes.

Garum or fish sauce was an important commodity in the Roman world. Although expensive it was popular in the Roman world and was used as a condiment and even as medicine. *Garum* was originally a by-product of the fishing industry and was especially popular in Baetica Spain where it was transported to southern France, North Africa, and above all Italy. Although each port that prepared *garum* had its own peculiar recipe, probably based on the type of fish or shellfish caught, by the time of Augustus, Spain and in particular Gades and Cartagena in Baetica were viewed as the best. In Portugal, the city of Lagos was well known for its *garum* and was shipped directly to Rome. *Garum* was shipped to southern France and then transported throughout Gaul, Germany, and Britain. It was made by fermenting the intestines and other waste parts of fish, especially, boney fish such as mackerel, tunny, red mullet, and even shell fish in a solution of brine. The by-products were put into a vessel, often amphora, in which they

fermented for several months, at least one month. Often the high-quality *garum* was allowed to ferment for several months. Usually the vessels were left in the sun and occasionally the contents were stirred. When the fermentation was complete the liquid on top was the *garum*, while the sediment of fish materials on the bottom was called *allec* (or *hallec*) which was also sold.

In addition to *garum* there were three other fish sauces sold: *liquamen*, *allec*, and *muria*. *Garum* was highly prized as a dipping sauce and its strong odor often masked other foods. Since its manufacturing caused such an unpleasant odor it was usually relegated to the outskirts of town away from the general population. In addition to Baetica, Pompeii in Italy was also known for producing *garum*. There exists some tantalizing evidence that some of the *garum* in Pompeii where the remains have *castum garum* or pure *garum* may refer to Pliny the Elder's remark that this was for the Jews. Since Judaism only allowed the eating of fish with scales, the idea is that pure *garum* was in fact made only from fish with scales which would have been acceptable to the Jews.

After the *garum* was collected the *allec* was sold, usually to the poor, who used it to flavor their porridge. *Garum* was used to flavor food and had a variety of classes. *Garum* could be added to wine and other spices and allowed to flavor foods seen in Apicius's recipes.

Fish was a popular commodity for the Roman table. Those living near the ports had the best chances of receiving fresh fish throughout the year. The city of Rome was well supplied with fish caught nearby the port of Ostia. For many Romans the most important fish commodity was *garum* which was used as a seasoning sauce or even as a dipping sauce.

See also: Recreation and Social Customs: Sport

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FOOD PRESERVATION

One aspect of antiquity that continued well into the modern age was the preservation of food without the use of modern technologies. These preservation techniques allowed for a surplus of food which in turn allowed some individuals to no

longer be needed to secure food and pursue other activities giving rise to larger cities. The preservation of food took on different processes depending upon the type and the location together with what was available on hand.

The ancient Romans built great warehouses and silos to preserve grain. It was important to keep the grain dry so that it would not spoil or germinate. One important component was to keep moisture out; to do so the floors of warehouses were elevated so that air could constantly flow underneath to move moisture out. The Egyptians had built silos to keep grain for years and it is probable that the Romans either learned from them directly or indirectly. The silos and warehouses allowed the Romans to purchase grain during harvest time when it was abundant and cheap and then preserve it to dole out during times of scarcity. These acts of preservation of grain allowed the city of Rome and many other cities to keep its population fed, even if the city grew with an increasing number of urban poor who did not farm.

In the desert areas of the Middle East, Egypt, and Africa, the hot dry climate allowed food to become dry and preserved. There is evidence that fish and poultry were dried in the desert heat and wind and were then capable of being stored for time. The Romans would often dry their fruit in the desert heat and wind. Vegetables could also be dried in the same manner which allowed them to be preserved for storage and transport. Another method of preserving food was to use salt. Salt could be used for dry salting or for pickling so that fish and meat could be stored. Salt was used as a primary way for curing meat either by using salt directly on the meat or in salt brine. The salt, in a percentage of 20 percent or more, was used to remove water through osmosis in which the water is drawn out of microorganisms in the meat thus preventing bacteria. Salt also prevents meat from going rancid by slowing down oxidation. For example, to salt ham the preparer would place the ham skin side down and cover it completely with the salt; this would draw out the water. Fish was also salted using the same method. The freshly caught fish was first washed with water and then they rubbed coarse salt into the fish. The fish were then stacked with layers of salt in between and covered with dry matting. After a week the pile was turned over and again left to dry for a week. Eggs could also be preserved with a fine layer of rubbed salt. Salt was a crucial commodity that was needed not only for seasoning but also for preserving. Salt was traded throughout antiquity. Areas that had large deposits, known as salt flats, could become important commercial sites and become quite profitable.

The salting of fish, often associated with the production of *garum* or fish sauce, became more important in the Roman world. Current research indicates that the distribution of fish salting facilities was uneven. This unevenness may be due to the lack of archaeological field reports and excavations and not realities to the situation. The current picture has discoveries of salting facilities along the coast of Spain toward the Straits of Gibraltar, and in northern Tunisia. The known

remnants stop at Algeria and Libya, but this is probably due more to the lack of field excavations. Likewise, remains are well documented in the Black Sea region around the Bosphorus but are lacking in the eastern Mediterranean and Adriatic Seas. Again, the lack of field reports or excavations may be responsible. It is also possible that the natural gathering of fish in certain regions is lacking due to currents and shoals. It is also possible that unlike in the west the salting of fish was not done in large permanent pits but in *dolia* and amphora. If so, then the production would have been on a smaller scale and limited to the available containers and could be seen as transitional leaving behind few remains.

For the large commercial fish salting facilities they had large concrete vats which contained the fish and varying concentrations of salt which was absorbed by osmosis into the fish over several weeks. The fish were moved from one concentration to another. The by-products would be made into *garum* in amphora, while the large fillets were salted. The Romans in Spain replaced the small Punic vats and constructed large concrete vats which promoted the fish-salting industry. From the evidence it is clear that there was a whole-scale exploitation which resulted in immense profits. From the coast of Brittany there are remains of 10 cement vats similar to the ones used in Spain for the salting of the fish. While the production of amphora is unknown in Brittany, the salted fish may have been stored and transported in wooden barrels. Likewise, there are remains of organized fish-salting industry in the Black Sea. The presence of these sites in the Black Sea, Spain and the western Mediterranean, and the Atlantic Coast but not in the eastern Mediterranean probably represents the volume occurring in relation to the migratory catches; the east did not see this type of migratory phenomenon and therefore was of limited scale. The fish-salting industry in North Africa and Spain began earlier and there was a sharp decline in the second century CE but still continued in operation until the fifth century at a sustained lower level. In Brittany the industry started later.

Another way to preserve food was by pickling. It could be done with a solution of salt water or brine which allowed olives to be preserved for months. It was also possible to pickle the food in wine or beer. Since both have low pH, they are well suited for preserving food. It is possible that some food was placed in wine or beer and they discovered that although the beer or wine soured the food was preserved. The material had to be stored either in glass (not well known), wooden barrels (not usually used until the late Empire), or clay/terracotta containers and amphora (most commonly used). The food was often placed in amphora with sour wine (vinegar) which allowed it to be preserved, stored, and transported.

While meats can be smoked and there is evidence that this was done in early Neolithic times, it is not known to be as prevalent as it was during the Roman period. Smoking, unlike curing with salt, does not allow the food to be preserved

for long periods of time. It was necessary to consume the food within a few weeks. Smoking was similar to air drying but not as efficient.

The preservation of food was crucial to the Romans and allowed certain commodities, most notably fish to be exported throughout the Roman world. The exportation of preserved foods meant that other regions, not usually accustomed to the varieties, could enjoy different types of food.

See also: Food and Drink: Amphorae; Serving; Spices; Transport

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FOOD SERVERS

The wealthy Roman families would not serve themselves at meal times; they would also not cook, serve, or clean up after their meals. While the average Roman family did not have servants or slaves, they might be the servant for a wealthy family; they would have witnessed the slaves living and working in the houses of the wealthy. Of course, the slaves who were in the great house could be guaranteed of eating well since once out of sight from their master and other guests there were leftovers to eat and drink, and of course, there was the satisfaction of seeing their master and other elites in uncompromising situations after drinking and eating too much.

The cook or chef was the most important person involved in the family's household entourage. Originally, cooking was seen as a chore but beginning in the second century BCE when dinner parties became more and more elaborate, cooks became crucial and highly prized. Livy reported that a good cook in the second century BCE could cost as much as a good horse and by the time of Pliny, three centuries later, three horses. The meaning, of course, was that it was exorbitantly expensive for some Romans to have a cook. Life may not have been easy for some

cooks who had demanding masters, while others probably had masters who appreciated their work and encouraged them. The cook ensured that the dinner was successful. The cook was in charge of the kitchen and ensured that the household was taken care of, even if he was a slave.

When the guest arrived and took their place on the couch, slaves would bring water so they could wash their hands and the meal would then begin. During the meal it was customary for readers to give recitation; these readers were often slaves in the household or slaves hired by the host from a professional group. In addition, there were dancers who did the soft dance called *Gaditanae* or dancers from Cadiz; they were not necessarily all from Cadiz and probably refer to a type of dance. Dancers who played the castanets were called *crotalistriae*, while effeminate dancers were called *cinaedi*. Acrobats or *petauristarii* would actively entertain their guests with feats of jumping and prancing about.

The chief steward was the *tricliniarcha* who oversaw the whole feast ensuring that it came off as planned. This individual was sort of a master of ceremonies taking his cues from the master/mistress of the house. The *structor* or carver was a special cook who ensured that the meal was served exactly as needed and performed his duties with grace. In addition, the wine steward was also crucial as he ensured the selection of wine and its serving was in accord to the meal plan. The most handsome slaves who served the wine were called the *ministri* or *pueri a cyathis*. Both of them wore their hair long and curled and had on bright garments to ensure their status and position. Slaves were needed to do carrying and lifting in the dining room and they typically wore coarser garments and had their heads shaved. The *scoparii* carried the remains of the dinner away after they collected them from the floor, as was the custom. It was customary for guests to throw their food remains on the floor and this type of act was depicted on mosaics with numerous surviving examples.

In addition, each guest would have brought their own slave, the most handsome and young, so as to impress their other guests, who in turn would wait on them and attend to their every need. The slave would often do the most humiliating things needed especially after their master engorged themselves. One story had that slaves of Vedius Pollio worked and lived in horrible conditions and in constant fear. A cruel master, he was known to throw his slaves who displeased him into a pond of lampreys who would kill them. Augustus once had to interfere and prevent a slave from being thrown into the pool after the slave had broken a glass cup. Most masters, however, were not as terrible.

Guests would arrive and depart in various fashions, with the elites often being carried in litters by a set of slaves. These slaves would wait for their masters during the party and were probably fed from the kitchen with leftovers. While not explicitly expected, they must have been taken care of since they were required to spend long

periods of time waiting for their masters and lifting the heavy loads. The work of slaves in the household for serving food probably never ended. They were required to be on call at all times and serve their master quickly and accurately. They probably were more nervous than their masters when a large dinner party was coming up.

For the average Roman who did not live in these great houses the coming and goings were probably seen as fantastic and arrogant. While they may not have engaged in the practice they would have heard about from the slaves who eagerly wanted to spread the latest gossip of what went on and who said what and who was with each other. Under emperors this might have been dangerous for the masters since they might find themselves under trial for saying slanderous remarks about the emperor. The trusted slave was therefore an important member of the household and one who kept a watchful eye on the other servers.

See also: *Economics and Work:* Slavery; *Food and Drink:* Banquets; Dinner Party; Servers; State Banquets

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FRUITS

The Romans ate a variety of fruits. Some of the fruits were known in Italy since the period before Rome was established, while others were imported during the Roman period. Apples are mentioned in the Bible as well as Greek myths. The earliest apples are believed to have originated in the highlands of Kazakhstan, the *Malu sieversii* tree. This variety was then probably joined with the crab apple which in turn produced the hybrid of the modern apple eaten today. This hybrid was then dispersed throughout the Mediterranean world and into northern Europe. Another early fruit was the pear that probably originated in the cooler zones around the Caspian Sea and ultimately spread through Eurasia to the Atlantic. The Romans cultivated the fruit and ate it either cooked or raw. Pliny the Elder noted that there were dozens of varieties and one recipe was to stew pears in honey. Pears were typically picked before they were ripe and were stored at room temperature while they ripened. Like fig, olive, and grape, plums were an early fruit cultivated by humans. Like the pear it is called a drupe fruit in which the fleshy part surrounds a pit. Plum trees can reach great heights (40 feet) and can spread to 30

feet. Dried plums become prunes and can be stored for a while. The plum appears to have come from the Caucasian mountains and from Asia. Another ancient fruit was the quince, a pome fruit like the apple, from a small tree about 15 feet by 15 feet. The tree came from southern Turkey and Iran and was known from the second millennium in Akkadia. The Romans ate the quince not only raw but also cooked with leeks or even stewed with honey.

There were different types of melons in antiquity. It is apparent from Egyptian tombs that melons were already common there by the second-millennium BCE. The watermelon seems to have come from Africa and was cultivated by the third millennium. The wild watermelon was not particularly delicious, but its seeds were roasted and eaten. The modern watermelon was not cultivated until the Roman period. Other types of melons were common throughout the Mediterranean during the Roman period.



Fresco, Pompeii, Italy, ca. 70 CE. As this fresco shows, fruit was a common food item and was a major part of the Roman diet. Depending upon one's status and economic class, a variety of domestic and imported fruits were available, often year round. Most fruit trees originated in the east, especially China. (Photogolfer/Dreamstime.com)

Another common fruit mentioned in numerous stories was the pomegranate. It probably originated in Southeast Asia and made its way to the west via the pre-Persian Empire inhabitants. The Phoenicians then probably transported the pomegranates throughout the Mediterranean. The Romans like the Greeks used it not only for food but also in medicines. One of the most common fruit was the fig. They were commonly used in medicine, especially for those suffering from stomach problems. Figs became very popular and were common at most tables.

Another fruit was the olive. Olives became a staple crop in both Greece and Rome and were an important component for all aspects of society. They were consumed as fruit; in addition, its oil was used for fuel and other uses. The ancients used the oil not only for food cooking but also for soap and mainly for fuel for lamps. They were cultivated very early in history, probably first cultivated in ancient Palestine around 4,000 BCE. Although the Egyptians knew of olives and their produce early on, it was not until the New Kingdom that the gnarled olive tree was grown in Egypt. The Phoenicians carried the olive to Greece and Africa. From Greece the olive came to Italy where it was then brought to southern France. As a commodity, olive oil was traded throughout the Roman world. The oil content of the olive ranges from 8 to 20 percent of its weight, with the higher percentage being used for oil and the lower for eating. The first press or virgin oil made from the pulp of olives picked before they turned black was the most prized. This oil type could be used for dressing or dipping.

A late import for fruit in the Roman world was the apricot. This fruit originated in Armenia. Alexander the Great introduced apricot to Greece, while the Roman general Lucullus in the first century BCE, after his war with Mithridates, introduced the apricot to Italy and the Roman world. The apricot was often dried and traded throughout the Roman and Near East. One of the key characteristics of growing the tree and producing fruit is that it grows in temperate climates with enough cold weather to produce dormancy; it is more resilient than peaches. The peach originated in China and was cultivated in Persia and was transplanted to Europe by Alexander the Great. The peach tree was cultivated in Italy and can be seen in paintings from Herculaneum. The peach is the same as nectarines. Lucullus also transported the cherry tree to Rome from Asia Minor. There are both sweet cherries, eaten as fruit, and sour cherries, used in cooking. The cherry grows in temperate climates and is cultivated in the summer.

A late arriving fruit was the lemon, which is from an evergreen tree. The lemon which has 5 percent citric acid is used mainly for its juice. The fruit comes from Asia, chiefly from India, Burma, and China. Josephus mentions the lemon in Jerusalem around 90 BCE. The fruit was then introduced into Rome at least by the first century CE. Another type of citrus fruit was the citron, an inedible food. Pliny the Elder described it as an ornamental fruit.

The Romans used different fruits for numerous purposes and they were an important food group in Rome's diet and society. The average Roman had access to a variety of fruits in the local markets during season. Most, however, did not see fresh fruits out of season, especially in the rural areas and smaller towns; they were reserved for the wealthy that would have been able to afford them.

See also: *Arts:* Agricultural Treatises; *Economics and Work:* Agriculture; *Food and Drink:* Vegetables

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MEATS

The variety of meat available to the Romans depended upon their region or era. While meat was not a common dish for most poor Romans, it was, however, eaten at special events by the poor. In addition, in the city of Rome there were more opportunities for meat consumption by the average resident than in other cities due to the volume of goods. In the countryside, the farmer or shepherd often had some access to meat at different times also.

A lot of the opportunities depended upon the circumstances. While some of the Romans would have great feasts, most inhabitants were required to have their meat only on special occasions. One of the most important events would be the great public festivals when cattle and oxen were sacrificed and the meat cooked for the celebrants. The animal was led to the temple where it was ritually killed. Part of the animal was burnt for the gods, while the rest was probably boiled or grilled and served to the populace. While it is true that most Romans would not have had a steady diet of meat, they would have had some opportunities coming from these sacrifices.

While oxen are considered cattle or bovine, they are usually older animals that have been used for work. It is probable that in the early sacrifices the oxen that were offered up were the oldest and ready to be retired. Proper cattle were raised in several ways. First, like oxen, they could be kept on the farm and used for everyday tasks, especially milk. The Roman farm, however, was typically not large enough to keep a large number of cattle. Rather, the cattle were often raised in large herds on public land. Given that the city of Rome had the Forum Boarium

or cattle market, there must have been a sufficient demand for cattle in the city even in the early Republic. While the Roman authors did not spend much time talking about the recipes for meat, it is probable that many areas that did raise large numbers of cattle did cook the meat. The Roman army was also known during the imperial period to consume large quantities of beef but apparently not during the Republic. The beef was usually not roasted but boiled. Given the large amount of pasture lands in southern Italy, it is probable that beef was common enough for the sacrificial animals needed which were then consumed.

Another common meat consumed was pork. Since pigs were smaller than cattle it is more likely that they were driven to market and killed and sold daily. It is likely that it was bought by the local establishments which in turn prepared the meat and sold it to the locals. It was often common for the Romans to eat in local *taverna* or shops, which allowed the local consumers to buy a quick meal. Pigs were also kept on farms since they acted as garbage disposals, as such, like in many rural areas; pigs were slaughtered during the fall and salted to provide meals during the winter months. It was also common for the local meat merchants to make sausage with the poor cuts of pigs and sell them in their shops.

Lamb was also recorded as a meal during the ancient world. Many references have the shepherds roasting or boiling lamb. Since sheep were common and provided such necessary material as wool, the cooking of lamb was common. Given that shepherds had to survive in the countryside for months on end, lamb was probably one of their mainstay, especially during the winter months. While not as tasty as lamb, mutton or adult sheep was also eaten. This was particularly true during the times when they were sacrificed. Like cattle and oxen, sheep were one of the common animals sacrificed and then prepared for the public, often as a stew.

Unlike cattle, goat will not damage the grass it moves on. In addition, goats tend to eat things that other animals do not. They tend to consume leaves, ivy, and bark before eating grass. They often eat material like poison ivy or thistles, which humans consider a pest. With a lower fat content than beef, pork, or even chicken, goat meat was considered beneficial. For the most part, goat meat is delicate and tender except from the oldest of goats. In addition, most butchers could use nearly the entire goat while cattle had many parts not usable. Roasting or boiling the meat was more common, but it was also used in stews. Kid or the young goat was considered a delicacy.

In the countryside it was common for the Romans to eat wild animals if they could catch or hunt them. The most common animal caught and eaten was the rabbit or hare. Rabbit meat was popular since it is tasty. Like goat it has little fat and has a high amount of protein. In addition, it has a higher percentage of meat to bone than of pork or beef. It is clear from remains in Britain that ancients kept rabbits in captivity and bred them for food. In Britain, the species they introduced

were from Spain and could not survive the harsh wild winters; as such they were kept in captivity presumably for food. Wild rabbits would have been caught in snares. Another type of animal the Romans would hunt was the boar. It was common in mythology for the hero to either kill or be killed by the boar. Like these stories it was common for the rural peasants to hunt boar when available. Unlike domesticated pig, boar meat is leaner. The Romans would also hunt deer for venison but probably reserved for the wealthy who could organize the hunt.

While it is probable that most Romans did not eat meat extensively, most people probably had some meat consumption each month. In the late Empire the emperors apparently introduced as part of the dole, pork, probably cooked or salted. This would have required even more pigs to be raised in and about Rome. The pork was therefore probably the most important meat for the average Roman in the city.

See also: Arts: Agricultural Treatises; *Economics and Work*: Agriculture; *Latifundia*; Ranching; *Religion and Beliefs*: Sacrifices

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POULTRY

Poultry or bird meat was also a common foodstuff in ancient Rome. Like meat, its consumption depended upon location and time. It was cheaper and easier to obtain than beef and pork. In addition, it was common for most farmers to raise poultry, not only for their own consumption, but to sell locally. The production and keeping of barnyard fowl afforded several different types of foodstuffs.

While Varro relates the highly capitalistic raising of peacocks and other exotic varieties in aviaries, Columella describes the practical day-to-day aspect of the raising and caring for poultry. The normal barnyard fowl was the "Indian game" or bantam breed. Columella mentions three types: the barnyard, the wild, and the African. The African was the guinea-fowl, while the wild chicken was probably the domesticated birds that had escaped and reproduced. It is apparent that the Romans also participated in cross breeding since Columella recommends that Italian hens be crossed with foreign, by which he probably meant Greek, to produce

superior breeds. The purpose of this was probably to produce better egg layers or those which naturally grew larger. While Columella and Varro mention the practice of developing large flocks, the average rural farmer probably kept a dozen or so chickens. Varro and Columella give the size of the ideal flock as 200 and Columella says that one has the ratio of one cock to three to five hens depending upon the breed.

Columella goes into detail concerning the commercial production of poultry. There were to be two separate hen houses where the flock-master or *gallinarius* lived. Each nest for each hen had a separate perch and during the daytime there was to be an attached yard for the hens to exercise. It was in this space that the food and drink was kept clean and pure to prevent disease. Columella recommends that there should be fresh bedding after each egg laying to prevent vermin and fleas. For Columella the discussion is not about egg selling but rather the production of new chicks for the growth of the flock. Although his discussion is about increasing the flock, it is clear that eggs were also sold for commerce. Columella makes references that there must be great care of the birds so that they are not harmed.



Mosaic, Poultry, Istanbul, Turkey, imperial era. The Roman diet included poultry since it was easy and economical for families to raise. Chickens were the most prevalent type of poultry raised, although ducks and geese were also commonly kept. Since poultry was cheaper than beef or pork, it was the most common meat in the Roman peasant diet. (Petitfrere/Dreamstime.com)

Columella and Varro diverge on the food to be given to the fowl. Columella was concerned with the farmer's budget, while Varro discussed the types of food that can fatten the bird. Millet was the best but should only be given when the price was low. When millet is not available then wheat-chaff and bran could be used. Unlike modern hen houses used in commercial enterprises where the hen is not allowed to move about but remains in cramped quarters, Columella advised that the hen houses be spacious so as to allow the hens some freedom of movement in their nests. He recommends that the houses be protected from hawks and eagles by having nets hung above so that they could not attack. Columella remarked how important it was for the *gallinarius* to keep watch and ensure that the flock was protected lest there be too much loss and his expense outweighs the profits.

Since it was crucial for the flock to be continually increased it was important for care to be taken for the laying of eggs and care of the chicks. The hens, even the old ones used to sit on the eggs, needed to have extra feed. The hens were given barley that increased egg production. Columella recommends that detailed records be maintained to ensure profitability. He recommends that good nursing hens that can look after up to 30 chicks be employed and several broods be made from the good hens. In addition, the fattened animals would also be used for the public festivals. The *gallinarius* was also to keep watch over the eggs, first by removing the infertile ones by testing them by suspending them in water or for transparency exposed to light; he condemned shaking them. He recommends that the bedding be fumigated after the chicks are born to prevent pest. Chicks should be kept in the hen house for 40 days to prevent them from being infected. The danger was from pip, which although is not a disease but a disorder of the liver, and was usually from cold or bad feed. Once past this 40-day period, animals would be sold at the regular markets for regular consumption.

Columella also provides reference to the raising of other poultry namely ducks and geese in the same way. It is therefore probable that the rearing of ducks and geese played a similar role as that of chickens. Geese needed lots of water and grass and Columella stated that they were not profitable on closely planted lands; however, he indicated that they require little work and provide good profits. The goslings were for the luxury markets, while the feathers that were plucked twice a year were used for bedding. Although containing higher fat level they were seen more as delicacies for the well to do table than the average Roman. In addition, there was the commercial raising of doves, which allowed for a highly productive market since they too were considered a delicacy and were affordable.

There were other birds that the Romans would also eat, mainly specialties such as crane, ostriches, and peacock. Like doves some of these birds were raised in penned quarters for the tables of the rich. Some of the wild birds that were taken and occasionally raised were pheasant and partridge.

The average Roman had access to chicken and probably it was the most common meat that they would eat, surpassing even pork and beef. An easy animal to raise and reproduce, the poultry market provided the Romans with a constant supply of food.

See also: *Arts*: Agricultural Treatises; *Economics and Work*: Agriculture; *Latifundia*

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ROMAN DINNERWARE

What people eat on or dinnerware is often instructive of their social, economic, and general outlook on life and can be seen as a statement of their own property and social standing. Those who do not care if the plates match or if they are chipped, are often criticized as uncouth, while they might view themselves as indifferent, conservative, or frugal. Those who use expensive china or silver might see themselves as the height of society, while others might say they are putting on airs, arrogant. The Romans were not different. The type of plates and dinnerware varied extensively.

Although the wealthy Romans would arrange themselves around a table, most of the serving of food was done by servants. It was customary to have a table where wine and food could be stored, a *mensa* and the best quality was made of citrus wood since it did not mark or stain with wine. A round table or *orbis* could be nearly 4 feet in diameter and hold extensive supplies. Originally, the tableware would have been made of clay. In fact, most people would have continued to use clay since it was easy to make and obtain and generally inexpensive. It was probably from the Greeks during the time of conquest that the Romans would have been introduced to silver or pewter and then later glass. These acquisitions often brought about a competition among the families and it was common for them to acquire whole collections and display them in cupboards and sideboards called *mensae repositoriis*. The cabinets with shelves were called *abacus* similar to the counting board of the same name. The Romans writers were not direct in their typology leaving many terms to be interpreted. For example, the Romans used the

word *vasa* that could mean vase, pot, cooking pot, chamber pot, and so forth. *Fictilis* could mean cup, dish, pot, and so forth. *Vasa encariis* typically meant a dinner plate but could also mean a bowl. While it might be difficult to clearly delineate the definitions, one should remember that the modern use of bowl could mean a cereal bowl, soup bowl, serving bowl, or even a storage bowl.

A *patina* seems to have been a piece of dinnerware from which the Romans ate from. Although they were usually small, enough for one person, some are known to have been quite large. Asprenas was said to have had one large enough to feed 130 guests, to poison them; then Vitellius had one so large that it had to be built outdoors and was said to be as broad as a marsh, a play on words since a *patina* was used to serve fish and lampreys. The *catinus* was used only at the table and was not adorned; it was most likely only made of clay and was a simple bowl. From the literary references it was a bowl that could serve porridge or other sauces or items that had a lot of juice that could then be absorbed by bread. The bowl is the common type found in archaeological sites. It is concave with a small raised rim. A smaller version was called a *catillus*.

Since Roman food courses were served one at a time it was not necessary for them to be as large as today when often all of the meal is placed on one dish. Instead, one used a different plate each time. The *scutella* and *paropsis* were small plates for one course. The *scutella* were often misspelled as *scutula* similar to *scutulam*, the word for small shield that is probably what the *scutella* looked like. The *paropsis* seems to have been deeper and more like a bowl. Martial describes how a servant carried a *paropsis* full of fish sauce to her mistress who gulped it down in one take indicating that it could not have been flat since it would have sloshed out and the gulping in one take would probably indicate that it was fairly small. It appears to have been used for small amounts of delicacies.

Accompanying their meal meant the drinking of wine and the Romans had a variety of cups and goblets with the terms *potoria* and *pocula*. An inexpensive cup would have been the *calix*, made of clay. They did not have bases but had floral scenes indicative of the word *calix*. Since they were used at baths and in taverns it stands to reason that they were stacked and the servants could not have cared if they were handled roughly. As such they did not have stems or handles that could break easily. Some of the *calices* the emperors or wealthy individuals had were made of crystal or glass. Silver examples with ornate figures and dedications clearly had a religious connotation, probably to serve wine to the gods at sacrifice. A larger goblet with two handles was the *cantharus* from the Greek *kantharos* and similarly used. The *scyphus* from the Greek *skyphos* was a more common cup. It had two handles below the rim and was small. By imperial times, it had two vertical handles with thumb holders and is commonly seen in archaeological sites. The outside of the *scyphus* typically had reliefs of mythological or vineyard

scenes. The *patera* and *phiala* were other examples of drinking cups. A *calathus* from the Greek *kalathos* was a deep goblet. Many of these were richly ornate and later ones made of glass.

The Romans used a variety of materials with clay, the *terra sigillata* being the most common. Many of these dinnerwares were painted exquisitely and must have cost as much if not more than metal plates. The use of silver increased during the second century BCE, but unlike modern times they did not have forks, rather they preferred to use their fingers to tear pieces from the main dish and eat by hand. Silver generally went into plate and bowls. However, spoons made of silver have also been found. The Romans also used jewels, crystal, and gold for their dinnerware. During the last century of the Republic and into the Empire the use of glass became more popular. Although still expensive, it was possible for the middle class to afford it. Glass plates, bowls, and cups were often hand blown or made from molds. By the early first century CE Pliny the Elder indicated that glass had replaced silver as the favorite medium for goblets. Although glass could crack if hot liquids were added, it appears from Pliny that glass was commonly used for hot or at least warm drinks. This was usually achieved by pouring the cool wine in first and then adding the hot water rather than the other way around.

Roman dinnerware was able to accommodate all elements of society and provide for the banqueters and guests at their tables. The remains found at archaeological sites provide a clearer understanding of what was used and its great variety.

See also: *Economics and Work*: Industry; *Food and Drink*: Roman Kitchens; Serving; *Science and Technology*: Metallurgy; Roman Glass

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ROMAN KITCHENS

The preparation of food varied according to one's economic position. For the poor individual who lived in the apartment houses kitchens were not there in their own

apartments. There may have been communal kitchens located either on the ground floor or in a separate area near the building. This was done so that individuals would not burn the apartment house down. The Roman kitchen or *culina* was often the main part of the house in the rural setting. Typically, these houses were fairly small with the kitchen or central hearth used not only for cooking but for heat. The hearth and kitchen were in the living/dining/bedroom. In other words, the kitchen was the center room in a small peasant home. The larger peasants' rural homes may have had separate kitchen and living rooms. In these cases the kitchen was fairly small in the back of the house. The cook, *coquus* or *cocus*, in a large Roman house would have been a slave, while for poor peasants, either in the city or rural regions, would typically have been a woman. In larger houses the Romans would use charcoal to fuel their fires and if they could not afford they would use wood that burns faster and is therefore not as efficient. The larger Roman homes traditionally had the hearth with the open roof known as the *atrium* or black part since it acted as a chimney to let the smoke out. Later the *atrium* became the living room and the hearth was moved to the newly constructed kitchen.

The Roman kitchens for the elites were not the spacious rooms that exist today. Whereas the home might have been large with numerous rooms and open spaces, the kitchens were usually small and often located near the latrines. They were meant to be out of sight and used by the cooks and their associates or helpers, usually slaves. The kitchens were equipped but cramped and were located near the main dining room, the *triclinium*. The center of the kitchen would have been the open fire place and built-in stove. The fire place allowed for roasting and suspending large pots over the flame for boiling and cooking. The stove or *focus* was made of cement and another type was the *camminus* that had a chimney. These kitchens had a stove usually made of bricks with a stone top. The fire was usually made of charcoal, which allowed the stove's stone top to become hot enough for an extended period of time to cook. Remains of stoves also show that in some areas they were formed into a rock with two holes on top so that pots could be placed over and get warm. They would have also used iron tripods to hold the pots over the open flame or charcoal fire. These stoves allowed the porridge to be heated and if food needed to be fried or boiled to be easily done. The oven or *furnus* was made of terracotta tiles and rubble from pots and was shaped like a small beehive in which a flue exited at the top and an opening in the front. The charcoal was burned so that the terracotta would become hot and after the ashes were raked out the meat, bread, or pastries would be put inside and the top covered to retain the heat. There were even portable ovens made of terracotta, bronze, or iron, which were smaller and were probably used for cooking small amounts of vegetables or pastries. Warming trays or double saucepans have also been found suggesting a high level of knowledge of keeping foods warm and for cooking.



Fresco, Roman kitchen, Pompeii, Italy, ca. 70 CE. The Roman kitchen was originally the central hearth for the family for warmth and cooking. During the Republic the houses of the wealthy, seen here on this fresco, began to have more elaborate kitchens with stoves and ovens. Always a potential fire hazard, many Roman kitchens were located in the rear of the house. (Miroslav Pinkava/Dreamstime.com)

The kitchen would have also had wooden or stone tables for the preparation of the food. Like a modern kitchen these tables would have been about waist height and probably oblong about 3 to 4 feet long. Larger kitchens would have had spits to roast larger animals such as boars or pigs over a wood fire. Remains in the ancient city of Karanis in Egypt contain ceramic serving dishes and storage containers, which show evidence that they were all from the same kitchen and were used for storing and serving food. The pots and jars were made in Karanis and the evidence suggests that they were made locally. Since these dishes were easily made and readily available, it is most likely that most kitchens could use them as disposable cookware since cleaning them would have been difficult. Most likely most kitchen dishes and storage containers were made locally for most houses. Like in all societies certain equipment would have been standard and have been found at archaeological sites. Colanders and strainers were used to help prepare vegetables and other materials. Skillets and saucepans were used to fry and boil food on the stove. Pastry cutters and serving trays have been found in sites. They are similar to the ones used in modern kitchens. The frying pan or *fretale* made of

bronze and a cover with a lip for pouring have been found. Iron trays were used for roasting. Serving dishes such as *patellae* and *patinae* that could be used in the oven were also used for serving the food.

Some of the larger houses would have also had a bakery attached to the kitchen. It would contain a mill to grind the wheat into flour and a baker's oven to make the round flat bread and even pastries. In the larger houses, the bathhouse and the house's toilet would be located nearby so that the kitchen and bath/toilet could make use of the same water and sewer lines.

As with all societies the preparation of food was essential. For the Romans who could have a kitchen it saved time and money compared to the apartment dweller who had to purchase prepared food. Like in modern times this increased prices. The kitchens allowed families to not only entertain but keep costs down.

See also: *Food and Drink: Roman Dinnerware; Housing and Community: Apartments; City Houses; Public Dangers; Rural Houses*

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RURAL ELITE DIET

Wealthy Romans who had a rural estate were often better provided for than their urban counterparts, even if they were the same person. The owner was usually a wealthy statesman who owned several farms throughout Italy as well as several homes in Rome. The owner would often live on his estates almost as a guest traveling from one farm to another to ensure that the farm was making its share of the profits to support him and his family. When he visited his farms he expected that he would be entertained.

The rural estates provided the owner with fresher foods than in the city and probably allowed for a more healthy diet. Bread was still the common component of the meal for all Romans. While the rural workers and slaves ate rustic or country bread, the owner would eat fine white bread. The rustic or country bread was made from whole grains or spelt and was probably healthier. The fine white

bread was made from well ground fine flour, often viewed as sweet cakes; like modern processed white bread it did not contain as many nutrients as rustic bread. The typical meal would have olives picked from the local fields. Although grapes could be consumed either fresh or dried, they were usually used for wine. There was more profit for the owner to turn the grapes into wine than to transport them to market and sell them.

The owner would then eat a variety of foods not given to the rural workers. While beef was not usually eaten except for special occasions, the owner often ate pork, poultry, and fish. Pork was the most common type of meat with over 50 different ways to cook it. While it was not usually grilled, more commonly boiled, pork was easily obtainable with pigs usually kept on site. While goat meat was eaten by the lower classes and the rural workers, it was usually not eaten by the wealthy. Instead it was common for the owner to have lamb that was tenderer than mutton or goat. The largest and most important meal was the *cena* that was usually eaten at night; it was here that the owner would eat with his guests and family the best and choicest varieties. The dinner recipes of Apicius show that the pork was often prepared in elaborate ways. The owner would often have a variety of poultry also available for his consumption. Some of the birds available on the farms were chickens, the most common, pigeons or squab kept on the larger farms that had aviaries, geese that required little care, unlike chickens, and ducks for those who had lakes and streams. Many Romans living in the countryside would also hunt wild animals that provided them with more exotic meals.

Common wild animals included wild boar, a particular delicacy, deer and in some regions bear were also commonly hunted, although the latter more by chance than for food. The Roman owner would also hunt wild birds including ducks, cranes, partridge, and snipe. The recipes in Apicius show that these were again delicacies prized by the Romans.

The Roman landowner would often eat fish if his estate was near the sea or a port town. If not, the owner might have a fish farm. In the late Republic the fish farm was known in Italy with their popularity being at the height from about 50 BCE to 50 CE. These were conspicuous displays of wealth, which allowed the owner not only to have uncommon varieties but also to show his culinary skills. These *piscinae* or fish farms were taken over by the emperors especially after Augustus. Many of the fishponds were located near the seaside villas in coastal areas in inlets or lagoons. The freshwater ponds were constructed near the villas and were easier to care for than the salt water ponds.

These salt water ponds were expensive to build and maintain since they required the owner to constantly modify and keep an eye on the changing seacoast. It was still important to have a supply of freshwater for these coastal ponds since

freshwater was used to alter the salinity, temperature, and control the brackish mix that fish liked. These fishponds were quite expensive and although they were ostensibly constructed to make money, they usually ruined the owner financially. They were, however, a point of pride for the owner and they were often seen as a sign of their wealth and ostentatious display of greed. These fishponds were usually constructed with hydraulic cement. This use of the cement also allowed the construction of moles that the owner could construct. This allowed him to own the sea as well, as stipulated in Roman law.

The Romans would eat a variety of fish that they either caught or raised, both fresh and salt water. The Romans prized the red mullet the most which could fetch thousands of *sesterces*. While fresh fish was expensive it was highly prized by the wealthy landowner who had a better chance of getting it fresh at his country estate than in the city.

One of the highlights of the wealthy landowner was his ability to drink the wines from his own estate. The growth of grapes and the creation of wineries were seen as one of the benefits of owning an estate. In addition to being extremely profitable, the production of wine served the owner and his estate.

The diet of the rural landowner allowed for fresher foods than his city counterpart. While the rural landowner might have a limited variety at times, he was also able to have some wild delicacies not seen in the city, or at least not available for a cheap price. The diet of the wealthy was tied to his ability to enjoy his estate. He of course did not have to worry about supplying the table rather that was left to his staff. His life was more of a vacation.

See also: *Economics and Work:* Agriculture; *Food and Drink:* Banquets; Delicacies; Dining while Traveling; Dinner Party; Fish; Food Preservation; Food Servers; Fruits; Meats; Poultry; Roman Dinnerware; Serving; Spices; State Banquets; Urban Elite Diet; Vegetables; Wine; *Recreation and Social Customs:* Adolescent; Etiquette; Festivals, Private; Leisure; Pleasures

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RURAL PEASANT DIET

The Romans had a variety of meals based upon their location and social class. For the rural diet of the daily worker or farm laborer, much of it depended upon the time of year and the availability of local foodstuffs. The meals were set out over the day based upon the sun's position. In other words during the summer the meals were spread out longer than during the winter when sunlight was less. This also corresponded to their ability to work in the fields.

The first meal of the day was the *jentaculum* or breakfast normally held at dawn or within an hour afterward. It was custom for the Romans to have bread at breakfast. Often this bread was merely leftovers from the previous day's dinner. The bread was coarse and probably a bit stale, but that was taken care of by dipping it in wine, water, or oil. If the family had cheese, olives, or raisins they would often add them to the meal. Bread, in the form of round loaves, was either baked at home or obtained from the bakeries in the nearby town or city.

One of the common extra food sources was cheese, a common food easy to store. During the period before the foundation of Rome, cheese making had developed so that by the time of the Roman state it had advanced similar to that of modern times. Cheese was exported and traded throughout the Roman world. One of the common cheeses was Pecorino Romano, a salted and strong cheese. The cheese is made from sheep milk. Some cheese was made from goat's milk, something done since the early Greek period. The first step is to coagulate the milk into curds, which was done by adding rennet or an enzyme that coagulates warm milk; the Romans used an extract from the fig trees bark. Feta cheese was probably the first common cheese and was easily made. Taking goat's milk one added the rennet and after an hour or so it formed into a curd; after setting for a short time the curd was then stirred and the whey expelled. The cheese was drained through cheesecloth for several hours. The cheese was then salted and made ready for storage. This product and process were followed by the rural peasant since they would have had either goats or sheep. It is probable that the rural worker had a better breakfast than his city counterpart.

The next meal was the *prandium* or *cibus meridianus* or lunch that was served around the sixth hour. The lunch meal often became a light meal in the city, but in the countryside it was important. Originally lunch, the main meal in antiquity, now gave way to dinner or *cena* that became the heaviest meal of the day. Lunch was still often the most important meal for the rural worker since it was eaten after hard work in the field; for the urban peasant, it was not as heavy or important. This meal often was a conglomeration of the previous day's leftovers, especially any meats or fish sauces. It was common for the Romans to eat eggs, bread, and cheese with their leftovers. The Romans would often boil the eggs and

then slice them up. The eggs were seasoned with a variety of other foodstuffs, such as honey, pepper, celery, and either sauce or salt. The *prandium* became the lunch meal in the city, but for the rural countryside it was called the *cena* and was still the main meal of the day. It was often a porridge made of crushed grains and occasionally the Romans added other foods to give it flavor or more nutritious benefits. Cato who lived in the second century BCE gave two recipes for porridge. The fancy porridge or Phoenician probably came from the Punic lands and had honey, eggs, and cheese. The recipe for Punic porridge was, soak a pound of groats in water until it is quite soft. Pour it into a clean bowl, add 3 pounds of fresh cheese, half pound of honey, and one egg, and then mix the whole batch thoroughly; afterward pour into a new pot (Cato #85). The more common or Roman porridge involved milk and grain. The recipe for wheat pap was pour half pound of clean wheat into a clean bowl, wash well, remove the husk thoroughly, and clean well. Pour into a pot with pure water and boil. When done, add milk slowly until it makes a thick cream (Cato #86). This main meal or *cena* might also contain meat if available. It was common for this heavy meal to have fish if available or fish sauce. The meal would of course have wine, since it was better than water that was often polluted. The meal was important since it allowed the worker to revive himself for the afternoon work. It was common for the worker to then take a break or siesta.

For the rural worker, the final meal was a light meal known as the *vesperna*. In the city it was replaced by the larger meal the *cena*, but in the rural areas this meal was probably again a light meal of cereal. The *vesperna* was to take away the hunger pains; although it was often not enough to ensure that the individual could go all night without pains. The diet of the rural laborer was more nutritious than that of the poor city worker. Although it was not as full or expansive as the meal of the elite, it did allow the peasant to survive, providing that the crops came in without issue.

See also: *Economics and Work:* Agriculture; *Latifundia*; Ranching; *Food and Drink:* Beer; Cereals; Fish; Fruits; Meats; Poultry; Rural Elite Diet; Urban Poor Diet; Vegetables; Wine; *Science and Technology:* Roman Time Keeping

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SERVING

The Roman houses of the rich had servants who would serve the guests as they ate. These servants could move easily about the room due to the makeup of the dining room with a table surrounded on three sides by the couches, with spaces in between, as well as an open space on one side of the table. The room was often surrounded by tables of varying sizes to hold drinks, separate courses, and other goods. The servants would continuously move about the room serving the dinner. The serving dishes, those brought from the kitchen to the dining room were originally called *magides*, but during the last century of the Republic they were called *lanx* which Pliny the Elder said came from *lances* which were the trays on a scale. They appear to have been flat and could hold a large quantity of food. They were definitely larger than the plates that the guest ate off since one *lanx* could hold a large number of crabs, oysters, a whole boiled calf, 2-pound mullet, or even all of the vegetables for the dinner party. These large serving trays were known to weigh over 100 pounds with some weighing as much as 500 pounds; this large one was usually part of set in which the eight other smaller serving dishes weighed 250 pounds each. Martial indicated that they were hollowed out, but this probably refers to a rim to keep the materials from sliding off. They were known to carry several goblets so again they must have been fairly large.

Another set of serving ware would have been the *holetar*, *gabatas*, and especially the *discus* that must have been a round platter. The *patella* was used to serve fine food, but it was also a cooking vessel. It was used over a fire so it must have had a handle and was probably not too deep, in other words similar to a modern skillet. The word is a diminutive of *patera* meaning a bowl that was used by the priests when they did their sacrifices. The *patera* must have been larger than the *patella* since they were used at official sacrifices, while the *patella* was used in the house for the sacrifices by the family to the *lares*. In addition, as a plate the *patina* was also used as a cooking and serving dish. It was made of clay or bronze and could be placed directly over the charcoal fires. The *patina* appears to have been deep enough so that apples could be put into one and a second one turned upside down as a lid on top of it and the whole apparatus put into a wooden box for shipping.

The *calix* in addition to being a drinking goblet for the table could also be a ladle, used to boil liquid medicine or measure out kitchen materials. Here it would have had a handle while the table ware did not. From Pompeii an excavated kitchen had a *terra sigilata calix* with a long handle for cooking, while another had slots and numbers indicating that it was a measuring cup. The *cyathus* was in Greek and later Roman times a ladle for the dipping of wine, it also was mentioned as a unit of measure and a measuring cup. The *cyathus* could be held in the



Roman mosaic, imperial era. Wealthy Roman households usually had trained slaves to serve meals. Here a slave is serving wine to his mistress and master at a meal or party. For these celebrations the slave was expected not to be seen or noticed. (Izanbar/Dreamstime.com)

palm of one hand; and probably one too many drinkers would have used the *cynthia* instead of their goblet to drink from after filling it from a serving bowl. The *capsis* was also a wine ladle, although it seems to have been used more in sacred settings. These ladles were used to dip wine out of amphora and in the New Testament there is the story of the wine steward who tastes the wine to ensure it is good; he is probably using this type of ladle. The large bowl from which wine was dipped was the *krater* into which the wine from amphora was poured, while another *krater* had the water and the two were mixed in their cup. The Greeks, however, tended to mix the water and wine together in one *krater*. This Roman phenomenon prevented everyone from drinking from the same *krater* and also allowed for individual wine strength since one could regulate the amount of wine and water. This of course also allowed complaints to arise that the host kept the best pitchers of wine for himself and the guests had lesser or inferior wines from separate pitchers.

It is clear that in serving their food the Romans had to take into account the movement from the kitchen to the dining room. While the food would have been hot or warm in the kitchen, for it to be served warm in the dining room it would have been necessary for it to be eaten quickly. While it is known that like modern

times some people do not eat right away or that the second course might be ready, but the guest have not yet finished with the first, it was necessary to have a way to keep the food warm in the dining room so that it could be served at any time. The Romans created several different types of warmers. One was shaped like a fortress with hinged roof so that when opened the small dishes could be placed inside. The hot water underneath circulated through the hollow walls of the warming dish keeping all sides warm. There were other dishes that kept food and wine warm strongly indicating that the food cooled quickly from the kitchen to the dining room to the serving tables.

The Roman guest at great banquets undoubtedly did not have to worry so much about being served since the master's slaves and servants would have made sure that all was right. The dishes would have been kept warm with small warming trays heated by charcoal braziers and larger warming trays and hot water circulating about. But for the average citizen the food served would have been much different. If he was lucky to bring home from a tavern a warm dish it would have been cold by the time he and his family sat down. He would have been lucky to have had more than two courses, most likely just one with some vegetables and bread, probably served on one dish, if at all. Like most inhabitants he would have had a clay plate or more likely a clay bowl so that he could eat either liquids like porridge or solids like vegetables and maybe some bread and cheese. The serving of food in these homes was very simple but yet common and effective.

See also: *Economics and Work:* Industry; *Food and Drink:* Food Servers; Roman Kitchens; *Science and Technology:* Roman Glass

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SPICES

Like modern society, Roman cooks used a variety of spices and herbs to enhance the taste of their food. Many of these spices could be obtained locally, while others came from great distances and cost considerable amounts of money. The types of

spices used by the Romans would of course vary depending upon their own location, class, and wealth and what types of qualities existed.

Basil or sweet basil was known to the Romans even though it grew in India. Typically, it is used late in the cooking since it will lose its taste in water. Basil will grow in warm temperatures such as in the Mediterranean region and was probably imported from India. Cardamom is also native to India and was known and used by the ancient societies. It is a member of the ginger family. It was known in the Mediterranean region since the Mycenaean age in Greece and it was then introduced into Italy. The seeds were often grounded up to produce the spice, although they often lost their flavor if taken from their pods and not used immediately. Ginger was also exported from India to Rome and used extensively. A warming spice from the same family as cardamom, it effectively disappeared from Europe after Rome fell. Likewise, coming from India and known by the Romans were cloves, the dried flower buds of an evergreen tree. It was used to flavor meat dishes. They came from the Maluku Islands and were extremely rare and valuable. Another Indian spice much valued by the Romans was pepper. Black pepper is mentioned in many of Apicius's recipes and was probably an expensive spice. Most of the pepper came to Rome via the Red Sea trade and Egypt. Black pepper was the cheapest, while long and white pepper were triple and double its price but readily available.

Bay leaves were indigenous to the Mediterranean and were commonly used in cooking. The bay laurel was used either fresh or dried. The fresh leaves are not as strong as those left to dry for several weeks. Typically, they were put in stews or liquid dishes whole to add flavor and often removed before eating since they can cause some discomfort if eaten; ground leaves, however, can be added to food stocks and eaten without causing any issues. Coming from an evergreen shrub or tree they were common throughout the Mediterranean. It was known as laurel by the Greeks and Romans. The leaves were also used in ceremonies as a wreath for victors in both Greece and Rome. Coriander or cilantro is native to the Mediterranean region. It is an annual herb that grows about 2 feet high. The fresh leaves and dried seeds are used in cooking. It grows wild all over the Mediterranean and was popularly used like bay leaves. In the eastern Mediterranean, cumin and other common spices are grown, where its seeds, both whole and grounded up, are used. It is a member of the parsley family and was commonly added to stews. Common in the western Mediterranean is dill, its leaves, either in fresh or dried form, also adds flavor. It is similar to caraway, which is also grown in the west, and both were typically used to add flavor in dishes.

From the eastern Mediterranean was horseradish that the Greeks viewed as worth its weight in gold. Pliny probably used the name *amoracia* recommending

it for medicinal purposes. The plant grows about 5 feet tall; its roots are used. Mint or *mentha* is an aromatic perennial herb that likes moist areas, although they can grow in full sun. Fresh leaves are used for cooking. Another common Mediterranean well-known herb is mustard. Its small seeds were ground up to provide flavor. Parsley was used as a spice, herb, and vegetable and was indigenous throughout the Mediterranean. Its green leaves are used in cooking; it adds flavor. A woody evergreen plant used as an herb is rosemary, a member of the mint family; it was called *anthos* by the Greeks since it did not need water except from atmospheric humidity. The fresh and dried leaves were used to flavor dishes such as meat and chicken. Another common evergreen is sage which was used more as a diuretic. Thyme, another evergreen grown throughout the Mediterranean, was used to purify rooms, often burned as incense, but it did give flavor to cheeses. Apicius also mentions thyme as an herb in cooking. Savory was used as an herb and combined with vinegar as a sauce for fish. Oregano is a mint also in the Mediterranean and used for flavor, its leaves are more pungent when dried than fresh.

A spice well known but very expensive was cinnamon from Sri Lanka. It comes from the inner bark of the tree. True cinnamon came from Sri Lanka, while cassia came from a similar tree in Arabia and Ethiopia. Cassia was imported to Egypt from Ethiopia and is mentioned in the Old Testament. That the two were distinguished is seen in an inscription to Apollo at his temple at Miletus where both cinnamon and cassia are recorded. Cinnamon was viewed as a royal and divine spice since it was so expensive. Pliny the Elder mentions that cassia was used to flavor wine.

A spice from Central Asia that ultimately made its way to the west is garlic, a member of the onion family. It was known to have been cultivated in early Egypt. It is easily grown; in the Mediterranean it grows year round. Its bulb is what is commonly used in cooking with its sections or cloves being crushed or used whole to flavor. It was commonly eaten by the Romans as a medicine to prevent certain disorders. From Africa came sesame that was used not only as a spice but also as oil by the Romans. The seeds were often used in desserts.

The Romans had a wide variety of spices and herbs available for their table and from these they were able to flavor their foods. While some were available to the common person, such as sage, thyme, rosemary, dill, garlic, bay, and coriander that grew in most areas of the Mediterranean, the expensive and highly sought after spices such as cinnamon, pepper, and ginger from India and the east were only for the tables and kitchens of the wealthy.

See also: *Arts*: Pliny the Elder; *Economics and Work*: Shopkeepers; Trade; *Food and Drink*: Trade Routes; *Recreation and Social Customs*: Travel

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STATE BANQUETS

Public banquets had always been held in Rome. The great festivals and sacrifices were used as opportunities for the public to come together to celebrate common feasts and events. These festivals became an opportunity for eating, drinking, and celebrating. During the Republic, wealthy families would entertain their clients at banquets that were used not only for commemorating their family events but also allowed these important families to strengthen their clientage and the continued support and use of patronage. When the Empire came into existence the emperor replaced the wealthy individual as the patron.

The rise of the emperors created stories of great debaucheries and celebrations. These stories were in part due to the natural tendency of individuals to sensationalize and gossip the lifestyles of the rich and powerful. It is clear that these banquets were more than just an opportunity for food. Many of the banquets became the settings for political events and discussion. Rome became the center of the Empire and as such exotic goods came from all over the world. The consumption of rare and exotic goodies allowed one to have fame and status. If it was the emperor, he could boast of the Empire's power and extent; if it was a wealthy individual, he could show his wealth and hopefully obtain prestige. One of the most famous examples was the Emperor Vitellius who had foods from all over the Empire brought together, including flamingo tongues, put on a tray and then ate them all. The recipe called "Shield of Minerva the Protectress of the City" was made from pike-livers, pheasant-brains, peacock-brains, flamingo-tongues, and lamprey-milt which were collected from all corners of the Empire and brought to Rome by naval captains. What is interesting though is that there tends to be a general absence of the descriptions of the food mentioned by the writers. Plutarch, a Roman Greek in the second century CE, wrote on table talks but barely mentioned the food served.

While the emperors were said to have great banquets, there were stories that contradict this. Tiberius who was appalled at the high price of fish, three had sold

for 100 gold pieces each, attempted to curb such debaucheries, and he often served left overs for banquets or only one side of boar. Caligula in contrast gave banquets. When he noticed that a knight or senator enjoyed himself eating, he sent them his own plate. But Caligula also was known for creating new extravagances including unique or unnatural dishes and drinks. Claudius was known for giving state banquets. Often these had over 600 guests. These were probably state banquets for the celebration of some aspect of the imperial family and Rome. One such banquet was held near Lake Fucine when it was drained. He, however, required his family to dine with him in the traditional family style indicating that most of the time he ate only with a few guests. Vitellius was said to have banqueted three or four times a day. He would eat at almost any time and did not observe formalities. These examples were again to produce sensationalism and did not reflect the everyday practice.

The Romans imported foods that were seen as delicacies from throughout the Empire and beyond. For example, the best plums came from Syria, while the second best came from Spain. The Romans also imported foods from beyond the Empire. Luxury goods such as pepper came from India via the Red Sea. The city would receive cinnamon and wine from oversea. The goods received throughout the Empire and beyond were not for everyday consumption but rather for exotic feasts and banquets.

What was more important was the company that these banquets provided. For imperial banquets the guests were only for the elites. At the top and enjoying most of the riches were the wealthy and powerful. These were the individuals that played an important role in the decision making of the Empire. In addition to the emperor this group would include his commander of the guard, generals, advisors, and important senators who were often seen as yes-men for the emperor but could be important councilors. The second group would have been senators who probably did not have as close a relationship with the emperor but who needed to be seen so as to continue in their good graces. The final group would have been important *equites* who kept the Empire's economy running. Although this group was not usually known well by the emperor, his advisors would have known them and they would have made sure that the emperor acknowledged them and they in turn would have been glad to receive the emperor's favor. Finally foreign dignitaries were seated.

Wealthy individuals would still continue to hold parties for their clients and friends. While during the Republic and into the Empire attempts were made to restrict the luxury of banquets by limiting costs, types of food served, and even who could attend, for the most part they failed. The clients were pleased to receive some meal or handout, while their wealthier colleagues enjoyed the opportunity to receive information and contacts. Usually there was a pecking order for the guests

and the types of food received. Many of the wealthy used the banquets to hand out more extensive alms than the normal *sportula*. These poor guests usually sat at the lowest tables and were given inferior food. They were made to feel their place. This was a common occurrence, although the more refined guests, like Pliny, did not approve; Pliny wrote “I invite my guests to dine and not to be humiliated” (2.6.3).

The banquets were meant to provide not only meals but also social settings. The meals were able to bring the different classes together and allow the institution of clientage and patronage at all levels of function.

See also: *Economics and Work*: Agriculture; *Food and Drink*: Banquets; Delicacies; Dinner Party; Food Servers; Roman Dinnerware; Rural Elite Diet; Serving; Urban Elite Diet; *Housing and Community*: Palaces; *Recreation and Social Customs*: Etiquette; Festivals, Private; Leisure; Public Festivals at Rome

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TRADE ROUTES

Trade routes refer to both land and sea routes that allowed goods and information to come and go, in and out, of the Roman world. The land routes were best known from the east coming from China and India, the Near East from Persia and Arabia, and the south from Nubia and sub-Saharan. The sea routes refer to the Mediterranean and Black Seas routes around the coastlines and across the sea and the northern European Sea routes along the North Sea as well as the river routes in Germany and Poland. The land and sea routes provided contact not only with the Roman inhabitants but also with the peoples beyond the Roman world.

The overland routes to the east had several starting and ending points. The great trading posts or *emporia* were designed to be centers of commerce. For the most part they had developed over time as natural sites for the trade centers. A key city was Antioch. The city was the final stopping point for the overland route coming

out of Persia. The route from the east started in China and India. From China and Mongolia, the route led south from Ferghana to Bukhara to Merv; from India the route led through Bactria and into Merv where the two routes joined and went to the city of Ecbatana, one of the ancient Persian capitals in the Zagros Mountains then under the Parthians and later Persians during Roman times. From there, it went west to Seleucia on the Tigris River and Ctesiphon, the old Parthian capital, and then into Palmyra. Until its conquest by Rome, Palmyra was the demarcation point between the Roman west leading to Antioch and the Persian/Parthian east. These routes together are often referred to as the Silk Road since it originated in China.

The city of Petra also acted as the demarcation point between the Romans and Arabs. Routes coming through the Arabian Desert would terminate at Petra where the goods were then transported overland to ports on the Mediterranean. One route went to Gaza on the Mediterranean while another went north to Damascus and then into Antioch. The route to Damascus also went east to Palmyra and then to the Parthian kingdom. The goods coming from Arabia especially incense and other spices were highly regarded and valuable. Goods coming from India by boat using the prevailing trade winds also ended up in Arabia and were transported overland or they arrived at ports on the eastern part of Arabia and the Persian gulf and traveled to Babylon and then to the west. The port of Spasinu was the most important center for this region. Goods were sent to Duro-Europus on the Euphrates and then by caravan overland to the Mediterranean ports or to Ctesiphon on the Tigris and then to Palmyra. The routes from Arabia also led to the Red Sea where the port of Aqaba was crucial and from here the goods were packed on camels to the north to the Mediterranean. In time Rome controlled many of these sites taking Palmyra, Petra, Duro-Europus, and Aqaba from native kingdoms and turning them into *emporia*. The routes from India also landed on the east coast of Egypt and Somalia where they again were transported across land to the Nile River and then taken downstream to Alexandria where they could be sent throughout the Mediterranean world. Although the Romans may have had conflicts with the Parthians, Persians, and Arab kingdoms, the trade between them was crucial and usually merchants from each political state were allowed to carry on a trade.

The Romans inherited the trade routes in Egypt coming from the south from Nubia and other places from the Greeks and native Egyptians who had cultivated them earlier. One route was the Nile River where goods had been transported since the times of the Pharaohs. The Greeks who had colonized the north coast of Africa, especially at Cyrene, also opened up the trade with the south with camel caravans who traveled through the desert via the oasis at Siwah and then to Cyrene.

The Romans also interacted with the sub-Saharan traders who traveled by caravans through the desert. Although the Romans occasionally sent geographical expeditions into the Sahara Desert, they were mainly content to control the ending

points in the fertile regions of Algeria, Tunisia, Morocco, and Libya. The caravans from the south would travel over well-known paths leading to these Roman provinces and allied kingdoms, where their goods, including animals, could be traded. From the south animals such as giraffes, antelope, and even elephants made their way north. Ivory was also traded with the Romans.

The Romans also interacted in the northern part of their Empire with other tribes. The most famous trade route was the Amber Route, which had existed for millennia. It came from the Baltic Sea region south to the Danube River and the head of the Adriatic Sea. Coming from the Baltic and North Seas the route went via the Vistula and Oder Rivers and then overland through Germany and the Balkans before arriving in the Adriatic at Venice. In addition to native amber, goods flowed south; Roman goods traveled north in exchange.

Within the Roman world trade routes allowed goods to move over great distances efficiently and cost effectively. The major routes were in the Mediterranean where ships could sail along the coast either west from Alexandria to the Straits of Gibraltar and vice versa, or north and east along the Levant and southern Asia Minor and across the Aegean to the Islands and Greece. These routes for the most part tended to be short hauls since the ancient preferred to keep land in sight. Some long-distance open sea voyages were also made especially from Rome (Ostia) to North Africa and even to Alexandria. The most important part of these routes was the prevailing winds and currents with the sailing season only available from late spring to early fall. In between these times it was nearly impossible to travel safely. The other major water routes were the rivers. These included the great European rivers, the Danube, Rhine, Loire, Seine, Rhone, Thames, as well as minor rivers such as the Tiber which may have been navigable for only short periods of time or distances. In addition, local lakes and streams allowed for the transportation of goods.

The final aspect of trade routes was the local overland routes. The Roman army had expanded their territory and in the process of conquering the regions had built excellent roads to assist them. After their conquest the Romans used these military roads, often improving upon them to allow for the connection between cities in the different regions. These roads allowed the merchants to transport their goods from the interior of the province to ports or other important cities for further exports or allowed the goods imported into the provinces to be carried inland for distribution. These roads were often crude, nonpaved roads or major trunk roads with elaborate pavement still lasting. Along the way, the Romans built bridges to cross streams and rivers and even had stopping stations for imperial or important travelers. The trade routes allowed the Roman world to be connected and allowed for the transportation of goods throughout the Roman world and beyond.

See also: Arts: Geographical Treatises; *Economics and Work:* Merchants; Shopkeepers; Trade; *Food and Drink:* Transport; *Science and Technology:* Harbors; Ships

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TRANSPORT

One of the crucial parts of food and drink preparation was the requirement and need for transport. In some areas it was necessary to bring certain or even most food supplies in from different regions to survive. Local transport required the movement of goods by foot. Goods could be transported by simply carrying materials by hand from one place to another. This was not efficient for long journeys but did allow individuals to quickly move goods for a short distance from one store or storage place to the home, or from the field to the barn. This type of transport was dependent upon the strength and agility of the carrier and was cheap, easy, and fast.

Further developed was the movement of goods with a cart or small wagon by hand and foot. Like many street carts still in use today, the individual would move goods by pushing or pulling. The restraints here are again based upon the strength and agility of the individual. One factor was the need to have a certain limit that could be exceeded. These carts, often wheel barrels, were capable of transporting goods short distances without as much straining as by hand. Often these carts were two wheeled and were useful in cities since they were more maneuverable than larger carts. Both of these methods of transport worked well in a confined environment or if the goods were not heavy so as to have a negative effect on the carrying.

The next stage of transport is to use animals. The most common animals used were horses, mules, or donkey, or occasionally camels in certain regions. These animals would carry the sacks or goods. The horse was probably not used as much as donkey/mules since they were more expensive. Pack horses, however, were probably needed more often by the military. Horses could move faster than mules



Roman sarcophagus from Avignon, France, second century CE. The relief shows a river boat carrying wine casks. The Romans relied on a variety of transport modes, ships, wagons, animals, and human power. These types of transport connected the empire and produced a sophisticated economy. (Steve Estvanik/Dreamstime.com)

and could be used to carry goods over greater distances in shorter time. Mules were the more common transport animal due to their ability to carry larger loads compared to their body size. In addition, the mules were less agitated than horses. A typical load for mules were three sacks, one on each side and another on top. Each sack weighed about 50 pounds. In Egypt, papyri show that most donkeys carried grain from the local threshing floors to the central receiving place for the grain tax. Since grain was the most commonly used commodity throughout the Mediterranean, it was necessary to move it from one region to another. Often food, especially legumes, was also carried by mules. Often the mules carrying the goods would carry them either to a processing facility or to/from a port. Camels could carry heavy loads but should be seen like mules. These animals would also carry supplies from the farm to the market. They were used especially in the dry arid desert regions.

The next phase for the transport was the use of carts and wagons. These would vary from size from 300- to 1,200-pound capacity. In addition, they varied from one, two, or even more animals pulling the cart. Occasionally, there were four or more animals, but this was unusual. A limiting factor for carts was the lack of the shoulder collar that moved the load position for the animal from the throat to the shoulder. Since the collar did not happen until later, the load was able to constrict the windpipe and could harm the animal. The carts could have one or two axles. The carts could carry loads over small distances so that the efficiencies would be high, that is, the cost of transport would not eat up the profits of the goods sold if they were used for short distances. These carts would carry sacks of grains or

legumes, amphorae of wine or olive oil, and often bulk goods. The carts, however, cost money to outfit and repair; as such not all farms had the ability to afford carts. Nevertheless, carts were common, in fact so common that rules or laws were created in the city of Rome where cart traffic was forbidden during the day so as not to clog the traffic in the city. As such the carts would come in during the evening, but this in turn caused the noise level at night to skyrocket.

To move goods over long distances for inland regions, the use of rivers, streams, and lakes by boats was most cost effective and crucial. Boats could have large capacity allowing significant amounts of goods to be moved over great distances, with charges being about 1/20th the amount of land going downstream and 1/10th the cost of rowing upstream they were more desirable. The Nile River is an example of how boats could transport significant amounts of goods through the country cheaply. Here goods traveled down river all the time taking the produce to Alexandria. Analogous to this type, is the movement of goods on the coastal regions of the Mediterranean Sea. The boats would move from city to city picking up and dropping off their goods. These boats were not large enough to venture out to sea and the cost was about the same as the rates for river traffic and depended upon the distance and the prevailing winds and currents.

The final aspect of transport was large bulk containers by sea. This mode allowed the transportation of large amounts of grain, wine, oil, and other nonimmediate perishable goods. These goods were typically inexpensive and yet crucial, the best example being grain. The large ships carried these goods at a cheaper rate than by land. The ships transported these goods, but there were risks such as weather, pirates, and disease. There are numerous examples of how weather imperiled the large ships. Many of them were susceptible to sinking or delay. Along with this component was the coastline, including the numerous rocky areas. Many ships floundered on the rocks. During the Republic the threat of pirates was considerable. Many of the ship could be attacked by pirates and their goods seized. Finally, some of the ships could be subjected to disease, either affecting the crew or the cargo. Although not common, there were examples of foodstuff spoiling or being contaminated. Goods coming to cities resulted from all aspects of transport; coastal cities received goods from overseas and then distributed them inland. The goods could then be transported by mules or carts or river to the inland regions. If by river, it was transported to further inland cities and towns by carts/animals. They were then transported by foot or push carts to homes, business, and farms. This process worked both ways, to and from cities.

The transportation of food stuffs allowed surpluses in one area to relieve famine in others. The goods transported were able to be sold in cities and markets throughout the Roman world. The transportation of goods allowed the markets to function and ensure that cities were supplied with enough food to prevent

starvation, riots, and rebellions. When they were not adequately supplied, the inhabitants often resorted to violence.

See also: *Economics and Work*: Trade; *Food and Drink*: Trade Routes; *Science and Technology*: Carts; Roads; Ships; Wagons; Weights and Measures

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URBAN ELITE DIET

The wealthy city dweller, especially in Rome, had a great variety of foods available for consumption. While the food may not be as fresh as that available in the countryside, there was a considerable variety and amount available to him. While the common urban resident did not partake in the sumptuous banquets, the wealthy did have the option to dine in extravagance.

The wealthy would have the same eating patterns as the lower classes; he would have his breakfast, *jentaculum*, lunch, *prandium*, and dinner *cena*. The breakfast was usually a light meal even for the wealthy. It consisted of fresh bread, not the leftovers the poor would often eat, consumed with cheese and fruit. Lunch was also a light meal, again of bread but with vegetables, some meat or fish, and eggs like their poorer counterparts. The main meal was the *cena* or dinner and it was the most elaborate.

Since kitchens were not common, it was the wealthy who could afford to have them and therefore create their own banquet. The dinner of the wealthy increased in expense and complexity during the late Republic when the wealth of the conquering generals allowed for expansion of luxury across everyday life. A typical dinner for the wealthy had three courses, appetizers, a multicourse dinner, and dessert. Late night dinners replaced the noon meal as the most important. It was common for these late night dinners to now become centers of entertainment.

The appetizers (*gustatio*) would often be salads of the freshest vegetables and fruits. It was common to have oysters or other small fish such as anchovies

to accompany them. Asparagus, cucumbers, radishes, and carrots would also be served either in the salad or as separate sides, alongside eggs and olives. These appetizers would be accompanied by a drink of wine and honey, a sweet wine.

The next part of the meal was the actual *cena* which was usually a multicourse meal. An example during the first century BCE with the inauguration of some priests shows that the first course was a variety of seafood and poultry. The guest dined on sea urchins, oysters, mussels, and other seafood. In addition, the first course had venison and boar or poultry. This of course was accompanied by a variety of wines. The next course might be meat with the most common being pork. The pig was stuffed and roasted. Other meats included sow's udder, fish, hares, roasted game, and again poultry such as duck or goose. The Roman feast would usually have several varieties served so that an individual did not gorge on one after the other, instead the guests would sample all of the varieties having small bits. It was common for the host to have exotic game and birds to show their wealth. The final part was the dessert or *secunda mensa*. These desserts were often fruit or nuts dipped in honey, giving the Romans the opportunity to satisfy their sweet tooth.



Local food shop or Thermopolium from Herculaneum, Italy, ca. 70 CE. These local shops, Thermopolium, functioned like modern fast food restaurants where individuals could grab a quick meal. Serving prepared foods or offering quickly prepared meals was crucial, since most Romans in the cities did not have their own kitchens when living in apartment houses. (Pierrette Guertin/Dreamstime.com)

An example of a great Roman who was known as a gourmand was the general Lucullus. Lucius Licinius Lucullus was a confidant of the dictator Sulla and was successful in the Third Mithridatic War of 73–72 BCE and his invasion of Armenia during the late 60s BCE; although successful, his troops refused to continue the war and Lucullus who had not captured the king in the region was replaced by his political enemy Pompey. His success nevertheless allowed him to return to Rome with a tremendous amount of booty allowing him to sponsor many public buildings. He built the Gardens of Lucullus in Rome.

Denied a triumph for now, Lucullus decided to retire, not to the political life that Cicero desired but rather to the life of luxury and pleasure. He built several villas throughout Italy. He loved to dine in lavish environments using expensively dyed tablecloths and gem studded pitchers. Like all great banqueters he had actors who would recite poetry or plays. His estates housed a variety of expensive or exotic animals used for consumption. It seems that Lucullus had decided to choose the path of enjoying his life rather than engaging in the politics of the time. There were different stories about him that showed his extravagant lifestyle. Once he was planning to dine alone and his servant gave him a simple fare of one course. Lucullus was furious and asked him why, to which the servant replied that since Lucullus was dining without guest he would want to save some money, Lucullus replied angrily stating that “Lucullus was feeding Lucullus today.” Another time he entertained some Greek visitors for several days giving them extravagant banquet after banquet. When the Greeks became uncomfortable and indicated that they could not stay any longer since they had run up such a great tab, Lucullus said that although some trifles were on their account, most of the expenses were on his. To many this was seen as his extravagant and lording behavior, but for Lucullus it appears that he enjoyed giving of parties. This did not mean that Lucullus would not use his reputation in entertaining to his advantage. Once Pompey and Cicero met him in the forum and indicated that they needed to talk business and invited themselves to his dinner; he asked that they wait a day or two until he could arrange it, but they wished to embarrass him by having him serve an ordinary dinner rather than a feast. Lucullus not to be caught off-guard invited them that night to dinner. His house had several dining rooms and one of them, called the Apollo, which was his most elegant room, was now prepared by his servants. Outfitting the night’s dinner with great expanse, Cicero and Pompey were showed into the room and before them was the great banquet prepared on such short notice, and both of them were awed at the cost and the speed (Plutarch, Lucullus 41).

Some of the elites’ food that was valued included lampreys. One story had a Roman censor who had a prized lamprey. When it died he wore cloths of mourning. Lucullus had a pond full of lampreys and that after his death the new owner,

Cato the Younger, sold them for a great sum. Another seafood enjoyed by the elites was sturgeon. The sturgeon was seen as a rarity on the menu. Boar meat that was once considered as disgusting or peasant food had by the first century BCE been seen as a delicacy, probably because the supply was now decreased.

The wealthy owners in Rome were able to supply their friends and guests a great variety of foods not usually seen. This gave rise to the great banquets and their carrying on. For the everyday Roman these stories showed the difference between the rich and poor.

See also: *Arts:* Cicero, Marcus Tullius; *Economics and Work:* Agriculture; *Food and Drink:* Banquets; Delicacies; Dining while Traveling; Dinner Party; Fish; Food Preservation; Food Servers; Fruits; Meats; Poultry; Roman Dinnerware; Rural Elite Diet; Serving; Spices; State Banquets; Vegetables; Wine; *Recreation and Social Customs:* Adolescent; Etiquette; Festivals, Private; Leisure; Pleasures; Public Festivals at Rome

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URBAN POOR DIET

In the urban setting, it was common again to have three meals but slightly different from the rural or early Roman counterparts. Breakfast or *jentaculum* still existed, but the lunch or main meal *cena* was replaced with the *prandium* or *cibus meridianus* which now pushed the *cena* back to be the main meal in the evening displacing the *vesperna* altogether. The good reasons for this change were the position of the city and its workflow. Unlike the rural area which had to ensure that workers could receive sufficient nourishment in the afternoon to continue their labor well in the late afternoon, the urban dweller did not have such demands. In addition, the urban environment was one which forced the residents to move about the city quickly during the afternoon so that they did not have the time to prepare the main meal. Another aspect that hampered the urban resident was the lack of cooking facilities. It forced many inhabitants to buy their food premade. It was possible that some housing facilities had common kitchens but most did not.

The breakfast would have been the leftovers from the previous day's dinner. Bread was the most common staple, although it was possible that there was some leftover porridge or *puls*. In addition, like with the rural workers, cheese, olives, dates, and raisins were common. The bread was most likely a bit stale and needed to be dipped in wine, water, or oil to soften it up. Like the modern individual, many Romans often skipped breakfast altogether or ate on the run.

The midday meal, the *prandium* or *cibus meridianus*, was a very light meal. The meal was often again leftovers and sometimes included some meat if lucky. In the hustle and bustle of the city an alternative was a meal purchased at the local *thermopolium*. The *thermopolium* was a sort of fast food shop. The food was hot and ready to sell, and was prepared to be eaten on the run rather than sitting down. While the upper class scorned these establishments, much like modern society's fast food joints, they provided the urban class an opportunity to have a quick hot meal. The *thermopolium* had a masonry bench facing the outside where in which sunken jars or *dolia* were imbedded so that the meals could be stored. The meals stored here were probably not holding hot food since they would have to be cleaned after each day. However, a variety of dried or cold liquid foods could easily be stored and even heated up. In addition to a variety of nuts and other foods stored, there would have been the *garum* or fish sauce. It is probable that there were kitchens ascribed to the establishment so that hot foods could also be prepared and served. These were probably served and stored in smaller pots. An example of a *thermopolium* was that of Vetutius Placidus in Pompeii. The establishment was associated with a wealthy house. The bar opened on the south side of the street and had a U-shaped counter that had *dolia* sunk into it. In one of the *dolia* was discovered a large quantity of coins, possibly it was used temporarily when Mt. Vesuvius erupted as a "bank" and the owner planned to return to get them, or perhaps it was his usual bank. A stove was placed on the eastern side of the shop and was used to heat the food. From the shop a doorway led into the house. There was also a flight of stairs leading into the house from the bar. It is clear that the owner of the house had a connection to the shop, perhaps either as the owner or the financial backer for the shop's owner, perhaps a former slave. Many of these shops also served wine in addition to the meals.

For the urban poor the main meal was the evening meal or *cena*. Again, it was possible that the typical urban resident would go to the local *thermopolium*. It was probable that they either bought their food prepared and then brought it home to eat, or they might have had access to a local or communal kitchen. Most likely one of the mainstays was porridge or *puls* similar to that eaten by the rural inhabitants. In addition, they would have had some type of bread, probably fine bread made at one of the numerous local bakeries. Since the porridge was probably bland and dull it was often enriched with other types of food, such as herbs, vegetables,

olives, mushrooms, and most importantly if they had it, fish, poultry, or meat. The latter group was probably uncommon since the usual Roman did not have access to a lot of meat. If they had some meat, most commonly pork, like sausages, or poultry rather than beef, and were purchased in small quantities from the shops and served in small portions. If the meat was purchased periodically it would have broken up their mundane meals. In addition to *puls* and the additions mentioned, it was more common that they had fish than other meats, especially *garum*. This meal was eaten at the ninth or tenth hour. The *cena* as the main meal was therefore probably eaten as a cold meal in a poor worker's apartment and not as part of a great banquet or meal like his wealthy counterparts.

The meals that the urban poor ate probably did not have great varieties. It is clear from sources and archaeological sites that the level of nutrition was not as high as modern times, but it was sufficient to allow society to reproduce. With a large portion of society being poor any type of shock to the system, such as war, famine, or pestilence, could be disastrous. Although the variety of foodstuff was not great, Roman society was able to continue and there are rare instances of shortages and famine in Rome. Most of the shortages were rumors rather than actual occurrences.

See also: Economics and Work: Agriculture; *Latifundia*; Ranching; *Food and Drink:* Beer; Cereals; Fish; Fruits; Meats; Poultry; Rural Peasant Diet; Vegetables; Wine; *Housing and Community:* Street Trade

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VEGETABLES

The Roman agricultural authors varied as to the amount of material they gave for vegetables. Varro does not mention the garden at all, while Columella and Cato give more information. Since the diet of the Roman commoner was mainly

vegetarian, it is striking how little was mentioned. In addition to the porridge rather than bread that the common man ate, there were beans of all kinds along with vegetables with roots, mainly turnips, radish, rape, and carrots; and then there were greens such as peas, lettuce, and cabbage. The latter seems to be the most favored. There was also the cultivation of herbs. Columella indicates that the garden or *hortus* needed to be near water, preferably a stream since vegetables needed plenty of water. In addition, the garden needed to be fenced off, to prevent damage from cattle or theft.

The Romans had a variety of vegetables that they either grew in Italy or imported from abroad. These vegetables often became the main diet for many Romans. The most common vegetables grown in Italy were beans and peas. The beans were grown as a summer crop since it required warm temperatures to mature. Taking about 60 days from planting to harvest the beans is a vine plant requiring poles or stakes for support.

The common beans grown in the Mediterranean basin include the fava or broad bean. The broad bean became one of the major Roman food groups. After removing the beans from their pods they were parboiled before their final cooking, either by being fried or cooked. The beans were often planted as a ground cover since they could prevent erosion and more importantly replace nutrients in the soil. They were often planted after the wheat crop. Another well-known legume was the chickpeas or garbanzo bean including several varieties called venus, ram, and punic chickpeas. The beans could be eaten raw when young but were often roasted to eat as snacks or cooked down in a broth, the most common way. Chickpeas were grown throughout Europe and were one of the major food crops for the poor. While probably used rarely, the bean known as bitter vetch, could also be eaten. It was an easy crop to grow; it could be eaten by leaching the seeds before eating. Pliny recorded that the emperor Augustus indicated that he had eaten bitter vetch which restored his health. Bitter vetch continued to be eaten by the poor due to its easy availability. More importantly, it was used as feed for sheep, cattle, and pigs. The lupin bean, which is yellow, and derived its name from the Latin word for wolf, *lupus*, since the bean could ravage the land, became popular with the Romans who spread it throughout the Empire. Another popular bean was the lentil bean which had been cultivated since the early history of human agriculture. There are a variety of colors and the bean required cooking before eating. They have high protein content and are one of the most nutritious foods.

Peas were another common vegetable grown throughout the Mediterranean basin. Known since the Neolithic age, peas are not only nutritious but also provide resources for the soil. They were sown in late winter and harvested in early spring. They grow well in cooler climates and not in the hot temperatures of summer or

the desert regions. Peas were commonly grown in Italy during the Roman period. They are grown for only one year or an annual crop.

The radish is a root vegetable that had been domesticated in Europe in antiquity. The Romans and Greeks are the first to be recorded as having radishes although they must have been cultivated earlier. The longer root form is good for cooking, while the smaller rounder form is used in salads. Because of its short growing season, only 3–4 weeks, it can be grown throughout the summer and autumn and is an ideal vegetable as a food source. It grows in full sun. A similar vegetable is the turnip, another root vegetable that also grows in temperate climates. The white root is mainly conical with the upper part protruding above the soil and is red. Like the radish it was already known by Greek and Roman writers and was clearly cultivated in the prehistoric period. It again was an easy vegetable to grow and was very productive. The turnips were planted in June. Pliny the Elder viewed the turnip as ideal for humans since it could be left in the ground for long periods of time without spoiling and, next to cereals and legumes, was crucial for people, especially in times of famine. It could be used as animal fodder as well.

Carrots are biennial root plants with the both the taproot and the leaves eaten. Coming from the Near East, Iran and Afghanistan, it spread westward reaching Europe by 2000 BCE. The Romans used it for their salads. It was easy to grow. Like other vegetables they grow best in full sun. Lettuce is a leaf vegetable, although it can also be classified as a stem. It is easily grown and is a hardy vegetable and very productive. Cultivated first by the Egyptians and Near Eastern cultures, the Greeks and Romans soon found that it grew well in their farms. Columella described several varieties, giving five leading types as great benefactors for the farmer. Like the radish it grows well in full sun. Cabbage, similar to broccoli, cauliflower, and Brussels sprouts, is characterized by its leafy head. Known by the Romans it was probably introduced into southern Europe during the Bronze Age from the north, perhaps Britain. It was then introduced into the east during the Roman period, a reverse from the traditional farming cultivations and distribution. It is a biennial plant producing its characteristic head in the first year. It too grows well in the full sun.

Cato the Elder had a particular fondness for asparagus. A perennial plant, it was depicted in Egyptian friezes and was known in the Near East. Apicius gives a recipe for cooking asparagus, but the Romans would also eat it raw. The doctor Galen in the second century CE recommended it as a beneficial herb. It can grow in salty soils and was cultivated in maritime regions, especially eastern Spain. Onions were also common and were cultivated at least by 1500 BCE. They were easily grown and transported. In addition, onions were believed to help with the circulation of the blood. Like other vegetables onions need full sun.

The variety of vegetables grown by the Romans was considerable. The Roman garden, even a small farm garden, gave the average rural family enough vegetable to survive. In addition, vegetables were also grown on small plots with their produce being sold at local markets and even larger cities. The use of vegetables as a mainstay of Roman diets was immense. While most writers gave information on the cereal crops, it was probably the vegetable that provided the Romans with their most important food stuff.

See also: *Arts: Agricultural Treatises; Economics and Work: Agriculture, Farming, Markets; Food and Drink: Delicacies*

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WINE

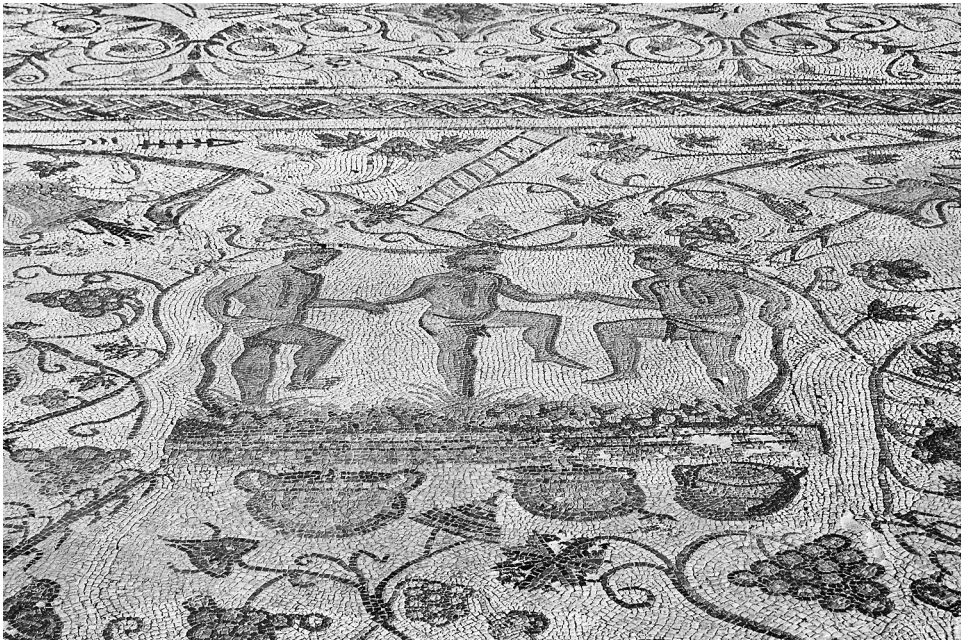
The Romans recognized the value of wine and its business capability. The agronomist Cato wrote of the benefit of vineyards and its profitability. When Carthage was destroyed in 146 BCE the Roman Senate ordered the Punic treatises on vineyards and wine be translated into Latin. Pliny indicated that by the mid-second century BCE Italy produced the best wines. The best wines were grown in Campania and Latium not far from the sea. A sweetened wine, *mulsum*, was made by adding honey to the wine right before it was to be consumed, and not fermented like mead. The Romans often used *mulsum* to dilute the wine before giving it to the plebs for their support. In time the Roman demand for wine caused them to stop exporting their wine and begin importing it from Spain and Gaul. Wine was almost always mixed with water since undiluted wine, *merum*, was only drunk by provincials and barbarians. The Romans usually mixed one part wine to two parts water.

There were a variety of well-known wines. The first ranked or premiere, was called Setinum from the region of Sentia in the hills that were above the Pomptine Marshes. This was the variety favored by the Emperor Augustus. Before him the variety Caecubum had been highly prized; it grew in the swamps near the gulf of Amyclae near Fundi. By the first century CE its reputation was gone due to the

carelessness of the growers and that the soil had been destroyed by the canal cutting from Baiae to Ostia. It was said to be a heavy wine that would fully matured only after several years.

The second best was Falernum. The variety Faustianum was considered the best. Falernia comprised the region from the Massic hills to the Volturnus River. It too had a good reputation and during the Republic was highly esteemed, but again by the time of Pliny it was beginning to decline due to overcultivation. The wine was aged for at least 10 years and often the best up to 20 years. After this much of time the wine proved too potent giving headaches and other troubles. Pliny indicated that there were three types of wine: the rough, sweet, and thin. The color was amber; and it was highly prized.

From Mount Albanus came the Albanum with sweet, sweetish, rough, and sharp varieties. An invigorating wine it came due at 15 years. In this class was also the Surrentinum from around the southern part of the Bay of Naples. It was a very rich and dry thin wine that only became worthy of drinking after 25 years. It was recommended for those who were ill since it was so thin. Another variety was Massicum, a sort of harsh wine that came from the boundary region of Latium



Mosaic, Pressing Grapes, Merida, Spain, imperial era. Wine was a major commercial product developed throughout the Roman world. The production of wine could be small scale by a family or an industrial business. Here the mosaic shows the simple process of workers pressing grapes by foot. (María Esther Calvo Sodric/Dreamstime.com)

and Campania. A full-bodied thick wine from the region of Puteoli was the *Gauranum* that was only produced in small quantities. These wines were also similar to *Calenum* from Cales, and the *Fundanum* from Fundi; the *Calenum* was large, while the *Fundanum* was a full-bodied wine that often gave headaches and caused upset stomachs, making it an unlikely candidate for banquets. From the Volscian Hills came *Veliterninum* that was a fine wine but tasted as if something was added to it; *Privernatinum* was a thin and pleasant wine, while *Signinum* was used for medicine. From the area around Messena came the fourth quality the *Mamertinum* that Julius Caesar made fashionable. The fields nearest to the mainland produced the *Potalanum* which was light without body.

Greek wines were still common and highly prized by the Romans. The islands of Thasos, Cos, Chios, and Lesbos were all known for producing prized wines during the Greek and Roman periods. There were also wines produced in the Levant which became highly prized. The Chian wines were the most popular or prized, while those from Thasos and Lesbos were next. The wines from Cos were given the next stature. All of these wines were imported to Italy during the Republic before the beginning of Rome's rise to power. During the Empire the Greek wines became less valuable as the Romans began to increase their local production and with production then moving to southern France when Rome expanded viticulture.

While most of the Gallic varieties were not seen as very good, those called *Baeterrae* were highly prized. It appears that during antiquity the wine dealers in this region were known for adulterating the wines to make more quantities. In addition, it was said that they even mixed drugs with them. They apparently also tried to ripen them very early which gave a taste of smoke, well known in Rome. Spanish wines, including from the Balearic Islands, however, were of higher quality and became especially prized by Rome during the first century CE.

In Egypt, from near Alexandria came the *Mareoticum* wine. It was known for spreading through the body quickly but not going to the head. It was sweet and light. Even more prized was *Taenioticum* that came from the western part of the Delta known for its sandy soil. When mixed with water its oily structure gave way and was aromatic and pleasant. Further south at Coptos and Thebes were wines of thin quality.

The first pressing of the grapes produced must, which is grape juice. Must is the first step in winemaking and it is not strained. The solid matter or pomace is left in the material and when it is time to begin the making of wine, the must is drained and strained from the pomace. By the time of Augustus the Romans preferred strong sweet red wines. To accommodate this change the Romans often left the grapes to ripen on the vine well into autumn so as to concentrate their sugars. Although they did not produce ice-wine, the concept is still the same with leaving the grapes on the vine well into late autumn to give higher alcohol content.

Wine could also be used in medicine. The Roman author, Galen, in the second century CE was a doctor who treated gladiators with wine. Using it to bathe their wounds, he also developed potions as court physician to prevent poisoning for the Emperor Marcus Aurelius. Galen used the Falernian wine, one of the strongest wines at 15 percent or higher and at least 20 years old, to help him prepare his antidotes. The importance of wine to the Romans was immense. It was crucial that their drink be not polluted, hence water was often avoided. Wine allowed the Romans to have a drink that could be stored more readily than beer, give them enjoyment, and still be inexpensive.

See also: *Arts*: Agricultural Treatises; *Economics and Work*: Agriculture; Farming; Markets; *Food and Drink*: Amphorae; Banquets; Dinner Party; State Banquets

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The World of Ancient Rome

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HOUSING AND
COMMUNITY TO
SCIENCE AND
TECHNOLOGY

The World of Ancient Rome

A Daily Life Encyclopedia

James W. Ermatinger



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To Mona,
Thanks for continually encouraging me.

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HOUSING AND COMMUNITY



INTRODUCTION

Roman houses varied due to location, purpose, and owner status. Most Romans in the city of Rome lived in apartments called *insulae* which were multistoried structures containing individual units. These units were usually only one or two rooms and probably did not have any kitchens. Wealthier Romans could afford their own city house that typically was large enough to house not only the family but also the extended members and servants. The emperors lived in palaces that originally began as the estates of the very powerful Republican leaders. In the countryside this same pattern was mirrored with the poor living in small meager abodes, while the better peasants lived in rural houses. These houses were originally also occupied by the wealthy Romans who would travel to the countryside for relaxation during the Republic, like Cato the Elder. By the mid-Republic and onward the wealthy began to construct larger homes that are often called a villa.

The Romans constructed their homes and cities based upon their purpose. For example, the Romans sent colonies into areas that they had recently conquered to ensure that the people and region were controlled. This required the rules on colonial planning which saw town planning. These colonies would send out professionals who would do the surveying for the public structures first and the homes second. Public architecture was an important component for the cities and their inhabitants. The major area that had a variety of these structures was the forum, the town or city's center. How the structures were built depended upon the location and wealth of the builder. While various building techniques were involved, many structures, especially the public ones, had masonry construction alongside wooden structures. Many cities had green spaces set aside as well. These gardens were often donated by wealthy individuals or were associated with sacred spots.

House floors could be dirt, wooden planks, or mosaics. The walls, especially in the wealthier homes, had wall coverings usually of paint. The wooden house components were not only the floors and walls but included the stairs, both inside and outside the house showing multistoried. Finally there were a variety of materials and designs for the roofs. The interior of the homes had furniture that was not only utilitarian but comfortable.

Cities had a variety of issues to deal with which often made for treacherous surroundings. Crime, like today, was always an issue. Unlike modern societies, crime was dealt with by the individual harmed, not the state. Cities, especially large ones like Rome, had to deal with the danger and noise from city traffic. In Rome it was so problematic that emperors enacted laws detailing the limits that were placed on it.

A way of interaction between the city and the rural regions was the rural and periodic markets that allowed for the exchange of goods on a regular schedule. These markets were important for transmission of goods and information.

APARTMENTS

The history of apartments date from the Roman period. While multifamily houses probably existed in other ancient societies, the Romans developed the true multifamily structure whose residents were not necessarily related. These apartments were different from other multifamily structures in term of their sizes and complexity. Many apartments were four or more stories. These structures were called *insulae*. In addition to the term *insulae* other categories and distinctions existed, such as lodging houses called *diversoria*. The residents, *hospites* or *diversitores*, lived in rooms called *cellae*. It appears that these rooms were probably just a bedroom or efficiency apartment. The *cellae* probably should not be seen as actual apartments but rather as just boarding rooms.

While the structure is usually called *insulae*, the individual apartments were also called *insulae*, *tabernae* (shops), or probably more accurately *cenacula* (singular *cenaculum*) which occur in the late catalogues of the Empire. The root of *cenacula* is the Latin word *cena* meaning dining room. These rooms, however, were more than dining rooms since they also contained bedrooms or *cubicula*, living rooms or *exedra*, and *medianum* or corridors facing outward.

Like all large cities that attracted people from other regions, rents in Rome were determined not only by size but also by locations and artificial factors. Unlike modern apartments, where the Penthouse or upper floors are most desirable, in ancient Rome living on the bottom floors with their stone walls was desired more,

because, as one moved up, the building material became inferior, usually wood that had the potential for catching fire. In addition there existed substandard building practices. Built five to six stories high, these *insulae*, too, were built around an interior courtyard that often had a fountain for fresh water. Although an individual could own a few rooms or even a floor, most residents rented. The apartments on the first floor had a living room, dining room, and bedroom, with enough space for servants. These were the largest apartments and brought in a high rent. Moving upstairs those apartments in the *insulae* were usually subdivided into small one–two-room apartments, some with balconies. Again, most were poorly lit, had few amenities, and were really more like boarding houses. Ultimately, apartments on the top floor in the attics were dark, cramped, poorly constructed with little or no ventilation, hot in the summer, cold in the winter, and usually housed the very poor. Individuals had no private bathrooms; rather, they either shared a common latrine on the first floor, or used chamber pots. There were no kitchens, except for the owners' on the first floor, so individuals either had to cook in public or more commonly go out and buy their daily meals, which of course increased the family's cost of living. Again lamps were used for light and if one could afford, a brazier for heat.

Rome in the first century had an abundant supply of fresh water. Many of the wealthy homes had direct plumbing by tying into the water lines, either legally or illegally. Tenement houses usually did not have water but instead relied on the numerous public and private fountains, some in the *insulae*'s courtyard, for fresh water. Individuals would carry the water up the floors each time, probably several times a day, for drinking, cooking, washing, and other functions. While some houses had private baths in addition to latrines, the vast majority of Rome relied on the public and private commercial baths spread throughout the city. In later Rome, some of the former wealthy homes were subdivided into apartments. This may have been due to hard times for the owners, the need for more housing, or both.

Juvenal, a Roman satirist in the first century CE, gives a vivid portrait of Rome in his third satire. According to Juvenal, rents were high, even for a dark upper attic room. Most ill people perish in Rome for lack of sleep produced by undigested food. Also, no one can sleep in Rome except for the wealthy since the wagons, prohibited from entering Rome during the day, move noisily through the streets all night long. Wealthy individuals can traverse the crowded streets during the day since people make way for their litter, but the rest of Rome are hit by a pressing crowd. At night the perils of walking in the street are horrendous; for example, a pot or unusable vessel might be pitched out to the streets below and hit an unsuspecting traveler. There are, of course, robbers and murderers eager to separate one from their wealth. And, of course, one's room in the attic is supported by substandard construction, with the roof ready to collapse or catch

on fire from a careless tenet and his lamp. With nothing to shelter one but the tiles, the room is hot, stuffy, and cramp. But as Juvenal said, why would someone subject themselves to live in Rome? The answer is easy: location, location, location. The heart of the Empire and a large city, is always more exciting than a small bucolic town with no excitement. That is why even today New York, with its exorbitant rent, is home to millions, while small Axtell, Nebraska, has barely 800 souls.

The apartments provided Rome with housing to accommodate its growing population in the Late Republic and early Empire. Although impossible to know the exact number, two late Roman catalogues put the number of *insulae* at over 40,000 and the number of houses at 1,700. It is not known if this meant apartments or apartment buildings, but it probably meant the former so that it could account for a population of 250,000; if, however, the population approached 500,000 as some believe, then the figure would have been for buildings since it is improbable that each apartment could have an average of 10 people. In addition, the catalogues probably refer only to apartments in *insulae* and the term for houses probably meant homes of the wealthy, while a large number of the population slept in their shops, lived in small houses not counted, and that the houses were actually complexes having several sleeping facilities. Most of the Romans lived in these small apartments throughout the city.

See also: *Economics and Work*: Builders; Laborers; Shopkeepers; *Food and Drink*: Food Preservation; Urban Poor Diet; *Housing and Community*: Building Techniques; City Houses; City Traffic; Public Dangers; Street Trade; Wooden House Components

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BUILDING TECHNIQUES

Roman construction techniques allowed them to effectively become the masters of colossal building programs unrivaled until the Renaissance and later. These projects were the results of Roman engineering and their detailed construction plans carried out with an efficient organization that could mobilize labor. The major components can be divided into building materials, the development for the

techniques of the arch, and the use of the vault. The result was a series of building programs throughout the Roman world.

The Romans used a variety of building materials either found locally or imported, especially after the foundation of the Empire. The chief building material was stone that came in a variety of forms. For the creation of high-stress structures such as walls, roads, and foundations, the Romans would use basaltic lava or granite, which they had in abundance. These materials were extremely strong and durable. On the other hand, marble would be used for decoration on walls or for delicate floors. To produce strong and durable floors, the Romans would use small stones formed to make mosaics. Stones would also be used as rubble to serve as substratum for roads or to make concrete.

Wood that was often plentiful and easy to obtain was used throughout the Roman world. The Romans had extensive knowledge of what kinds of wood was best for floors, beams, machines, scaffolding, and so forth. The Romans were able to join different types of wooden structures together to produce sturdy structures. While in most regions the wooden structures have disappeared, the remains at Herculaneum and Pompeii show that wood was not only used for the second floor, and above but also used as posts and lintels in many homes. This was only natural since most owners did not have the means or expense to use stone. The machines



Patrician house of Mithraeum, imperial age. The house was built with unworked stone and concrete reinforced corners, which allowed for a peristyle house with inner gardens and rich mosaic floors. Other structures were built with bricks or wood and even concrete which the Romans invented during the Republic. (Jgaunion/Dreamstime.com)

needed to lift the materials to great heights such as cranes, treadmills, and scaffolding were also made of wood. The use of timber framing, or *opus craticium*, was the most common type in the Roman world. Since the structures were made of organic material, remains are not very common. Typically, as seen in Pompeii the external timber remains are on the upper floor or floors; while the interior had timber on all levels. The reason for timber being only on the upper floors externally is that the rain could damage the foundations and lower levels, so they were constructed of masonry materials. Also, the lower level walls made of wood and clay could be easily broken into by thieves.

To join the large stone blocks on many of the walls and buildings, the Romans would use metal. Metal would also be used for some of the components of the machines used to make the cranes and pulleys needed to lift the heavy materials needed for construction. Lead was used to make pipes for carrying water and other liquids. In addition, it was used for seals in hydraulics. Iron was used to make tools such as hammers, chisels, saws, all of which were used in construction.

The Romans also used clay to make terracotta or pottery for a variety of building projects. Terracotta was used for roof tiles and vessels such as pots and pipes for carrying liquids. Ceramics were used as building materials as well, such as trusses in the construction of arches. Most importantly, clay was used to make bricks used in buildings. Bricks came in a variety of sizes and were often laid in a variety of patterns for strength or durability.

These materials were the building blocks for the construction of structures. One of the most important structures used throughout the Roman world in structures was the arch. The arch originated with the Etruscans. The arch had two piers for support. These supports were often made of bricks and stone. On top of the piers was the platform called an impost. The Romans then placed curved stones, bricks, or stones called voussoirs that rose from each pier and in the middle the keystone was placed, which exerted pressure to ensure the voussoirs were capable of sustaining the weight of the superstructure. A series of arches in sequence is called an arcade. The arch allowed the Romans to create open spaces higher and lighter than the traditional post and lintel. The arch was even constructed within a wall making the wall stronger.

Taking the arch even further was the creation of the vault or a series of arches that intersected from right angles. The vault allowed for the creation of long rooms or covered passageways. These vaults allowed for the development of airy rooms and open spaces.

The most important component for the Roman building program was concrete, called *opus caementicium*. The concrete was made from a special mortar or cement made of lime and volcanic sand or ash called *pozzalana*, which gave it its strength. The lime and volcanic ash when mixed with water created strong

hydraulic cement. This cement would set under water and was ideal for breakwaters, pools, bridges, and other structures. The Roman concrete was strong and durable.

The Roman building materials developed over time from simple straw/mud to timber to stone to finally concrete. Along the way the Romans developed new techniques to use different materials which in turn gave them an ability to construct elaborate buildings.

See also: Economics and Work: Builders; Laborers; Housing and Community: City Houses; City Traffic; Floors; Public Dangers; Street Trade; Wooden House Components; Science and Technology: Hand Tools; Machinery

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CITY HOUSES

A house in Rome was called a *domus*. These houses were occupied by the wealthy and upper middle classes, including the newly rich, typically wealthy freedmen during the imperial age. These houses were often complex and had various other components including shops and even apartments. The central part of a Roman's life was the house. Individuals slept, lived, and raised families there. The house provided a place where the family engaged in trade, politics, and entertainment. The Romans built their houses around a central atrium, with an opening in the roof, the *compluvium*, allowing smoke to escape from the central hearth and to let in light and rain water, collected into a basin, the *impluvium*. Rooms that the family occupied were placed around the exterior of the atrium. These rooms around the atrium included a vestibule or entry room in the front, which contained the household gods or *lares*; directly in the rear on the same axis as the vestibule was the *tablinum*, or receiving hall, where the master received visitors. The *lares* also housed the family history, where ancestors were honored and represented.

The standard plan for the original Roman house was set out in a typical format that over time grew in complexity and ostentatious. Often the house had shops or *tabernae* in front facing the street. These shops were often owned by the home owner who rented them out to entrepreneurs, freedmen, often from his own estate, or even to his own slaves. These shops served as buffers to the outside world. The entrance to the house was the *ostium*, which led into the vestibule, or *vestibulum*. This room was where the visitor would be received by a servant and waited to be welcomed by the owner. This room was often seen in the largest and most grand houses. This room flowed into the most important room the atrium where the guest and clients were led into to be overwhelmed by its size and cavernous effect. The room was open with few furnishings. This room often had high porticoes, which allowed it to be separated off, and an opening in the roof called a *compluvium*, which allowed the rain to run off the roof into the house. Beneath it was the *impluvium*, a pool used to collect the water. This pool was often ornate with mosaics. The *impluvium* then had an overflow to allow water to be drained into an underground cistern to be used later. Off the atrium in the old style home were the bedrooms or *cubiculum*.

Behind the *impluvium* was the *tablinum* or office, where the master received his clients during the morning patronage meeting or *salutatio*. This room was located central to house and had a commanding view of the *impluvium*, atrium, and vestibule. The area between the *tablinum* and *impluvium* was a long hallway or *alae*. On either end existed bedrooms, and perhaps a library and storerooms. This corridor probably allowed for movement between the different rooms on the sides, *cubiculum*, and the rooms on the side of the *tablinum* the dining rooms or *triclinium*, this room held the three dining couches (naming the room). The rooms around the atrium would have received some light from the *compluvium* but would also have windows with shutters on the outer walls. Nevertheless, during the day the rooms had little light and at night virtually none except that from lamps.

This description fits the middle-class houses. In more opulent or wealthy homes the *tablinum* overlooked an open courtyard, surrounded by a peristyle or covered walkway supported by columns. The floors were decorated with mosaics composed of tesserae often telling stories from mythology and great deeds, such as the famous portrayal of Alexander the Great's victory over Darius, king of Persia, now preserved in Naples. The walls had painted frescoes and had niches with statues. Moving beyond the *tablinum*, one entered the peristyle with its column porticoes and a large open space, which was usually a garden often with a fountain. Around this open space other rooms existed: bedrooms, sitting rooms, another library, and storage rooms. They allowed the family more privacy than the atrium, which was now reserved more for formal visitors and business, and was not living space. In the rear of the portico stood the kitchen, central hall, and

triclinium, allowing both formal and private interaction. The central hall could be used for parties, dining, and meetings.

The kitchen tended to be located in the rear, often detached from the house, to prevent fires from spreading. The cooking hearth was a large box-like container with holes on top for the fire and an inside area for charcoal or wood. Fumes and exhaust would be drafted up into an overhead hood and vented through flues to chimneys. Cooks would place pans and pots on these open holes; the stoves, however, were potentially dangerous, not only from fires but also from noxious fumes. Located in the rear of the property, for obvious health reasons, were the latrines. Behind this back structure, through the kitchen or *triclinium*, was the small garden, with perhaps a pond, fruit trees, and statues that provided the family with a private space for solitude. Finally, a high wall protected the house's rear. While the first floor housed the family residences the second floor, made of wood, provided living quarters for the servants and contained storerooms. The windows on the ground floor were virtual slits to protect the house from intruders, while on the second floor larger grated windows would have let in more light. The amount of light entering the house depended on the time of day, cloud cover, number of windows, and size of the *compluvium*. Of course, for illuminating after sundown artificial light was needed in the form of lamps and candles.

Since Roman houses did not have large fire places due to the mild winters, the Romans used braziers, usually metal containers filled with hot charcoal, to heat a small room, or part of one, to take the chill off. At night Romans typically wore heavy cloaks to bed which, while bulky, were effective. For the lower classes, cold winter nights were kept at bay by wearing more clothes. For middle-class Romans bed cloaks and blankets provided more comfort. While for wealthy inhabitants braziers put near their bed provided warmth. Comfort, like today, depended on how much one could afford.

Wealthy Roman homes often had public shops and businesses connected with them. These businesses, frequently run by the owner's freedmen, were set up on the ground floor fronting the busy avenues, and without direct entrance into the home. In addition to rent, and perhaps a percentage of the sales, the owner now had a buffer from the street noises and a ready supply of watchmen and laborers for the home.

Roman houses differed from modern American houses in several important ways. First, Roman houses looked inward. Opulence was located in the house, while the exterior remained simple. American houses, in contrast, look outward, publicly displaying their owner's position and wealth. Second, Roman houses had a public flow, vestibule, atrium, *triclinium*, and peristyle courtyard, all concealed within the house's walls, whereas many American homes exhibit the private rooms. Finally, Roman homes were utilitarian, with their public front rooms serving as shops and businesses, in contrast to American homes that are primarily private.

See also: Economics and Work: Builders; Laborers; Shopkeepers; *Food and Drink:* Food Preservation; Urban Poor Diet; *Housing and Community:* Apartments; Building Techniques; City Traffic; Masonry Construction; Public Dangers; Roofs; Street Trade; Town Planning; Wall Coverings; Wooden House Components

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CITY TRAFFIC

In ancient Rome the streets were congested throughout the day with carts and pedestrians. What made the congestion so problematic in Rome compared to other ancient cities were several reasons such as Rome suffered from an irregular city plan, a large population density, and a warm climate that allowed and encouraged its inhabitants to spend a longer time on the streets. Since the developments in Rome were haphazard the planning of the streets resulted in traffic congestion. Livy indicated that the reason why the city developed haphazardly was because the Romans had hastily rebuilt the city after the Gauls sacked the city in 390 BCE and could not spare the time for order. Congestion in the city was caused by the width of the street and the size of the population. The streets were typically only four to eight feet wide. One of the problems was the number of narrow streets. Since the streets were not too wide, it was difficult for carts to maneuver, especially as pedestrians were often crowding the streets. Since many streets did not have sidewalks, the roads became the sidewalks. To allow the cart to proceed through the streets it was not uncommon for the owner to send a slave ahead and halt any other carts traveling toward the owner. In essence, this allowed the streets to become one way, at least for a short time. The city's density also contributed to congestion. The city of Rome was about half the area as Alexandria or Antioch but had more people; these latter cities probably had a population of about 500,000, while Rome had 1,000,000. This meant that Rome's population density was about four times that of Alexandria or Antioch. The crowds in the streets were more

than other cities and even the laws forbidding carts in Rome did not apply for all carts; for example, building materials were allowed to be transported at any time. These materials were often the most dangerous causing bodily and property damage. Emperor Claudius enacted laws requiring individuals to travel through Italian cities by foot or in a litter. It appears that since Nero's father had run down a boy in the street, Claudius (Nero's uncle) enacted the law to ensure safety. Finally, the city's climate allowed the inhabitants to spend more time outside than those in northern cities. Roads were maintained and kept clean by the wealthy of the city.

The Romans also attempted to regulate behavior. Women in the third century BCE were forbidden to ride in wagons, a law that was only repealed in the mid-second century BCE. The law was enacted during the Second Punic War and was meant to prevent ostentatious behavior. Within a generation it was no longer needed and was not followed. Many of the traffic commuters were pedestrians. In the morning this would have been clients going to their patron's house to receive their handouts. There would also have been traffic by the politicians going through the city about their official duty. There was also recreational or visitor traffic. For example, it was common for individuals to visit others throughout the Roman world. This was especially true of the elites who traveled to their outside villas and estates that likewise would cause congestion. To prevent some congestion, it was common for individuals to rent wagons and animals at the city gates.

One crucial aspect of the city life was the movement of merchants throughout the Roman world. The movement of carts, chariots, and wagons through the city streets was also curtailed due to laws passed. Julius Caesar ordered that carts should not be allowed in the city during the daytime with the *Lex Iulia Municipalis*. This meant that when an individual arrived at Rome with his cart, the law required him to park it outside the city region until the late afternoon. There arose a need for parking facilities at the city's gate. The traveler would need to either walk or be carried into the city by a litter. This allowed for a subsidiary business opportunity with individuals renting themselves out for carrying litters. If the visitor was bringing in goods he would need to wait until night when the carts were allowed into the city. But the area also had a large number of factories and shops such as brick and glass-making facilities. This resulted in a continuous flow of traffic to and from these shops into and out of the city. Outside of the city were also the cemeteries that resulted in funeral traffic on an ongoing basis.

The laws, however, had a negative effect for the city as well. Since the movement of carts during the day was forbidden, they had to move during the night. This was necessary since many of the shops needed to be provisioned for the next day. About two hours before sunset the wagons began to roll through the city. This resulted in a continuous flow of traffic. The carts pulled by animals would make a constant amount of noise. Since the streets were made of stone there was a

constant plodding of hoofs and creaking of wagons. The noise resulted in a detriment to the city's population. There were numerous references by ancient authors of the constant noise from the loading and unloading of supplies, public building projects, hauling of refuse, and so on throughout the city.

The city congestion's was often worse at the city gates where bottlenecks existed. Often these gates had only one passageway with individuals needing to pass in and out of the city, often by only one gate. Julius Caesar and his successors enacted laws to control traffic patterns. They were probably more successful in Rome than in other cities. The traffic in Rome presented numerous problems for the common individual since it was not only so crowded but also full of potential dangers from carts carrying heavy building materials.

See also: *Housing and Community*: Crime; Public Dangers; Street Trade; *Recreation and Social Customs*: Adolescent; *Science and Technology*: Carts; Roads; Wagons

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COLONIAL PLANNING

Colonies had existed since the early years of Rome. Traditionally, there were several reasons given to establish colonies. The most common was to repress a hostile enemy or to control the recently conquered regions. Livy indicated that some colonies were established to increase the population of Rome; this probably also referred to the inclusion of noncitizens who were now assimilated. Sometimes they were established to provide veterans with land. Occasionally colonies were created to get rid of dissidents. The establishment of colonies in enemy territory usually had about a third of their land given over to the Romans.

When a colony was established, a standard system existed to ensure the success of the colony. The first decision taken was about its location. The Senate and consuls would determine if a colony was needed and where it should be located. The Romans required that a colony be established through a law, plebiscite, or Senate decree; this meant that the colony was not a group of adventurers but rather was a concerted plan. Originally, colonies were established in enemy territory as a

means to control the enemy population. The colonies were divided into two types, the Roman colonies called, *coloniae civium Romanorum* or *coloniae maritimae* having small numbers of about 300 families and established on the seacoasts, and the larger Latin colonies called *coloniae Latinae* of about 6,000 people located in or near the enemy. Once a site was established by the Senate and consuls, three magistrates or *triumviri*, would be elected and called *tresviri coloniae deducendae*. It was also possible to have more than just the three men as the college, sometimes there were five, ten, or more, but three was the most common. The Romans would then fix the amount of land each person would receive if they went as colonists. These three men or college selected the inhabitants. Ideally, the colonists would be volunteers, both citizens and noncitizens, who were led to the new territory. According to tradition, no Roman could be sent without his consent, but sometimes it was necessary to draft or conscript the colonists. The volunteer would give his name as a colonist in Rome. Once chosen the *triumviri* would lead the colonists as an army into the new territory.

The colony would travel as if an army unit. Once they arrived at their chosen site the *triumviri* would proceed with a religious ceremony to consecrate the land. The Romans believed that the rites descended from the Etruscans who had controlled the Romans during the monarchy and created the first colonies. The city wall was marked with a plough. The date of the foundation would now be a feast day for the new colony. Following the religious consecration the colonists would then construct walls, ditches, and public buildings. The colonists would live in tents until the main buildings were constructed and then proceed to build their houses. The main buildings would be the Curia where the town leaders met, the basilica where business occurred, and the temples. The chief temple was usually built to honor Jupiter. Often the Romans would assimilate the chief god of the local area and combine it with Jupiter to produce a new god to Jupiter with the local epitaph. After the public buildings were constructed, the *triumviri* would give the new colony its laws. These laws usually followed Rome's traditional laws and form of government. The organizers of the colony had considerable power including the ability to provide land of choice to their friends and patrons.

As in Rome the ultimate colonial authority was the assembly of the people who had the power to elect their magistrates. The assembly could also make their own laws that governed the colony. The colony had a Senate that ultimately took over the political power under the Empire. The local Senate was called *ordo decurionum*, which later was just called the *ordo* or Curia. The counterpart to individual senators was the *decuriones* or *curiales*. Nevertheless, it was also common to call them senators in inscriptions, literary texts, and even laws. The Senate became the most important group after the loss of power by the popular assembly. The magistrates were the elected officers in the colonies. These magistrates had to be a *decurion* with the choice made by fellow *decuriones*. The highest magistrate,

similar to the Roman consul, was the *duumviri* (two men) or *quattuorviri* (four men) who were chosen for one year, with the *duumviri* being the most common. As seen in inscriptions, their principal duty was dispensing justice. A similar office to the Roman censor was that of the *curator*. This office, assessed the city's population and property.

If the colony was not to be established on new territory, it was often imposed on a conquered city. For example, the Romans took over Antium converting it to a colony. The Romans often expelled the local population and then took over their houses and buildings. Occasionally, the population was allowed to stay, but usually they were confined to a certain area with their property still seized. These colonies, either on new territory or on previously occupied cities, were primarily military for the protection of the state. After 133 BCE when Italy was safe, the Romans began to use colonies as a means to deal with overpopulation and to reward veterans. During the first century BCE, competing generals usually offered their veterans land in the form of new colonies. These new colonies, however, took their land from someone else.

The system of colonies allowed Rome to expand and control their state. As an extension of the city, it created a policy of Rome extending their direct power throughout Italy and their provinces. The new colonies were mini Rome's and carried on the traditions of Rome.

See also: Housing and Community: Colonies; Forum; Public Architecture; Public Structures; Surveying; Town Planning; *Politics and Warfare:* Imperialism; Military Camps; *Religion and Beliefs:* Temples; *Science and Technology:* Aqueducts; Engineering; Roads

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COLONIES

The concept of colonies in Rome differed from that of Greece. The development and evolution of colonies changed how the Romans viewed their own society and others. Greece had long created colonies to relieve overpopulation or civil

discord. According to the Greek system when a city became overpopulated or had civil issues, it would first approach the oracle at Delphi requesting permission to send a colony and asking where they should send it. Once a site had been determined the city went through a variety of means to select the colonists. The simplest was to ask for volunteers. When enough volunteers had been determined, the sending city, called the Mother City, would send out the colonist to the new land or a Daughter City. Another way was for the city population to draw lots to determine who would be sent. These individuals should not be seen as volunteers but rather forced colonist. A final way might be if there were two or more factions in the city, and after a civil war, the losers were forced to leave. When the colonists were sent out they were no longer citizens of their home city or Mother City. The colonists established a separate city with their own government completely free their mother's city control. This often led to conflict, for example, the Mother City Corinth after a civil war forced the losers to establish a colony at Corcyra; the two cities never had good relations. This daughter colony then went through its own civil war, and the losers went to Epidaurus as a new colony. This Daughter City did not get along with its Mother Colony Corcyra. Ultimately, Corinth and Corcyra would go to war due to Epidaurus. The Greek system created new cities that had no political connection with each other; neither they had rights to vote in their Mother City nor could they hold political and other offices.

The Roman system was different. The Romans used colonies not only to relieve the city of overpopulation but also to control. During the Republic, the Romans used colonies as extensions of their own city and power. One of the earliest colonies according to legend was Antemnae that lay two miles north of Rome. According to legend, Romulus in 752 BCE had his men seize the women from Antemnae (the legend of the Sabine Women). When the Antemnates made an attack, the Romans responded and defeated them and then set up a colony or garrison to control them. During the early Republic, more historical colonies were established at Velitrae, Ostia, Antium, and Tarracina, which were primarily military. These colonies were created to protect the young city from attacks by neighboring groups, such as Etruscans, in the north. These colonies were probably small and acted as advance guards for Rome along the coast. The colonies set up along the coastline protected the Roman territory from naval invasion. With each housing about 300 families, a small military force but large enough to protect the surrounding area and delay an attack against the city, these maritime colonies were better than a fleet since it was more stable and cheaper. The Romans did not like the idea of sailing and were not experienced or confident in naval matters; these colonies were much more practical. These Roman colonies had full citizenship rights and their own Senate.

These colonies were extensions of Rome where the inhabitants kept their Roman citizenship. Unlike the Greek system in which the colonist lost their Mother City citizenship, the Romans viewed these colonies as extensions of Rome. They could vote in Rome and even hold office.

The Romans also established colonies that created exchanges of rights. These were the Latin colonies that Rome established at the frontier to ensure protection. The most important and most famous were at Placentia and Cremona who protected the Po River valley in the north. The Roman citizens exchanged their Roman rights for Latin rights, which gave them most of the same privileges except voting and holding office. These colonies also had noncitizens who had Latin rights. Established in 218 BCE the colonist were given extensive land grants in exchange for these legal rights. If these Romans returned to Rome they had their citizen rights restored automatically. These colonists would have their rights changed after 177 BCE when they were considered to have Roman citizenship. They could vote in Rome, and in their cities have the right to elect their own magistrates as well. After the Second Punic War Rome established colonies throughout Italy as defensive measures against a possible attack from the east. When it was learned that Hannibal had arrived at the court of Antiochus III of Syria, Rome commissioned Scipio Africanus who had defeated Hannibal at Zama to establish colonies in Italy for defense.

The Romans at the end of second century and into the first century BCE not only used the establishment of colonies for the continual military plans to defend Italy and Roman territory but also to relieve overpopulation. As the city of Rome grew it became crucial to deal with the potential political and social issues of overpopulation by removing large numbers of the landless poor from Rome. The Romans now established colonies giving grants of land to their poor. Many of these colonies were also established for the veterans who were from the urban poor and looking for rewards. Most of these colonies were in Italy until the time of Julius Caesar and Augustus.

Caesar and Augustus realized that the establishments of colonies would not only help relieve the overpopulation but also provide military support for newly conquered regions. The Romans would send these colonies into recently won areas where they not only kept the peace but also provided the new region with a strong Roman contingent that could establish Roman political structures and promote Romanization. Since these colonies were extensions of Rome, they were free from taxes and had the right to plead their case before Rome. As an extension of Rome they were part of the city. The surrounding areas would see the benefits of being Roman citizens, especially, in concerns with taxes, and hopefully from Rome's point of view to become peaceful and Roman. The rise of colonies would

continue until the third century CE when all free citizens became citizens. The status of *colonia* was now a matter of prestige and still sought after.

See also: *Housing and Community*: Colonial Planning; Surveying; Town Planning; *Politics and Warfare*: Imperialism; Military Camps

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CRIME

The issue of crime and maintaining civil order has always haunted society. Was it possible for society to prevent crimes, and when they did occur who investigated the act? What was society to do with individuals who broke the law? These questions often create difficulties for students when they explore Rome and other ancient societies since they were handled differently than modern societies. Roman law during the Republic was personal rather than state instigated. Rome did not have a police department to investigate a crime; this institution was a modern invention. Rome did not have a force inside the city. When a crime occurred under the Republic the affected family was usually expected to investigate or prevent the crime. It was then up to the private citizen to bring charges against an individual suspected of misdeeds before a magistrate. According to Roman rules and custom during the Republic, it was forbidden for armed soldiers to be inside the city. This meant that it was up to the residents themselves to deal with potentially dangerous situations.

When a crime occurred it was up to the victim, his family, and friends to catch the criminal(s) and bring him (them) before a magistrate. What was crucial here that the victims knew the perpetrator of the crime. For many acts, such as pickpockets and robberies of opportunities, it was difficult to apprehend the thief unless known by the victim or seen by a passerby. The state did not apprehend or bring charges before the magistrate except under special circumstances, namely, patricide. The ancients traditionally viewed patricide as an act of insanity, for why would a son or daughter kill their father. The other crime mentioned in the sources

for state action was treason. Many of the speeches by Cicero were either in defense or prosecution of treason.

The Romans held that it was right for individuals to act for their own safety and retribution. The ancient Roman Twelve Tables, for example, stated that “If one is slain while committing theft by night, he is rightly slain.” And for theft the tables again indicate that it was allowable to kill a thief committing the act at night but not if the theft took place during the day, even if there was a weapon, unless it was in self-defense.

Most of the wealthy inhabitants had slaves and free workers who not only protected the house but also were available to act as guards or protectors when the family went out into the city, especially at night. Since Rome did not have a police force to prevent crimes, it was incumbent upon the residents to ensure their own safety. Most residents did not have slaves to protect them. Instead they would either have to risk attacks, something commonly mentioned in the sources, or come together with friends, family, and neighbors to protect one another. It was not uncommon, especially after a night of drinking, for individuals to either be subjected to attacks or to attack others.

But what happened if an attack or other crime occurred? It was not unheard for the mob attacking perpetrators of crimes, and for the most part the magistrates did not interfere. This in part was due to the psychological impact of meeting out justice by society, even if it was not through a legal due process. Of course, if the mob killed an innocent individual it was then hard to bring them to justice.

During the Empire, there were several military and paramilitary units in Rome. The Praetorian Guard not only protected the life of the emperor, but they were also available to ensure that if riots broke out they could intervene and control the situation; this was especially the case at the games when a large number of individuals congregated in one place. Another group, the Urban Cohorts, was also created by Augustus to maintain order in the city. They typically were responsible for riot control and numbered about 3,000 strong. The *vigiles* or watchmen would also be responsible for keeping an eye out for civil unrest or disturbances in addition to their normal duty of night watch and fire protection. These units were created in the Empire due to the problems of the later Republic and the lack of order during this time, which led to Civil War.

If an individual was caught in a criminal act he was typically brought before the praetor who had the power and duty to hear and decide upon the case. Although there were judicial procedures to follow, the praetor had leeway to decide the case, and was often arbitrary. The case, except for treason or patricide, was prosecuted by a private individual who either acted as prosecutor or hired an attorney to prosecute. If it was a major case there might have been a jury. The trials were open to the public and often became shows or spectacles. Punishments varied from beatings,

exile, or execution depending upon the case. If the case involved the payment of money and the individual could not pay, his body belonged to the wronged party, in other words he became a slave. Other laws decreed payments of extra money for certain crimes such as injuring a high-ranking person, or hurting someone by throwing objects out of an upper story window.

The Romans kept meticulous records of proceedings as witnessed by papyri from Egypt, which show how the proceedings often occurred. These records were probably sent to the provincial capitals where they were collated and synthesized before being sent to Rome. These records were then probably kept in the state archives and could be used when needed.

For the average Roman the legal proceedings were often oppressive. If their opponent was a wealthy individual they stood little chance of winning. The average Roman inhabitant probably did not have much interaction with the courts.

See also: Housing and Community: Public Dangers; Politics and Warfare: Justice and Punishment

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FLOORS

There were a variety of flooring possibilities not only in Rome but throughout the Mediterranean world all depending upon local geography, climate, and customs. In Italy floors ranged from dirt to marble or tile. The simplest type of flooring was dirt, which could be loose or tightly compacted. Dirt roads and public spaces were very common in the Mediterranean world especially in small towns and villages. Dirt floors in houses were likewise common. Most often seen in peasant's huts, dirt floors were viewed as rudimentary and were usually covered with some other type of material. Often these materials were straw or rugs, which provided the residents with some warmth and comfort. As the inhabitants became more affluent it was common to provide more stable flooring.

One way to ensure stability for walking and other traffic was by using stone tiles. They could be placed directly over the dirt or ground but for better stability



Mosaic, hunting scene, Sicily, Italy, ca. 300 CE. Most floors in middle- and upper-class homes had mosaics, and some elaborate such as this hunting scene. The floor covering not only allowed the home to be decorated but made it cleaner and more durable than the dirt or wood floors in lower class dwellings. (Vvoevale/Dreamstime.com)

placed over a prepared layer of gravel and sand to ensure permanency. This was done not only for the stability of the tiles but also to allow drainage. In Italy this technique was common and allowances were made for areas exclusively pedestrian such as *palastrae* or temple precincts. In Pompeii, as well as other cities, the areas were often devoid of animal or wheeled traffic with boundaries or markers erected; in addition, next to roads, walkways were similarly constructed as well. The stone tiles, usually thin, were laid on leveled ground covered with limestone. If the roadway was open to carts, it was required to have thicker tiles or stone slabs set in stronger foundations, usually of two layers of stones, sand, and gravel.

For homes, temples, and public buildings where the entrance was narrowed and received a lot of foot traffic, it was common to put a thin marble slab in mortar, which could be replaced if needed. These marble slabs could be simple, square, or rectangular tiles, or more intricate such as *opus sectile* using marble, granite, and porphyry. For pedestrian areas, both outside or inside, it was common to use ceramic tiles, especially in Italy where the climate did produce extensive heaving or freezing to break the tiles. Often in outside areas brick tile was used instead which allowed for pedestrian regions to have a firm setting. Since brick was more

brittle, it was often laid out in a herring-bone pattern, which allowed for a good fit and less individual wear. Often the mortar bedding that accepted the bricks or tiles were used itself for the flooring. Here the first layer or *statumen* was made of pebble stones, which was dry-jointed and lay on end to allow drainage. The second layer of lime, gravel (or pea gravel), and sand was then laid on thick and called the *rudus*. Finally, the mortar with fragments of tiles, called the *nucleus*, was laid and covered with the walking layer. The simplest was a *nucleus* mixture of large fragments of terracotta, marble, or other stone arranged in a geometric pattern or even scattered randomly. This flooring was called *opus signinum*.

The most elaborate was the mosaic that was made of cubes arranged in the *nucleus* to produce a level and consistent floor. What made the mosaic floor of high quality was the sub-floor. If the surface was not level or compact with good drainage, the mosaic would suffer. In the early Roman period the mosaic was simply pebbles laid in a bed of mortar forming a design. When the artists realized that the pebbles when split produced a flat side or surface, the floor took on a smoother feel, more conducive to walking. By the end of the fourth century BCE artists were creating cubes from these half pebbles to make the *opus tessellatum*, creating higher quality mosaics. These *tesserae* allowed the mosaicist to rival the painter in creating art works beyond simple geometric patterns. By the second century BCE, the Romans had mastered the polychrome mosaic, seen in Pompeii with the large number of floor mosaics of great beauty and intricacies. Mosaics built in fountains were called *opus musivum* from the Muses where the word mosaic came from, with many of these mosaics as either highly geometric or figurative. Both tracks were common and developed side by side. Since it is hard to date mosaics by style, unlike paintings, the timeline of different styles is not as clear. The most realistic form of mosaic was the *opus vermiculatum*, which used *tesserae* of very small size to produce intricate patterns and subtle changes creating life-like and realistic portrayals. These *tesserae* were cut from different types of marble supplemented with different colors of cut glass, which allowed the artist to make detailed portraits, landscapes, and other realistic representations. These mosaics were quite expensive due to the intricate patterns of tiny *tesserae*. Since these mosaics were so costly and difficult to execute, they covered only a small area of the entire floor. Often they were only on a small area of the floor producing the *emblema* usually inserted into the center of the floor and surrounded by geometric or other stylistic coverings. Since the *emblema* could be inserted into the flooring at any time, it was usually made in a workshop and only inserted when needed. The customer probably went to a shop and ordered the *emblema*, similar to modern tile shops.

For houses with a second floor and for houses constructed in some regions, flooring was made out of wood. The wood could be made of logs that were finished on one or both sides and laid on the top of walls spanning a room making

not only a floor but also a ceiling for the room below. These logs could also be cut into boards, which were then laid out to produce a flat finished surface. Since wood was not as heavy as tile, it was easier to work with. The wood flooring could either be tight without gaps or have gaps between the planks.

The floors of houses and public areas were therefore made of a variety of materials. Depending upon the region and materials available, the floors could be dirt, tiles, or wood. Due to their materials their survival into the modern era varied with those of tiles holding up better while most wood floors disappearing.

See also: Economics and Work: Builders; Laborers; Housing and Community: Building Techniques; Masonry Construction; Wooden House Components

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FORUM

The chief city's area was the forum. This area was not only central in the city's geography but more importantly was the political and spiritual center of the state. Outside of Rome these areas were the town square, agora, or other terms that meant the same thing. The forum in fact could simply mean the city. There were Roman towns that had the word forum as part of their name, for example, Forum Clodii. The forum originally was the place where individuals met to engage in trade, business, and politics. Outside of Rome in the provinces and rural areas in Italy these markets often formed into small towns and their name often had forum in it. The southern French city Frejus takes its name from Forum Iulii or Forum of Caesar. The locals traditionally met in these areas and when the Romans arrived they too mingled with the locals in setting up markets, which over time grew into cities. The locals would soon become Romanized and ultimately be allowed to become part of the Roman provincial elites holding office.

Originally the forum was an open space to allow the market to function. Later there was a need and desire to see more important and permanent structures built. A difference between Rome and the southern Italian cities was the use of the porticoes. Inheriting from the Greek cities where the agora was surrounded with covered walkways or porticoes, cities such as Pompeii had their forum surrounded



Roman Forum, Rome, Italy, Republican era. The forum was the central part of the Roman city where the religious, political, and economic life was carried out. The Roman forum developed in the Republic and remained the political center of Rome till the late Empire. As the city grew, more *fora* were built to handle the increase in commerce. (Scaliger/Dreamstime.com)

by a colonnade dating to the Samnite period. Rome on the other hand did not surround their forum with a colonnade. Rather, the covered areas were confined to individual buildings, the earliest being the Basilica Aemilia modeled after the Pompeian colonnade. Vitruvius explained why there was a difference. He indicated that in Rome the forum was rectangular with the length one and half times the width. The porticoes had to be wide enough so that people could cluster away from the sun to see the show. These shows were the gladiatorial contests given at the funerals of important individuals. In addition, the porticoes had a second story with projecting balconies that were rented out and opened over the forum. The shops in the basilicas were set back far enough so people could congregate and watch the shows or turn around and shop. In provincial cities there were porticoes that surrounded the forum. Many of the provincial cities had their forum modeled not on the Republican forum described above but rather on the imperial *fora*.

These imperial *fora* were normally enclosed with well-defined entrances, which allowed a set flow of traffic in predefined places. The best example is the Forum of Augustus in Rome, which was square with a monumental temple in the rear and a colonnade around the structure. Light would come in through the

arcades to allow the shops and covered porticoes to receive enough light. The central area was usually open and paved. Often the temple was separated from the forum by a street that formed in essence the fourth wall, albeit open, which was covered. In provincial towns the basilicas and Curia were located in the forum.

The basilicas were covered markets with porticoes. The Republican Basilica Aemilia had three aisles of columns with the middle one with a second story. The Basilica Julia had six aisles with the central nave three times larger than the aisles. The other structure in the provincial forum was the Curia or local Senate meeting place. The Curia was higher than the basilica so that it had a commanding stature.

In Rome the imperial *fora* became the hallmark of Roman strength and power during the first century of the Empire. Unlike the Roman Forum of the Republic, the imperial *fora* at first seem to be confined to one building, the temple. The Republic Forum had the Basilica Aemilia and opposite it, the Basilica Julia. It had several temples, the Senate house or Curia, and the House of the Vestal Virgins. All of these structures formed the outer part or “wall” of the forum. The imperial *fora* on the other hand often had a solid set of walls with the porticoes attached to it and then a temple at the rear. These were the only structures in the forum. Begun originally by Julius Caesar as a way to handle the overflow of business, especially court cases, the Forum of Caesar was built adjacent to the Roman Forum with the Temple of Venus Genetrix as its focal point. The Emperor Augustus then built a forum called the Forum of Augustus that again allowed for the overflow of business as the city increased. This forum had the temple to Mars Ultor as its main feature. With the conquest of Judea, the Emperor Vespasian built the Forum of Vespasian or the Temple of Peace. This had the square forum and instead of an open area for traffic, had the area in front of the Temple of Peace a garden, crucial since he took over the private gardens of Nero for his palace and now made it a public park. Emperor Domitian built the Transitorium Forum, renamed the Forum of Nerva, between the Temple of Peace and the Forum of Augustus with the Temple of Minerva as its main feature. Finally, the Emperor Trajan built his forum, the largest, finishing the central area of Rome. This forum broke the mold since it had an open courtyard followed by a basilica, a column celebrating his victories over the Dacians as well as two flanking libraries, and a temple. It was the largest and most grandiose forum. These *fora* were built not only for the need of business but as a means of propaganda. The individual forum was meant for specific reasons; in addition to the general business in these *fora*, there were other individual *fora* given over for specific business, such as the meat forum, one for vegetables, and one dedicated for fish. The forum was the commercial center in Rome or the other cities and was a vital part of society. Roman inhabitants visited the *fora* on a daily basis and interacted with their fellow residents there.

See also: *Economics and Work*: Markets; *Housing and Community*: Public Architecture; Public Structures; Surveying; *Politics and Warfare*: Military Camp; *Religion and Beliefs*: Temples

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FURNITURE

Most Roman houses possessed less furniture than modern houses, which in turn provided them more flexibility in their available space. A lower class domicile would be even more sparsely furnished. For many poor Romans who lived in an *insula* with typically only two rooms, one would have a small table and 2 or 3 chairs. This room served as a multipurpose room as dining, living, and family room. The room could also be used to engage in work such as weaving, shoe making, and other household or small-scale entrepreneurial activities. For eating there might be pottery plates and earthen mugs, again fairly inexpensive but durable and practical. The major purpose was for eating. These apartments, usually without kitchens, meant that the room was more for takeout rather than for preparing food.

The second room, usually the bedroom, had for a bed, a mattress or *torus*, originally made of straw, hay, leaves, or similar material stuffed inside a covering to make it as soft as possible. This bed would be covered with sheets or blankets called *toralia*. This small apartment room was minimal and used only for sleeping.

In a “middle-class” apartment with several rooms, there were probably several bedrooms with several beds, this time made of wood and having a mattress. Instead of pottery plates and mugs, there might be some silver plates and goblets, showing an increase in wealth. Middle-class families could also possess more lamps and candles making their apartments appear more open. In addition, in winter, they could have a brazier or two to provide heat.

For the wealthy the apartments or houses were more opulent and had a larger number of rooms allowing for them to be outfitted more. Wealthy individuals in addition had superior dinnerware, cabinets for clothes, tables of metal and marble, and more luxurious chairs and couches to relax. Paintings, sculptures, frescoes, and mosaics would grace their houses showing a visitor not only their status but also



Stone bed, Pompeii, Italy, ca. 70 CE. Although ancient furniture tended to be wood and thus not preserved, frescoes and mosaics show their construction and use. This stone bed from Pompeii is an example of more permanent structure often found in brothels. (Chris Hill/Dreamstime.com)

wealth. The family treasures would not be just money but included such things as plate, books (papyri rolls), furniture, and other movable goods. A daughter's dowry often included plate, furniture, and clothes indicating that these items were more than just utilitarian goods. Wealthy families would also have more light and heat.

For the wealthy, a proper bed, a *lecti cubicuares*, existed where one climbed onto a raised platform usually by a ladder or steps. The bed could be made of metal, wood, or ivory, and often had silver or gold feet, or *fulcra*. The mattress was placed on strings or ropes. There were twin and double beds; the latter had terms designating the sides through which people entered, the open side was called the *sponda*, the closed other side had a board and was called the *pluteus*. The bed also had names referring to other components such as the *torus* exterior (open) and *torus* interior (closed) and it is probable that these beds had two mattresses placed side by side to create a double bed. The wealthy had mattresses stuffed with wool or feathers and had pillows. These mattresses were covered with sheets and there were blankets often of rich material, especially the highly prized purple colored spreads some with embroidered gold material placed on top. It is possible that there were hanging bed curtains that kept out dust and drafts.

The fact that these beds and other furniture pieces would be opulent and expensive can be seen in the criticism that their owners received from Christian

leaders and writers. The Christian Clement of Alexandria forbade expensive bedding, gold-sprinkled rugs, rich purple bed robes, and elaborate purple blankets since the use of these materials leads to corruption of the soul. Purple was the cloth highly prized since it was not only aesthetically pleasing but difficult to dye and hence expensive. He also forbade sleeping on soft down since it not only panders to the body but is injurious too. Clement clearly had the wealthy in mind when he made these pronouncements. The homes of the wealthy had a greater number of pieces of furniture and accoutrements.

For the house, lamps were made of clay, glass, or metal, usually bronze, filled with oil and lit with wicks. The more the wicks in a lamp, the more light given off, but with more wicks, more oil was consumed. This is reminiscent of the parable of the women in the New Testament who did not have enough oil to wait out the night. Although not common, lamps made of glass existed and were highly valued for their craftsmanship. The amount of light, however, was not great. Candles made from wax or tallow gave some light but again, not a substantial amount of light. Still, in some houses dinner parties undoubtedly took place late in the night and required artificial light. Most Roman families then set their rising and retiring to the sun.

The furniture used in a wealthy dining room had couches and tables. A typical dining room, a *triclinium*, had three couches each allowing three people to recline and three tables. The dining room had other pieces of furniture across the exterior part of the room. These individual tables and cupboards housed the necessary goods for the family.

Throughout a Roman house furniture varied and was usually utilitarian. Most homes had few pieces of furniture and those that existed were multipurpose. The majority of furniture pieces have not survived since they were constructed of wood and by nature were temporary. It should be assumed that a bedroom had some kind of trunk to hold the clothes and valuables. For some homes there would have been a large family trunk, which probably served as the family's vault for silverware, plate, and other things of value.

See also: Housing and Community: Wooden House Components

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GARDENS

The Greeks inherited the garden as a spot of relaxation and reflection from the Persians by Alexander the Great. While they had existed in Greece such as in Athens, they were best known from the Persians. The Persians had probably seen the importance of gardens from the Egyptians and Babylonians. The Persian kings had created the idea of gardens as personal spaces for retreat. This concept was exported by Alexander the Great and his successors to the west. The Roman general Lucullus imported the garden, *hortus* into the city of Rome about 60 BCE after his victories in the east. These became known as the Garden of Lucullus or *horti Lucullani*. This garden was located on the Pincian Hill near the edge of Rome, away from the heart of the city.

The garden became a place of peace and tranquility like the ancient Persian garden. These private gardens were retreats away from the pressures of politics and society. Traditionally, the Roman garden had several components. The first was the *xystus* or terrace, an open space, which was usually on the back of the house attached to the house by a covered portico. In Greece the *xystus* was a covered portico at the gymnasium where the individual could exercise in any weather. In the Roman garden the *xystus* was an area where the owner could relax with friends and enjoy themselves in quiet. The next part of the garden was usually below the *xystus* and was the *ambulation*, which was the formal garden with flowers, trees, shrubs, perhaps a pool and fountain, and statues. This allowed the owner to take leisurely walks, read, and engage in conversations with friends and family. The final part of the garden was often the exercise way, a circular pathway called a *gestation*, which was usually a covered pathway. The individual could ride on horseback or be carried about on a litter. The *gestation* often went around the *ambulation* or around the back of the house.

Some of the famous Republican and early imperial gardens located in Rome had been given to the city as places of refuge. In the Campus Martius there were the *Horti Agrippae* left by Marcus Agrippa to the people of Rome. Located near the baths of Agrippa they probably formed part of his holdings. Pompey the Great had his gardens, the *Horti Pompeiani*; they seem to have been on two levels rising to the Pincian Hill. One of the oldest gardens in Rome belonged to Scipio Africanus, the victor over Hannibal who had his *Horti Scipionis* and possibly his villa in the Campus Martius.

On the site of the modern Vatican's St. Peter's Church were the *Horti Agrippinae* belonging to the elder Agrippina (Germanicus's wife), mother of the emperor Caligula. A large garden, they extended from the site of the later church to the river and were probably named the *Horti Neronis* where the Christians were martyred by Nero. Also on the right bank of the Tiber was the *Horti Aquili Reguli* named after the legacy hunter Regulus mentioned by Pliny in his letter. It had an



Garden in Pompeii, Italy, ca. 70 CE. Wealthy Romans would create private and serene gardens for relaxation and contemplation. These gardens were often intricate and populated with rare or exotic trees and shrubs. Public gardens in cities allowed all, even the poor, a place to relax. (Scaliger/Dreamstime.com)

extensive portico. Also on the right bank is the *Horti Aroniani* mentioned in an inscription. Julius Caesar also left his gardens on the right side of the Tiber to the Roman people in his will. There he had entertained Cleopatra in 44 BCE. They were located near the Gate of Portuensis and ran south along the Via Portuensis. Cicero mentions the *Horti Cassiani*, which was probably on the right bank but nothing else is known. Another set of gardens on the right bank in late Republic was *Horti Clodiae*, which belonged to Clodia and was mentioned by Cicero who also mentions the *Horti Coponiani* probably also on the right side of the river. He also mentions the *Horti Cusinii* probably on the same side as was the *Horti Damasippi*, which seem to have been large near the river. The Drusus family had the *Horti Drusi* on the right bank of the Tiber as Cicero frequently mentioned, as were the *Horti Siliani*. Emperor Galba had his gardens, the *Horti Galbae*, also here. The *Horti Othonis*, otherwise unknown, are mentioned by Cicero as belonging on the right bank of the Tiber as were the *Horti Scapulani*. The *Horti C. Passieni Crispi* was near the Mausoleum of Hadrian (Castel S. Angelo). The *Horti Reguli* mentioned by Pliny was also on the right bank. Cicero mentioned the *Horti Trebonii* also on the right bank. It is clear that the right side of the Tiber had extensive tracts of land for gardens, places of refuge and relaxation.

On the Pincian Hill in 60 BCE Lucullus laid out his garden; under the early Empire they were called the *Horti Asiatici* belonging to Valerius Asiaticus; they were desired by the Empress Messalina (wife of Claudius) who forced Valerius to commit suicide and then seized them. The ancient authors viewed these gardens as one of the richest and most beautiful in Rome. The *Horti Domitiorum* contained the tomb of the Domitia on Pincian Hill and was known for its gardens; Nero's ashes were deposited there.

On the Esquiline there was the *Horti Calyclani*, just outside the Servian wall. The *Horti Epaphroditiani* was also on this same hill where the Anio Novus deposited its water, they belonged to the freedman Epaphroditus who lived under Nero and Domitian but probably existed even before. Also here were the *Horti Lamiani* probably laid out in 3 CE by the consul L. Aelius Lamia; these seem to have been near the *Horti Maiani* and *Horti Maecenatis* on the Esquiline as well. The latter were owned by Maecenas and became imperial property upon his death; he had converted this rough and squalid region into a beautiful area with gardens and promenades. On the boundary of Regions IV and VI stood the *Horti Lolliani* of M. Lollius, the consul of 21 BCE or his daughter Lollia Paulina. Claudius's freedman Pallas had his gardens, the *Horti Pallantiani*, on the Esquiline between the porta Praenestina and the porta Tiburtina. Statilius Taurus had his gardens, *Horti Tauriani*, here; Agrippina forced him to commit suicide in 53 CE because she desired them. Clearly, these gardens with their associated villas were seen as luxurious and desirable.

The *Horti Cottae* mentioned by Cicero was a small garden on the Via Ostiensis outside the city. The *Horti Crassipedis* belonged to Cicero's son-in-law Furius Crassipes on Via Appia probably in the Almo River valley. Near the barracks of the imperial German bodyguard were the *Horti Dolabellae* owned by Gnaeus Dolabella; neither site, however, is known. The *Horti Pomponii Secundi* is mentioned by Tacitus, but their location is not known.

There were other gardens that existed and were mentioned, but they came later or are not securely dated to the late Republic–early Empire. It is possible that many of these gardens, especially on the right bank of the Tiber River were reconfigured and renamed so that in fact two or more different gardens may have been the same one. The gardens produced green areas in the city and allowed everyone to have a chance for peace and quiet.

See also: Housing and Community: Villa

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MASONRY CONSTRUCTION

The construction of large buildings made of stone and brick was a hallmark of Roman architecture. The erection of these stone or masonry structures required a sturdy foundation. Typically, the Romans in Italy and other Mediterranean regions used massive masonry foundations to ensure the structures did not shift. In the north, in Gaul and northern Italy, it was more common to excavate the soil down to the frost line and create a foundation that would not be affected by the yearly freezing and thawing of the soil. The footers would be made of flat stones arranged end on end in rows to ensure that the water would drain. Using stones of decreasing size, the foundation would be built up to street level. When the Romans discovered the use of lime mortar they realized that they could use a more varied mixture of stones and other artificial materials for their foundations.

The original rubble wall used throughout the Roman period was the *opus incertum*. It was the general all-purpose rubble plan, which was then faced with other materials; even brick walls were partly erected of this general rubble. This type of wall saw its appearance in the fourth century BCE and reached its height of use in the late second century BCE during the civil wars. It was found in foundations of numerous temples, houses, and above all the defensive walls of numerous cities. The use of *opus incertum* declined after the time of Sulla. Part of the reason for its decline came about because of new forms of manufacturing, which allowed for pre-made large-scale production of bricks and tiles. Instead of making due with stones of different shapes and fitting them together to create the wall, as in *opus incertum*, now the builder could merely use pre-made materials and then fit them together.

The use of large-scale manufactured materials resulted in the *opus quasi reticulatum*, which was further enhanced into the *opus reticulatum*. This change from *opus incertum* began in the late second century BCE. Here the small rectangular stones lay at angles (about 45°), allowed the material to be more readily placed. With the use of mortar the Romans soon realized that the exact placement of stones did not matter since the cement could be filled and expanded as needed. Vitruvius points out that the reticulate system was the most common at his time and was preferred over the previous uncertain (*incertum*) form. Reticulate masonry seems

to have been centered mainly in central Italy. There are very few examples of reticulate formations in Gaul, Spain, Africa, or even Sicily. In central Italy, however, it remained in use well into the second century CE.

The use of rectangular blocks, usually small in nature and held firm with mortar, became more common after Augustus. The *opus vittatum* soon replaced the reticulate form and was used first in repair works during the late first century BCE. The towers at Pompeii to handle the water supply and the Eumachia or wool market used small rectangular limestone blocks. *Opus vittatum* was not seen in Rome until the mid-second century CE, and usually was found in conjunction with brick structures. It never really caught on in Rome. It was in Gaul that the use of *opus vittatum* became common especially during the Augustan period with the introduction of mortar. It was in use throughout the Roman period and continued beyond. It was common in Gaul to use ashlar blocks as quoins to face the *opus vittatum*. The stones were placed so that they overlapped with lower blocks in an alternating fashion providing clear joints for the mortar and therefore more stability and cohesion. The *opus mixtum* allowed for the walls to have a mixture of rubble (*opus incertum*) with quoins of blocks. This was a common system in Pompeii. Here the rubble and brick were intermixed. In some cases there were two levels of thin brick followed by a level of stone and then brick and so forth. Typically, in Italy the bricks were used for facing, whereas in Gaul they were used throughout the wall.

Another type of facing was the *opus spicatum* or “ear of wheat” or “herring-bone.” Here the stones are placed on their side at a 45° angle to produce the cross weaving effect. This type of facing was common for foundations or for under roads and floors. For the most part it was not used for the upper portions of a monument or building.

The most symbolic type of masonry construction was the use of brick or *opus testaceum*. This type of construction became most noted in the first century CE under the Empire. The first great brick structure was the *castra praetoria* built under Tiberius. Other structures soon followed, the Domus Aureus, the underpinnings of the Coliseum, Domitian’s palace, and Trajan’s market. It should be remembered that these structures, like the systems above, were meant to be faced with marble or other stone. The brick masonry formed the core of the wall or structure. These baked bricks gave the structure more strength than the unbaked bricks, *opus latericium*, and became more permanent. The different types of bricks were related to their size, and could be multicolored. In the later Empire the walls were brick faced.

Masonry columns were used during masonry wall constructions. These replaced the stone columns of earlier periods. Its use started from the end of the second century BCE and probably corresponded to the change to *opus reticulatum*.

The interior core was surrounded by 10 petals and completed by 10 lozenge-shaped segments to create 20 flutings. This column was then covered with stucco to create the illusion of marble.

Many of the structures built in earlier periods were reconstructed using later techniques and materials. This evidence allows archaeologist to see the progression and often secures the dating of restoration of structures. The changes in material and techniques point to the Roman ability of commanding technology and construction techniques.

See also: Economics and Work: Builders; Industry; Laborers; Housing and Community: Building Techniques; Floors; Public Architecture; Public Structures; Science and Technology: Machinery

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PALACES

For the average Roman the great palaces were merely sights to behold in amazement. They could not imagine living there and had few opportunities to enjoy the wonders. They might be lucky to catch a glimpse of the place or perhaps know someone who knew someone who worked in the palace, but beyond that, like modern residents of London or other famous cities, the chance to enter these domains was nonexistent. But these palaces produced awe, fear, and respect among Rome's inhabitants. Daily, the locals could look up to the Palatine Hill and see the successive structures built over a century to accommodate the emperors and their government. These palaces were not merely places to live but became the heart of the Empire and its machinery. The palaces originated first as large homes during the Republic. Many of these homes had gardens attached and were secluded havens. Many of these "palaces" were taken over by the emperors and incorporated into their new houses creating the imperial palaces proper beginning with Sulla down to Augustus.

Augustus purposely did not construct a new palace. He knew that his uncle Julius Caesar had in part been assassinated because of his desire to be king and Augustus knew that to keep control he had to merely look like he was an equal

to his senatorial peers even if he held unlimited power. He initially took over the house of Q. Hortensius Hortalus, the son of the great orator who had rivaled Cicero and who died fighting at Phillipi in the service of Brutus and Cassius against Octavian (Augustus). It was an atrium-style house constructed of several stories with vaulted chambers in the basement for a retreat from the hot summer months in Rome. Three of these vaulted rooms have survived and were decorated in murals and correspond to descriptions of dining rooms. Octavian later outgrew this home and constructed a newer home nearby at the Temple of Apollo between 36 and 29 BCE before his victory over Antony and Cleopatra. Built on the hill, the top story laid across the narrow street from the House of Livia where his widow would live after his death, while the lower level lay next to the stairs of the Temple of Apollo. A large house, it was able to provide not only living quarters for the imperial family but also offices for the bureaucrats and military officials. Augustus's successors each built new palaces. Tiberius's palace, the Domus Tiberiana, was constructed on a large platform 197 yards by 131 on the northwest corner of the hill. Nero decided to use his artistic abilities and constructed a series of palaces probably built upon his predecessors. He built his first palace by uniting the Palatine palaces, gardens on the Esquiline, and his father's house near the Via Sacra into the Domus Transitoria, which burned in the great fire of 64. He then built an even grander house, the Domus Aurea near the present-day Coliseum, then his private lake, so that the new palace was seen as a country estate.

With the rise of the Flavians this ostentatious display of power in downtown Rome was replaced with a return to the Palatine. With the destruction of Tiberius's palace, which Vespasian seems to have disliked, it now allowed the Flavians to construct anew. The most important was the palace of Domitian called the Domus Flavia or Augustana. It was designed to be seen as a symmetrical structure that clearly showed the glory and power of the emperor. The palace was divided into three zones. The western wing, the official reception area, had the entrance in the north into three rooms moving west (the outer end) to east along the Clivus Palatinus, the roadway from the Arch of Titus down below in the Forum. The entrance into the palace after going through the outer portico led into the basilica (on the west), the Audience Hall or *aula regia* (in the center), and the *lararium*. The basilica, an apsidal hall, was a large open court, while the *aula* measured 36 by 27 yards and had the throne on the opposite end on a raised dais for an impressive view. The final room, the *lararium*, was the imperial chapel presumably to Domitian's father Vespasian and brother Titus, both declared gods. Behind the *aula* was a great peristyle with a *porticus* and a fountain that was a central site for the official wing. This in turn led to the great *triclinium* or state banqueting hall measuring the size of the *aula*. This entire wing was meant to show the power of the emperor; from official meetings and greetings to even his dining happened here.

The middle section that was multilevel was the private residence of the emperor. The main entry was at the southern side and was 35 feet below the surface; and on top of piers, above a lower peristyle was another set of apartments. Again, there were fountains and apartments throughout. There were domed rooms and bedrooms that provided different views and seasonal changes. Gardens were arranged on both the western and eastern ends of the apartments.

The eastern wing was the great sunken garden often called the Stadium or Hippodrome, 175 yards long and 55 yards wide. It had five gates at the north end and the turning posts (*metae*) appeared as fountains at the curved southern end. There was a two-storied *porticus* that enclosed the garden on three sides including an *exedra* on the east probably for exhibitions. At the south end there was an entrance leading to the imperial box seats for the emperor overlooking the Circus Maximus below.

The Domus Flavia became the official residence of the emperor for the next century and beyond. The palace became the most important imperial residence for Rome and was used extensively. The design and outlay allowed the emperors to not only conduct business but also live a fantastic and comfortable life.

See also: *Food and Drink:* State Banquets; *Housing and Community:* Public Architecture; Public Structures; *Religion and Beliefs:* Emperor Worship

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PUBLIC ARCHITECTURE

The architecture of the public sphere in Rome and the other urban centers created an environment that promoted grandeur and achievement. There existed an idea that the buildings, monuments, roads, and other works glorified the achievements of Rome, its leaders, and the domination over “inferior” regions. In addition to the actual structure it was also important how they were laid out in the city. Public munificence was an important part of the public architecture. An individual would pay for the construction of a structure and in the process be praised. These public buildings typically had some utilitarian function even if the structure was

a monument or temple. Often associated with the structure was a donation for the upkeep of a structure or benefice to help the city. This in turn often led to the *alimenta* which some individuals set up to take care of Roman boys and girls, often orphans, in the city.

In the forum, the public architecture centered on religious structures, government buildings, and commercial places as opposed to private structures. The religious structures allowed the Romans to highlight their grandeur and to be held in a special place in the eyes of the gods. This was manifested with continuing to build grand temples. As time progressed more and more temples became larger and grander and more ornate. Since Rome was polytheistic there were at least several temples in the immediate public areas of the Forum. The chief deity of the city, for example, in Rome Jupiter, was usually given the most prominent place. Visitors arriving in the city would naturally be drawn to the chief temple. It was here that religious sacrifices were performed for the good of the community. It was here that citizens were to come together for the good of society and practice the communal sacrifices.



Roman Forum, Rome, Italy, 700–50 BCE. The forum was the political, religious, and economic center of Rome during its history. The public temples and secular buildings provided the government with meeting places for political events and law courts and served as record depositories for important documents. During the Empire, imperial palaces also became part of the public spheres as official meeting and administrative centers. (Sarraz22/Dreamstime.com)

Government buildings had a different look. They were often ornate but more importantly they were functional. The buildings could have offices for clerks, spaces for archives, and access to other officers. Most of these buildings were square with an interior-facing structure with windows on the upper levels to prevent robberies. In Rome the two most important government structures were the state archives on the Capitoline and the Curia. The state archives or Tabularium was a large and complex structure that held bureaucratic offices and state papers. The offices allowed for the collection of tax receipts, formulation of the budget, official documents from provinces, and so forth. Each governor under the Empire sent in a formal report to the emperor, which laid out the conditions of the provinces such as tax receipts, judicial decisions, and other routine matters. The second government building was typically the Senate meeting house or Curia. This again was a functional auditorium that could hold a number of participants. In Rome the Curia could probably hold about 300 individuals. In other towns the Curia allowed the local town council to meet and conduct their business, which usually involved the collection of taxes, planning expenditures, and debating policy issues.

Analogous to these government buildings were entertainment facilities. These structures included theaters, odeums, and amphitheaters. While in the simplest form they were structures to hold people, they were also decorated. For example, they had arches, sculptures, decorative motifs, and inscriptions, which glorified individuals and the city. A common attribute was marble facing to show its builder's wealth. The seats were often ornate as well. These structures again were meant to glorify the city and state as well as the builder. Often these structures were platforms for the important magistrate to be seen by the population. In imperial times the emperor was often present allowing him to be seen by the populace. While this may have glorified him it also left him open to attacks, mainly public opinion. Individuals often felt freer to shout or boo him in these mass settings since they were anonymous.

Another aspect of public architecture was the commercial setting. Commercial structures included basilicas, which not only acted as a government structured but also allowed for business transactions. Markets also allowed for both temporary and permanent stalls for commercial endeavors. The permanent market typically glorified individuals and their munificence since they constructed these markets or *macellum*. The markets also created a space where the government could ensure that the public and the state were treated fairly. The *aediles* would police the markets making sure that the standard weights and measures were abided. The permanent market buildings allowed individuals from outside the city to see the glory of the city and the power of builders; in Rome, the imperial family became the chief benefactor.

Other public structures would include roads, statues, and other monuments. Roads were not only utilitarian structures that allowed for transport, they were

also examples of Rome's engineering. The roads often had shrines and statues along the way, which further presented the glory of Rome. Mileposts were set up and often indicated who paid for the road's construction and when. Statues may not have had a utilitarian function, but they nevertheless allowed the population to understand who had created many of Rome's achievements. And monuments allowed the population to see the power of the city or state in their lives.

The importance of these benefactors continued long after their death. Often these individuals ensured that the public buildings were not only constructed but taken care of. Some individuals wanted to promote other political ideas in these works. The best example of this can be seen in the building program of the Flavian emperors, Vespasian, Titus, and Domitian who systematically dismantled the private architecture of the Emperor Nero. Whereas Nero had a private garden, Vespasian created a public park, the Temple of Peace, with its pastoral setting; Nero had a private house, the Domus Aureus, while Titus built over it his public baths open to all; and Nero had his private lake in which Vespasian, Titus, and Domitian built their amphitheater or Coliseum. These public works allowed the memory of Nero to be continuously blackened as someone who created a private estate in downtown Rome, while the Flavians returned the area to the public. Public architecture was therefore created to glorify the individual and the state. This idea was constant throughout Rome's history and left an enduring mark on society.

See also: *Economics and Work*: Builders; Industry; Laborers; Public Works; *Housing and Community*: Forum; Public Dangers; Public Structures; Surveying; Town Planning

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PUBLIC DANGERS

The Roman city had numerous dangers that inhabitants had to deal with. These dangers required them to react differently than modern societies. Some of these dangers included fire, civil unrest, disease, and natural disasters. During the

Republic, the Romans experimented with different responses that ultimately led to some standardized programs under the Empire.

One of the most deadly dangers was fire. Cities in antiquity were constructed of highly flammable materials, mainly wood and thatch. The wooden frames being dry after only several months were highly combustible and due to the homes and buildings being so close to each other fire could spread quickly. Fire was often started accidentally, usually from carelessness, with the most common area being the kitchen. Olive oil, used in cooking in the Mediterranean was very flammable. Given that most homes did not have water flowing into the house meant that if a fire broke out there was little time to extinguish the flames. Once fire broke out in the home, and if it was not immediately contained, there was a threat to it spreading quickly. The neighbors had to prevent the spread of the fire without help from the city government. Most of the cities did not have any kind of firefighting department, let alone any sophisticated firefighting equipment. Using buckets and the local fountain the inhabitants would attempt to prevent the fire from spreading. This was also accomplished by using axes to tear down nearby structures lest they catch fire. During the early Republic, the Romans had three magistrates, *tresviri nocturni*, who had a group of state slaves who would attack fires with these instruments. This system did not work well given the number of fires that consumed the city. Other officials such as the *aediles* were also in charge of the firefighting, but it remained a problem. This haphazard method of fighting fires continued until the late Republic when the financier Marcus Licinius Crassus, a member of the First Triumvirate, formed Rome's first true fire brigade. Using a band of slaves he would put out fires, usually among the homes of the wealthy. While this may sound like a noble deed, Crassus's motive was economic. Upon arriving Crassus would not allow his fire brigade to commence fighting the fire until the owner sold his property to Crassus, usually at a cut-rate price. Once the fire was put out Crassus would often sell the property that may not have been badly damaged for an immense profit, often with the original owner buying it back at an extensively higher price than he had sold it. It was often said that Crassus's slaves were quick to arrive at the homes even though their barracks were across town. Rumors spread that Crassus had started the fire. Augustus as emperor in 6 CE decided after a terrible fire to create a fire brigade with the night watchmen, the *Vigiles Urbani*, who patrolled the streets to ensure if a fire broke out they could quickly respond. These men would use axes and hooks to tear down nearby buildings. This may have been where the phrase "hook and ladder" came from. Sometimes they would use *ballistae*, catapults, to knock them down as well.

While societies have always settled along rivers since they provided communication, trade opportunities, and agricultural necessities, they have also incurred potential for disasters, especially flooding. The city of Rome grew up since it was at the site of a ford across the Tiber River just below the Tiber Island near the Campus

Martius. Flooding occurred during the winter and spring, caused by the winter rainy season and the melting of the winter snows. The normal river level was between 15 and 20 feet with flooding occurring at a level of about 40 feet flooding the low-lying areas. The river would not only disrupt the city life but also would rush into the city causing damage to structures. For example, a flood of two feet can carry away cars and trucks. For Rome, the flooding water would produce enough force to destroy such rickety structures as apartment houses and other wooden structures. When the river flooded it would inundate the low-lying areas such as the Campus Martius, Forum Boarium, Circus Maximus, Roman Forum, and the region across the Tiber. Since the city was built on the hills and valley of Rome, these low-level regions held the commercial and political sites of Rome. The valleys became flooded and deposited silt. The floods in antiquity and even until the modern era lasted on average about five days. Records indicate that they were often so bad that the Romans had to cross the roads by boat. This would have caused major disruption for everyone in the city. The floods would have resulted in a breakdown of communication, spoilage of food, damage to houses and structures, and the deposit of silt. The flooding would also displace the population causing society to be further disrupted. One of the major disasters was drowning; although not mentioned explicitly, the sources often indicate that great numbers of people died. One must assume that the lives lost were often confined to the poor who tended to live in the valleys. As with any flooding, the deposit of silt required extensive cleanup. This silt was usually slimy and foul smelling that carried even more trouble, mainly disease. Since human waste was common in the streets, it would have been spread even more throughout the city. Other problems with the flooding would have been the weakening of brick buildings since the mortar would have been loosened by the water force pushing bricks aside. Since most of the grain warehouses were located next to the river, the floods would not only spoil the grain but also destroy the warehouses.

These public dangers magnified the problems already existing in every village and city. But with a population of nearly one million, Rome's experience was even more extensive and potentially more devastating putting more stress on the government and society.

See also: Housing and Community: Crime; Politics and Warfare: Justice and Punishment

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GREAT FIRE OF ROME

In July 64 CE, a fire destroyed much of Rome, affecting 10 of the city's 14 districts. The loss of life and property damage was so extensive that the rebuilding program virtually remade Rome. Several ancient writers blamed the fire on Emperor Nero, who, in turn, blamed the Christians, thus initiating one of the first large-scale persecutions of Christians. According to the Roman historian Tacitus (56–117 CE), the fire began in the shops next to the Circus Maximus, the famed Roman chariot stadium. With the aid of the wind, the fire spread quickly through the Circus Maximus, the nearby Palatine and Caelian hills, and the city's narrow streets. Panicked people desperately sought a safe place to wait out the fire. To make matters worse, looters helped the fire along, hampering the fire brigades. Three districts were completely destroyed, and seven more suffered such significant damage that little was salvageable. Ancient temples and treasures were lost, including the temple of the Vestal Virgins that housed the city's household gods.

Little historical evidence supports the rumors that Nero started the fire. The gangs of looters who helped spread the fire may have claimed to be acting on imperial orders to justify their actions. Another widely circulated idea was that Nero wished to tear down Rome and refound the city, naming it after himself. Although the historian Tacitus gave credence to the belief that, while reciting Homer (not playing a fiddle, as legend suggests), Nero watched the city burn from a distance, Nero actually organized a highly effective effort to help his subjects. Not only did he provide government buildings and the Campus Martius as places of refuge, but he also used his own private gardens. Nero arranged for temporary housing and food and fixed the price of grain.

PUBLIC STRUCTURES

The typical Roman town or city would have had certain standard public structures. These would have included the basilica, market, Curia, *horrea*, *tabularium*, *castella*, among others. These structures would have been publically financed forming part of the center core of the city. These structures were intended to help the city function politically, economically, and socially. The first structure that a visitor would see upon coming into a town would have been the wall and towers/

gate tower of the fortified camp or *castella*. These structures would have protected the city from attack. The walls and towers were traditionally built early in the formation of the city. Built by public money, the walls for many towns were the most important since they ensured the general safety for the city. After the wall was built, the citizens could turn to other public structures.

A major public structure built next would have been the basilica. The basilica was a unique architectural structure created by Rome. This structure was created because of the physical climate of Italy. The basilica had parallel rows of columns that created spaces for separate rooms, some temporarily made with curtains, other more permanent. The basilica was an open space often with multiple stories with rooms situated around an open central area. The rooms on the ground floor would have been shops let out by the state. These shops would have been for a variety of different occupations. These shops provided not only income for the city but also allowed for commerce to occur on a semipermanent status; these shops could be transferred, hence temporary, but unlike stalls or carts in the streets, they were more permanent. On the upper floors, balconies over the aisles created rooms that could have been classrooms, meeting rooms, and offices for state offices. The basilica stood in the forum and became the political, legal, and economical center of the town. The forum allowed for political debate and law courts as well as market and business transactions. Since the Italian climate was extremely hot in the summer and often subjected to rains in the fall, the basilica allowed the physical elements to be held at bay while acting as a forum. The basilica allowed the forum to be moved inside where legal and business actions could take place. One of the most common actions taking place in the basilica was the law courts. Requiring a large space for the juries, the basilica could also handle several law cases and other business actions by the use of curtains that cordoned off spaces.

The markets were public structures that allowed for the engagement of commerce. A typical market or *macellum/mercatus* such as those built in the cities of North Africa, had a rectangular space surrounded by columns with a central shrine in the center, usually dedicated to Ceres, the goddess of markets, with space for tables for vendors. The area was often set up so that awnings could shade these tables. The markets could also be large structures such as Trajan's Markets that had multiple floors and rooms built into a hill. The market allowed for vendors to set up temporary stalls to sell their wares that did not require them to have a permanent place or lease reducing their overhead. Permanent stalls were also created for some merchants.

Another public building, mainly for political events, was the Curia. The Curia was the regular and normal meeting place of the Senate or town councils. The Senate in Rome could only meet in a place where the priests could read the skies for omens. The Curia was therefore usually built on a raised platform open to an



Roman Bath, Bath, England, imperial age. The Romans constructed structures for the benefit of the public in cities throughout the Roman world, such as this bath complex in Bath England. Usually paid by local elites, the public structures not only allowed the populace to be served, but allowed the builder to show his might and prestige to his local community. (Andrew Emptage/Dreamstime.com)

area with a clear view of the skies. In Rome the original Curia was built during the Monarchy and was large enough to hold 300 senators. The building would be rebuilt several times during Rome's history. Associated with the Curia was the area below it, an open space called the *comitium* where the populace heard the Senate's announcements, speeches by magistrates, debates by candidates, and the people voted. At Cosa the *comitium* was a circular sunken area with steps.

Another public structure was the *horrea* or warehouses that ensured the city had sufficient food supplies during the natural times during the year when supplies were scarce. The state, not only in Rome but also in other cities, bought grain during harvest time when supplies were cheap and stored them for use during lean times. Built along the river these massive public works dominated the river traffic. These structures were built on pillars and were often long and narrow. The warehouses employed a large number of seasonal workers who unloaded the barges to store the grain and other goods.

A final structure was the *tabularium* or state office building that housed the archives and documents needed to run the state. Built into the Capitoline Hill,

the *tabularium* was of considerable importance. Documents were always needed to run the state and this office building with massive walls and high windows to ensure protection allowed the state to function.

These public structures were used to keep the government running. Papyri from Egypt often make references to buildings that were counterparts to those in Rome, often in routine documents. These references indicate that everyone probably had a good idea of their function and importance. The papyri make references to temples that had to be restored or built, market places that were policed and regulated, the meeting places of the town councils or Senate, and the general law buildings many were financed by the cities. All these structures were duplicated in numerous towns throughout the Roman world and were the hallmark of Roman society. These structures could be made of stone or wood. All individuals in towns and cities would know what these structures did. The numerous papyri pointing to records clearly show that public buildings were a vital part of the Roman system of government, society, and economics.

See also: *Economics and Work*: Builders; Industry; Laborers; *Housing and Community*: Apartments; Public Architecture; Public Dangers; *Religion and Beliefs*: Temples

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ROOFS

The construction of roofs in Roman houses and buildings was not only intricate but also composed of different materials. The main material was wood. It was used for the various components of the infrastructure and even the roof. There are few remains, even at Herculaneum and Pompeii, that show how the roofs looked. While there are traces of supports and sockets that held the joists and rafters, the great monuments have long been destroyed. The last ancient structure with roof

timbers was St. Paul's Basilica Outside the Walls, built around 400 CE, which was destroyed in 1823 in a fire.

The architect Vitruvius mentions the different species of wood used in roof timbering, but he rarely mentions how they were constructed. While the remains and literary works are silent for the Roman period, Etruscan tombs, however, carved in tufa show how early huts and homes looked. The earliest type of roofing presented in these tombs was the posts resting on the roof-ridge, which in turn rested on the top of the walls. Represented in the tomb form called "hut tombs" from the seventh century BCE, they had a tent space created by two slopes of the roof or the "gable roof." Most of the roofs were not steep and usually contained just the joists and ceiling. More often, they are fragments of remains, especially the sockets, which are visible in stone construction blocks as seen in many Greek constructions. Roman masonry often lacks this evidence since they were at higher levels being vulnerable to decay and only occurring in stone blocks and not the wooden materials of upper stories in Roman works.

The simplest type of roof, preserved in Pompeii and Herculaneum, was the lean-to or pent roof. The roof sloped from one wall to the other or to a colonnade. The rafters created the roofing structure and held a stratum of boards or laths across the rafters at right angles on which ceramic tiles were placed. The rafters were supported by the wall or colonnade entablature. At Pompeii the roofing had a simple pattern. The horizontal supports called purlins (*cathenae*) go from one gable wall to the other; these are the joists, which in turn hold the rafters and then the laths (*templa*) and either the tiles or often another sub layer, the *asseres*, which are at right angles to the laths occur. The roof was usually supported further by internal walls. To cover greater spans, the Greeks and Romans used the triangulated truss that allowed open spaces without close internal supports. The wall holds the purlin or wall plate that allows the horizontal tie-beam to rest and be in tension. This beam spans the open areas but does not hold the roof. Rather coming up from the tie-beam at an angle to the roof ridge are the two principle rafters that are in compression and exert the force downward toward the wall and upward to the king post that is placed midway on the tie-beam and held in tension toward the roof rafter. This relieves the tie-beam of pressure allowing it instead to be exerted on the principal rafters and carried away to the walls. On these principle rafters are placed common rafters that are held by purlins creating a space and then the lathes are placed on the common rafters. Finally, the tiles are laid on top. This process allowed for the heavy roof to be supported by the walls rather than the tie-beam and therefore prevented collapse. The Romans experimented with greater spaces. The first basilica of St. Peter's built at about 330 CE had a span of 65 meter wide with a central nave of 24 meter. This central nave was held by a pair of rows of

columns supporting a triangulated truss. It is probable that to span the distance, the joists were joined from smaller pieces, probably two, to make up the principle rafters and tie-beams. While the king post is not mentioned by Vitruvius, it is evident in paintings and later works. This type of structure and the use of trusses were in use until the 20th century.

On top of the rafters was placed the roofing materials, the four principle ones being ceramic, stone, metal, and vegetable. Ceramic tiles were inherited from the Greeks and were arranged in the same pattern universally. Tiles were the most common type of roofing material in Italy. The tiles, *tegulae*, were ceramic of rectangular shape and lay lengthwise and overlapped one another to allow the rain to run off. To ensure water proof, *imbrices* or tiles shaped like half pipes called Laccian or the more complex dihedron or Corinthian outline, covered the gap where two tiles came together. While the shape was similar, the sizes varied according to the region, larger at Pompeii and smaller at Ostia compared to Rome. At the edge of the roof the *imbrices* were closed off with a plate, usually decorated. The roofs often had skylights or an oculus with protective coverings to let the water run-off and not into the house. Care was taken when creating the *compluvium* since the roof had to be strengthened to prevent collapse. The typical arrangement of the roof here was to have four pent roofs that slanted away from the opening. Another type of covering was made of stone, usually found in funerary monuments. In rural areas many of the huts had stone tiles made of limestone slabs. Metal was also a possibility and on some of the great temples copper sheets were used. The Pantheon originally had bronze tiles. Finally, the Romans could use vegetable matter, straw, reed thatch. Since this material was degradable it had to be replaced periodically. The roofs typically ended with a gutter to carry water away from the foundation.

Roman roofing throughout the Mediterranean and into northern Europe followed these same patterns. With the advancement of Roman technology, local regions moved away from vegetable matter to more permanent structures, namely tiles. While not completely replacing local building practices, Roman technology became the dominant form.

See also: *Economics and Work*: Builders; *Housing and Community*: Apartments; City Houses; Villa; Wooden House Components

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RURAL AND PERIODIC MARKETS

As opposed to the normal specialized markets, the *macellum*, the Romans continued to hold their well-known periodic markets in rural areas. These periodic markets tended to be more diverse and attracted a wide variety of individuals. The periodic markets located in the rural areas allowed surplus farm produce to be bought and sold. The periodic markets were known as *nundinae* meaning ninth day, but since the Romans counted inclusively, they were actually held at intervals of eight days. Therefore, it was common for a region to have several markets on different days so that they reoccurred every eight days but did not interfere with each other. Merchants were known to travel from market to market selling their wares. These markets allowed the local community to have a regular influx of goods from the urban environments, excess food from the local farms, and the opportunity for socializing. Often the markets were held in towns or on private estates. The markets allowed for thinly populated regions to be served in some fashion. There seems to have been a shift in the early Empire away from an eight-day system to a seven-day system.

During the late Republic, when Italy was becoming more urbanized the *nundinae* did not disappear but rather adapted so that they were held both in the rural areas and in the cities. Even in Rome these markets continued. This system allowed the rural farmers to sell their surpluses in the cities while being able to buy commodities manufactured there. For the urban buyers they were able to buy fresh foods directly from the producers at a substantial saving, similar to the modern farmer's market. The evidence points to the *nundinae* in the Circus Flaminius, which was an open area used by many for buying and selling goods. As the city of Rome grew the farm lands around the city became more valuable and were given over to cash crops such as flowers, vegetables, and fruit instead of grain. The local rural markets became further displaced and no longer were near Rome. There arose a new series of commercial zones with the flowers and other leafy vegetables produced close to the city, a further ring with poultry and dairy products, and the outermost with grain and other cereals. The rural markets now moved from the inner ring to the outer ring far enough from Rome so that middle men went to the rural markets and purchased crops and transported them in bulk into the city. It was cheaper for them to transport the goods in bulk than for the rural farmer to bring his small surplus into the city.

Typically, these periodic markets were linked to an established urban center with the markets being held in a sort of circular distribution. They act like planets around a sun in that they are far enough away from each other and the central urban center so that they do not interfere with each other or the major town but close enough to interact. Likewise, other major urban centers had their markets

spread out in similar fashion and often periodic markets were close to other urban center's periodic market to allow communications and more markets for travelling merchants. Since these markets needed to be reached with a total round trip journey of a day, they were probably situated so that a person could walk about four hours or 15 miles one way. Rome appears to have been a center for some of the markets, at least three, and point to a vibrant culture allowing for interactions. When these periodic markets were held in the urban centers they occurred in the *fora*. Some depictions from Pompeii show manufactured goods being sold; this may show a typical day at the forum or a periodic market. In the east, the urban market was called the agora, which was also used during nonperiodic day's markets. Papyri from Egypt shows merchants renting stalls in the agora on days that are not sequential or regular like the *nundinae*. But when the *nundinae* occurred, the number of patrons both buying and selling must have increased dramatically.

Although most of the goods were local produce, the periodic markets did allow for the selling of some exotic or luxury items. Merchants would often trade their luxury goods at these rural markets and this probably explains how rural villas may have received some of their goods. In addition to produce and some luxury goods, these markets also served as communication hubs allowing for information to be transmitted throughout the countryside. These markets also became centers for the hiring of laborers throughout the Empire.

Alongside the urban markets and the periodic markets were the fairs or *mercatus*. These fairs were held in large cities like Rome as well in rural settings. These events allowed merchants and visitors to travel to the city to sell and buy their goods, but they usually had a local flair associated with a great festival such as the *ludi Apollinares* or other holidays. While the *mercatus* held in Rome tended to be for local flavor, other regions experienced broader events. These fairs lasted a few days, which was sufficient time for the local inhabitants to purchase what they needed before the merchants move on to the next city.

The rural and periodic markets allowed for the exchange of goods throughout the Roman world. Individuals of all classes used these markets to purchase or sell items. The peasant farmer could sell his small surplus and purchase the necessary materials for his farm. The local farmers had a regular system to ensure that their needs were met. If an enterprising merchant had new wares to sell he could travel each day to another market while returning each night to the main urban center and restock his supplies. The urban center had the possibility of receiving fresh supplies from the local farms while providing a place to manufacture and sell goods not normally found on a farm but may be needed. The periodic and rural markets made an important contribution to the economy of the Roman world.

See also: *Economics and Work: Markets; Merchants; Money; Housing and Community: Forum*

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RURAL HOUSES

Throughout the Roman Empire archaeological excavations have provided evidence for houses that generally fall into the categories of villas, often large and for the wealthy, but not exclusively, multistory and multistructures for several families, and individual farmsteads and homes often housing several generations. The archaeological excavations in Ostia, Herculaneum, and Pompeii have revealed houses of various sizes. Throughout the Roman world small city houses occupied by normal working-class people primarily existed. Most individuals usually lived and worked out of small homes. These are not the great palaces or villas but rather the ordinary homes similar to the modern ranch houses built in the 1960s and 1970s in the United States.

For many families the house was nothing more than a single room that was perhaps separated by temporary cloth wall hangings. The living, dining, and sleeping rooms occupied the same space. These huts were usually made of perishable construction materials that usually left no evidence behind. For some areas like the Near East, Egypt, and Africa, the houses were constructed more from stone than wood allowing for more permanent remains. Evidence in Egypt indicated that houses were small with a floor space equal to a modern one-bedroom apartment, with three to six rooms, often with no real floor plan. Many houses did not have a second floor. Although families may have had about six people, it is clear that more than that lived in these small houses. Often a normal household had 10–12 people. These households consisted of extended families, slaves, and servants living in houses with a courtyard, stable, and kitchen complex. In the villages and cities small homes and apartments were constricted. But due to the small house size, individuals spent most of their time outdoors, using the house for sleeping and perhaps meals.

This physical system focused more on the exterior space and livelihood instead of an interior space. Unlike modern homes that allow and encourage interior life and concentration, the ancient homes were places of refuge from the exterior environment than living spaces. Throughout the Mediterranean world there existed several housing types, which promoted this type of communal living. Ancient society, much more than modern 21st-century living, had multiple generations living in one household. In addition to the social makeup of the houses involving multigenerations, slaves, free workers, and clients likewise lived under the same roof. For the rural regions this often allowed for a larger concentration of needed labor than in a city or town.

As one climbed the social ladder there existed the larger home that could occupy more land than a comparable home for the same social class in a village. One interesting feature of Mediterranean homes, especially rural homesteads, was the open courtyard. In Palestine, houses typically had three large rooms laid out to form a U-shaped environment serving as three walls of a square, with a courtyard accessible from all three rooms and a gate that could enclose the courtyard and protect the house acting as a fourth wall. Two stories high these houses provided room for livestock and supplies on the first floor, usually with small windows to prevent thieves from breaking in with living quarters above for the families. These rural houses allowed the family to farm the nearby region with the protection of a central farmhouse. In Africa the farmstead was often a fortified blockhouse again with room on the ground for protection with living spaces on the second floor or higher. These blockhouses probably allowed the family and its associated personnel to be protected from raiders when attacked.

The homes in rural settings could be larger than these farmsteads or fortified blockhouses and were often more spread out. These larger farmsteads typically owned more land and were more prosperous. In addition to the normal home, barn, and other silos, these larger farmsteads had additional buildings including more homes for the tenant farmers. These tenant workers may have worked for their “master’s” land exclusively or worked their own land and owed their master a set amount of rent. These lands were crucial for the development of agriculture in the region. Often these larger homes became protection centers for the local region, both physically as well as socially.

Above these larger homesteads there existed the large homes, often called villas, which to the local inhabitants might seem to be a palace. One common form, especially in the east and Egypt, was the Greek peristyle.

The Greek peristyle was similar to the medium-sized houses in terms of crucial components like bedrooms, kitchen, and separate dining room but had covered walkways surrounding the courtyard where rainwater was often collected in a basin. This was similar to the traditional Roman atrium style house. Traditional

Roman houses were similar to this Greek style, although early Roman homes were more self-contained around the atrium without the open courtyards. Around the second century BCE, Romans modified their large palatial houses to include not only the traditional atrium style house but also the large imported Greek courtyard. This courtyard allowed the family to have an interior farmstead, especially with orchards and the like.

In more settled areas the conglomeration of small farmsteads occurred into a village or a hamlet, which often had a central protection structure. This central protection structure was usually not a home or regular living space. The conglomeration of the small farmstead acted as a joint protection force for the entire region. These rural homes and farmsteads were crucial for the economic life of the region.

See also: *Arts*: Agricultural Treatises; *Economics and Work*: Agriculture; *Food and Drink*: Rural Elite Diet; Rural Peasant Diet; *Housing and Community*: Floors; Furniture; Roofs; Villa; Wall Coverings; Wooden House Components

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STREET TRADE

Like any large preindustrialized city Rome had to rely on a variety of means to ensure the city was supplied with food and goods. While the government was not necessarily active in these endeavors, and in fact may have attempted to control them, they became crucial parts of the economic function of the city. The primary street trade centered on the peddlers, hawkers, and street vendors. While these traders were known in preindustrial cities up to modern times, their evidence in Rome is not so well attested; nevertheless using literary sources, albeit derogatory, and art work, a picture can be assembled. Given the economic conditions of preindustrial cities where a large amount of unemployment or at least transient employment occurred, and a large urban population lived at subsistence level, these traders offered self-employment and a means for the poor to have access to certain goods. While the wealthy and middle class would shop in markets and

other permanent structures, often purchasing high-priced commodities, many of the poor would shop either at the local shop or the street markets.

The peddler was a common sight in preindustrial society. These individuals sold a variety of goods from a cart or basket usually door to door. Often the peddler would have a distinct route or district knowing who his customers were and what they needed. Given Rome's lack of refrigeration, the peddler could sell perishable food stuff in small quantities to the individual consumer knowing that it would not be wasted and his return during the week would be welcomed and needed. The peddler was the most transient of the street merchants; originally the peddler was seen in the countryside but as the population of Rome, as well as other cities grew, they became more common in the cities. This individual would typically buy his materials from a large supplier at a discount and then resell the goods with a slight markup. Often the perishable goods sold by the supplier may have been the remnants of the previous day's goods or inferior products or spoilage. The government would not normally interfere with these individuals unless they consistently interfered with the permanent markets or made a nuisance of themselves.

The hawker was an individual who would carry about samples in the marketplace attempting to get the consumer interested in his wares so as to entice them to their shops for more sales. He was often depicted carrying foodstuff and goods on trays with his hand to his throat symbolizing the yelling or shouting of his products. The hawker could be seen as an intermediary between the peddler who took his store door to door and the vender who was stationary. The hawker could in fact work for the stationary vendor who was trying to lure customers to his stall or providing the movement of goods to the consumer.

The street vendor had a more permanent setting. These individuals would bring their carts into an area, typically near the forum or other market, and sell their products to the passerby. There are sculptural friezes that show an individual at a table (perhaps a portable table) selling vegetables, fruit, or other wares. One such frieze has a woman selling poultry; what is interesting is that behind her are two monkeys sitting at the stand. It is probable that they were the curiosity that was often needed to bring the passerby near the stand for a look and then allowed her the chance to sell. Another frieze has a clothier selling his ware in what appears to be a colonnaded structure, perhaps a portico or temple district. This was a common sight in antiquity. Temples often attracted the temporary vendor who set up shop selling to the passerby and attendees. In the New Testament there is the passage in which Jesus turned over the tables of sellers and money changers near the Temple in Jerusalem. Other images have sellers with baskets for which they sold their goods and in the famous painting of the riot at Pompeii's amphitheater, it is clear that there are temporary shops created with curtains hung

across trees to create a space for the temporary sellers. These vendors would set up their stalls on a daily basis and often became semipermanent. The government did not seem to mind this arrangement as long as the stalls did not become permanent structures.

One of the tasks of the *aediles* was to ensure that those selling in the market were not cheating the customers. It was probably in this capacity that the street traders posed the greatest challenge given their transient behavior. The *aediles* probably relied on the local merchants to help police the neighborhoods and ensure that the street traders were in compliance. Most of the literary references did not view these traders in a positive light. Coming from the lower social classes they were usually viewed as thieves or at least suspect. The literary sources make references to the street traders and their noisy behavior. One author commented one should not live near a private bath house since the noise from the pastry cooks shouting was too great. Another author mentioned that all of the varied sellers contributed to a general clamor that could not be tolerated. Martial and Juvenal complained that the noise disturbed their sleep. These authors further indicated that the street traders were usually from the lower classes that were not only noisy but troublesome.

A final group that often was involved with the street trade was the pawn shop. These individuals were known to lend money at the street level, meaning they normally knew their customers and provided them with short-term loans. Papyri from Egypt show that they were involved in not only high value goods but also more mundane materials that were valued fairly low. The varied life of street traders filled a valuable niche in society's commercial endeavors.

See also: Economics and Work: Markets; Merchants; Shopkeepers; Housing and Community: City Traffic

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SURVEYING

One of the greatest accomplishments of the Romans was their ability to survey a particular site without regarding the physical terrain to create an accurate

map to lay out and construct structures. The laying out of the surveying lines and marks required exactness to ensure roads, aqueducts, buildings, or other structures were built appropriately. The Romans were able to survey regions throughout their Empire and develop complex cities and structures. Three operations needed to be determined for surveying. One needed to determine bearings, estimate height, and measure distances. By doing these three operations, the surveyor could determine the position of the structure and how they were to be laid out.

The tools needed for surveying included ancient materials dating to the Egyptian period as well as devices the Romans developed. The ancient Egyptians used their geometry to lay out the pyramids. The Greeks, as recorded by Hero of Alexandria, used a *dioptra* to measure the angles. It consists of a stationary circular graduated and marked ruler lying horizontal with a water level to ensure a stable reading. The viewer would look through a slit in a vertical piece of metal or eyepiece and sight a distant object through a vane on the opposite side, 180° separate while attached to a sighting or pivoting alidade. By rotating the alidade, one could then get a bearing from the stationary horizontal ruler. The measurement of distance required a set of two pegs and cord of known length. The Romans would then measure the distance using this as if a tape measure.

The Romans had two important tools for surveying, the *groma* and *chorobates*. The *groma* was used to determine exact straight angles. It consisted of a tall pole, about four feet high, and attached on the top a cross with four hanging sight lines, the *perpendiculara*, each of equal distance or length. The surveyor would first secure the device into the ground, then swing the positioning bracket, centering it over the plumb line fixed to a station, and finally line up the sight lines on the axis or the direction to be sighted. The four lines on the cross allowed the right angle to be created. This in turn could set up the *decumanus* and *cardo*, the two main streets of a town. The *groma* suffered from sensitivity caused by the wind and was therefore not useful for determining long distances. To counter this, the Romans used the *chorobates*. It was used for leveling, and was designed as a bench on vertical legs with a channel on top. *Perpendiculara* were hung on the beam and the water channel served as a level so that the wind could not disturb the device as it did with the plumb lines. The surveyor would sight down the *chorobates* to a graduated pole, often with a sliding scale, and an assistant would measure off the distance. By using a series of measurements the surveyor could determine the length, angle, and height of the terrain. Since the Romans did not have magnifying sighting, it required the measurements to be carried out through stages; other than that, the ways the Romans surveyed the terrain is still the basis for modern surveying.

The individuals who carried out the surveying were the *ensors* or *agrimensores*. Their name derived from the *groma* or surveyor's pole. This name appears more common in the late Republic and replaced the earlier term for surveyors, the *finitores*. These individuals were responsible for the actual assignment of lots when a colony or city was established. These individuals were free men who received their pay as a gift, hence they were supposed to be impartial and above reproach. These surveyors often acted as arbitrators in land disputes, not as legal judges but as technical land assayers. During the early Empire, the use of the *agrimensores* became even more important as Augustus continued the process of settling the veterans in new colonies. This required land to be accurately measured and surveyed. Augustus also added more territory to the Empire than anyone else and this required a constant supply of surveyors for the army since they needed to establish new camps on the march. It should be noted that the great stone legionary camps were not built until after Augustus. Rather, during the period, as well as the preceding period of Julius Caesar and the generals in the Civil War, the constant movement of armies required camps to be continually constructed and the need for surveyors.

Augustus also undertook a more systematic census of the Empire, which in turn required many of the newly conquered regions to be surveyed. With the imposition of new taxes, specifically the land tax, it was crucial for the provinces, cities, and private land to be surveyed accurately to determine tax liabilities. Throughout the Empire, boundary stones were erected to separate the various public and private lands for this purpose. It must be assumed that the *agrimensores* were to provide their records should any disputes arise. In the later period the *agrimensores* could restore the boundaries.

Their technical practice was soon written down by writers such as Frontinus, Hyginus, and others who were referred to as the Gromatic writers. These authors based many of their ideas and formulas on the study of geometry. These writers were from the imperial period and had received their training in the military. For example, Frontinus writing during the Flavian and Trajanic periods, had been on campaign in the north and upon returning to Rome had been in charge of the restoration of aqueduct system. These writers produced a series of how-to-do manuals, which became the standard for surveying into the medieval period. The surveyors ensured that cities and lands were fairly measured and marked for their inhabitants.

See also: *Arts*: Geographical Treatises; *Housing and Community*: Colonial Planning; Colonies; Town Planning; *Science and Technology*: Engineering; Geography

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TOWN PLANNING

The Romans were well known for creating cities. While many of these sites were merely renaming preexisting towns and villages, especially in the European north, many of the sites were newly developed colonies. To ensure that a city could survive it needed to be placed in suitable situation. Not all sites were truly the best. In fact, Rome could be seen as a city that should not have existed since it was built next to a river that often flooded and had a region, the Campus Martius, which could become home to marshes promoting diseases. Nevertheless, certain sites promoted cities. Built near the confluence of two rivers often helped a city to grow due to commercial activity. An example of this is Mainz where the Romans built a camp at the confluence of the Rhine and Main Rivers. It soon grew into a commercial port. Therefore, the location of cities often was influenced by nature.

Cities can develop either through a structured planning in which the structures, streets, and walls are planned beforehand or the city can develop organically over time. This entry deals with the systematic planning of a city that had been laid out by the Romans. Before this type of city was even built, it had to be planned. At Rome the magistrates and later emperors would determine its size, population, and general shape. This required knowledge of the locality for the amount of water and types of houses that would be needed. It also meant knowledge about the local terrain for such things as refuse and roads.

The location, and here it is meant the citing, was important; the city should be on a slightly sloping area so that it could drain well. This was important since it was crucial to remove sewage, a breeding ground for diseases. After the religious ceremony to determine if the site was suitable for prosperity, the surveyors would determine the layout of the walls that would be constructed first. In many ways the city was seen as a military camp with a palisade and ditch. Later these temporary walls would be replaced by a stone wall to ensure full protection. Since these new cities were often in newly conquered territories, there was a fear that the local population could rebel; an example that had disastrous consequences was London during the rebellion of Boudicca under Nero where the walled city was



Roman town of Volubilis, Morocco, beginning of 40 CE. Roman towns had a typical layout with two major streets intersecting in the town's center or forum. The town would often have a wall as well as numerous public buildings laid out by architects. Many Roman towns became centers for the countryside continuing into modern times. (Edwardje/Dreamstime.com)

sacked and its Roman citizens were killed. The boundary or *pomerium*, which was considered sacred, was the wall about 30-feet high. The stone walls would be built first encompassing a rectangle 720 by 620 yards suitable for a city of about 50,000 people. There would be four main gates and several watch towers. This wall would protect the city against barbarian invasions.

The Romans typically laid out a new city along the pattern of a camp. This was to be expected since many of the cities were surveyed by military personnel and many of the original colonists were ex-soldiers accustomed to the military camp layout. In this design there were two main streets that ran perpendicular to each other bisecting the proposed city in two creating four quadrants. The main road was the *cardo maximus* running north and south with the intersecting road being the *decumanus maximus* running east and west. At the intersection there would be the forum or central meeting point as well as the central market. This intersection produced four quadrants for the city with the other roads running off these two main roads being called *cardi* and *decumani* running parallel or at right angles with the two main streets. The two main streets would be slightly broader and larger than the other streets, but the intent was to have the streets be of similar

size and length. These streets would be constructed of stone. The forum and market were typically placed in the center of town where the two major streets intersected to become the focal point of the city. As the central political and economic focus, the intersection allowed all visitors to immediately go to the center of town.

The surveyors would then begin to layout the water supply. While at first the soldiers and workers could draw water from wells, it would be necessary to have a sufficient amount of water for a larger population for drinking and sewage. That would often require an aqueduct that would carry water from the mountains and hills to the city, either underground and/or above ground, although this latter section was usually shorter than the underground segments. The water supply would then be carried throughout the city with pipes and deposited in holding pits called cisterns. The water was often pumped to fountains that would then have supply basins for holding it and the fountains would aerate the water to keep it fresh. Inhabitants could then collect water from these fountains and carry it back to their homes.

Nearby the aqueducts in the city would also be located the baths, often close to the city walls so that the aqueducts carrying water would not necessarily have to be extended throughout the city. In addition, there would be sewers under the roads, which were usually lined with stones and concrete to allow the polluted water to flow quickly out of the town and not contaminate the local ground water. The sewers would carry the waste to the great drains and sewer lines to the nearby river for disposal.

Once these structures were constructed, the colonists would begin building their homes, usually with wood. Originally, they slept in tents until these new homes became their permanent homes. The later homes would then be constructed of stones. The homes of the wealthy no doubt were constructed larger and more opulent than those of the common colonists even at this time. Associated with these homes were small side streets laid out in a pattern that again was formulated on right angles. It was only later when the city was well established that homes and streets began to change shape because an individual bought several tracts of land for his new home and merged them into a larger plan destroying the grid-like shape of streets.

Either inside the walls or just outside them the colonist often constructed an amphitheater for entertainment. This public structure usually replaced temporary wooden bleachers that had allowed the inhabitants to enjoy races, gladiatorial contests, and other events, both sporting and artistic. It was not uncommon for a theater to be constructed inside a town as well.

All of these amenities took time to construct. It was not uncommon for a town to constantly be in flux as it was under construction. By the time the town's main features, walls, forum, temples, theater, amphitheater, and city hall were

constructed, it was no longer under threat of attack and had outgrown its space. The wall may have then been knocked down or more likely the city grew outside the walls. The planning of the city then came into another phase, usually seen in the middle ages.

See also: *Housing and Community*: Colonial Planning; Colonies; *Politics and Warfare*: Military Camps; *Science and Technology*: Aqueducts; Engineering; Geography; Roads

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VILLA

The Roman wealthy and elite had several types of homes or *domus*. Traditionally, they were differentiated into urban (or suburban), rustic, and maritime villas. The country house was originally called a villa and later the Romans differentiated the two major types: the urban villa and rustic villa or villa *rustica*. The urban villa was not a home in the city but rather was a country estate, which the Roman elite could reach quickly from Rome to spend a short amount of time before returning to business in the city. The villa *rustica* was a farm house that was run by the slaves and servants as a business further away from the city. The owner would often just spend a short time there, usually overlooking the estate and its produce. Many Roman elites like Cicero had multiple villas; Cicero had at least seven. During the late Republic Italy witnessed a tremendous growth in estates. Many of these were *latifundia*, which were estates run by slaves. These estates usually were engaged in the growing of cash crops and ranching. Even the urban villa had commercial activities that may not have been managed as a high-profit running farm. They were managed by a gentleman farmer and provided some income. The rustic



Urban Villa in Pompeii, Italy, ca. 70 CE. Urban villas such as the one seen here became more opulent during the Roman period. Urban villas were centers of wealth where the elites could display their treasures and created a retreat from the public life. (Enrico Della Pietra/Dreamstime.com)

villas may not have been just commercial farms but often were self-sustaining. The Roman owners often grew their own grapes and made their own wine. A good example of such a villa is the Villa of the Mysteries outside of Herculaneum, which was built at the end of the Republic. Set on a slope it had a beautiful view of the sea and was constructed and reworked between 200 BCE and 79 CE. It had the original atrium-style house with a peristyle added inside a courtyard with other rooms surrounding it, probably added at about 100 BCE. The entrance to the villa was then shifted away from the atrium so that one entered into the courtyard and peristyle first and then into the atrium house. A wall surrounded the villa to provide privacy and protection. Many of these houses became exceedingly large with a multitude of rooms. They allowed the individual to display their wealth and power to visitors.

Construction of the villa involved more sophistication than that of a simple farmhouse. Cato the Elder (190 BCE) recommended that for the rustic villa the walls were to be made from lime concrete and the pillars of squared stone. He then described that there should be stalls for the cattle in winter and summer, horse stable, rooms for slaves, at least three store rooms for meats, ten pigsties, a fireplace, and two looms for weaving *togas*, two olive presses and a wide variety

of other materials. He says that the farmhouse of stone and lime should have foundations rising a foot above the ground and that the walls be made of sun-dried brick. The description shows that the *opus caementicium* had become part of the rural farmhouse architecture at about the same time as it appeared in the town structures. Excavations on houses dating from this period show a layout similar to Cato's view, typically a row of rooms on one side, usually storage, and then a corridor separating a row of rooms on the other side that had living quarters for slaves, a tower, a workroom, and stairs leading to the second floor where the private quarters existed. Later, the villas became more opulent; excavations show how they became working farms. This was especially true of the estates in Campania. The design now had a central rectangular courtyard with rooms around it and covered porticoes, later peristyle, uniting the rooms or sheds into a coherent structure.

Both urban and rustic villas could be palatial with a variety of designs. Most started as the traditional atrium-style house where often a peristyle, which enclosed a garden, was then added. These spaces allowed for peace and quiet in an open and lighted area. The urban or suburban villas were attempts to recreate the simple rustic life near the city.

The wealth that the Romans received allowed them to construct other opulent villas beginning in the second century BCE. The most desired were the maritime villas; this was especially true along the Campanian and Latium coastlines. The areas around Cumae and Puteoli became the favorite regions for the wealthy to construct their peaceful retreats. These sites often had *piscinarii* who maintained large fish ponds for their owners often as extensions of the villa into the sea on concrete piers; the literary moralists condemned their conspicuous wealth. The two architectural styles that emerged showing the change to opulence were the peristyle and *porticus*.

The peristyle was similar to the great Hellenistic palaces that were copied in the west by the Romans. The Villa of Mysteries was one such villa. Although it was also an urban villa, since it laid on the sea it is also classified as a maritime villa. Here the peristyle was added after the atrium house after 150 BCE. The *porticus* maritime villa developed from a series of rooms arranged in a row opening on to the road, coastline, or court. Here a colonnade or *porticus* was added to the series of rooms to bring them together architecturally. Since the coastline often had various levels, this type of villa was seen as more harmonizing of the natural landscape since it could hug the seaside and have views of the water. These villas often were not laid out in a standard plan since the natural features often determined their shape. An example of this is the Villa of Daecuta on the island of Capri. Some of these villas would also have peristyle courtyards, several porticoes as well as numerous other rooms and architectural motifs. These villas were also multilevel.

PLINY'S TUSCAN VILLA

Pliny the Younger (62–113 CE) was a Roman public official and lawyer who wrote a large number of letters on various topics, many of which were published during his lifetime. His letters offer detailed insight into Roman social customs, personal relationships, cultural interests, and legal and political practices. Being a man of wealth and position, Pliny owned several country homes, which he described in letters to friends. In the following excerpt, Pliny describes his Tuscan villa in great detail.

At the extremity of the portico stands a grand dining room, which through its folding doors looks upon one end of the terrace; while beyond there is a very extensive view over the meadows up into the country. From the windows, you see on the one hand the side of the terrace and such parts of the house which project forward; on the other, with the woods enclosing the adjacent hippodrome. Opposite almost to the center of the portico stands a suite of apartments . . . which encompasses a small court, shaded by four plane trees, in the midst of which a fountain rises, from whence the water running over the edges of a marble basin gently refreshes the surrounding plane trees and the ground underneath them. This suite contains a bedroom free from every kind of noise, and which the light itself cannot penetrate, together with my ordinary dining room that I use when I have none but close friends with me. This looks out over the little court which I just now described, and also upon the portico . . . There is besides another room, which, being situated close to the nearest plane tree, enjoys constant shade; . . . its sides are covered with marble up to the cornice.

(Pliny, 1915, Vol. I)

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While the average Roman did not live in a villa, they would have undoubtedly seen them and perhaps even done business with the villa. They could have worked in its construction and decorating; they might have been a farm hand or a house servant; or they might have been a slave working on the estate and occasionally see the master and his family.

See also: *Arts*: Agricultural Treatises; *Economics and Work*: Agriculture; *Latifundia*; Ranching; *Food and Drink*: Rural Elite Diet; *Housing and Community*: City Houses; Floors; Furniture; Gardens; Rural Houses; Wall Coverings; Wooden House Components

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WALL COVERINGS

This entry will examine how the Romans made their wall coverings and not the decorations that were then added or seen. The Roman penchant for concrete, mortar, and brick became more prominent during the late Republic. In the Republic, it was common to have several layers of mortar on walls. Vitruvius mentioned seven layers of three different types. The first was a rough layer, and it was followed by three layers of mortar made with sand, and then the three outer layers of mortar with powdered marble. Pliny reduced the number to five, three mortar and sand while two having marble and limestone. These were recommendations for wealthy clients. The first layer was attached to the walls made of brick or rubble and therefore adhered rather easily. If the wall was made of clay it had to be scored to allow adhesion. This first covering was usually thick so as to not only adhere but also allow the roughness of the wall to be smoothed out. It was made with unsifted sand and lime or also with fragments of terracotta or even marble, and the masons or *tectorii* put lines into the masonry to ensure adhesion by the following layer. The second layer(s) was again of the same thickness and was achieved with a finer mortar, this time made with sifted sand, and its surface not treated or scored but rather smoothed. This was done so the final layer, made thin, usually made of pure lime or a mortar of finely sifted sand or gypsum could adhere and have a pleasant look. It often had coloring or pigment added so that the wall was colored and then left bare. The walls were occasionally treated with tiles or even lead sheets to protect against dampness, but these were exceedingly expensive and not usually used.

If the wall was going to be decorated it could be painted. To ensure that the paint adheres to the wall and not peel, the Romans used a type of painting known as *fresco*. Here the idea was to trap the paint pigments in the lime layer before it had dried and the color was then sealed in this crystallized surface rather than the paint being an added layer. This gave the pigment a stronger



Fresco, Pompeii, Italy, ca. 70 CE. Ancient walls, especially houses of the wealthy had wall coverings. Usually they were applied as stucco; the scenes varied from simple monochromatic paint to complex pictures, such as the architectural scene shown here. (Porojnicu/Dreamstime.com)

bonding mechanism. But this required the artist to work, while the final layer was still wet so that the decoration took hold. This meant that the painter had to work fast so that the paint could be applied before the mortar dried. To achieve this, the painter, or more likely his assistant, prepared the final mortar layer himself and applied it at the top of the wall. The painter would work down so as not to damage or make mistakes over previously prepared walls. The artist would work all the way across the wall horizontally before moving down. In Pompeii there are examples of rooms with the walls being decorated with the top decorations completed but the bottom not yet receiving its final mortar layer. The assistant would prepare, however, only enough mortar so that the painter could work with it when wet. The problem with this process was that when the painter finished a section of the wall and the mortar would dry, there was the possibility that the next lower section would crack at the spot where he left off and began his new section. The Romans knew this and so it was usually desirable that the section would end where there was some kind of horizontal band across the wall, such as the ground on the painting. Occasionally, background was added after the mortar had dried and the pigment was fixed with an adhesive mixed

with the pigment. Typically, there were two masons: one mixed the mortar and the second applied it, while the painter followed with his palette. In Pompeii only one painter out of the thousand *frescoes* is known by name, Lucius, since he signed his work.

Decorations could also be done in mortar itself, this was known as stucco. The wet mortar again could be decorated, here with sculpture created into the mortar itself. The masonry often needed support, especially if the reliefs were high. To accomplish this wooden pegs or nails were embedded into the masonry and the around them the plasterer affixed the mortar. The stucco could be made out of templates that were pressed into the wet mortar, usually architectural designs such as egg and dent; or they could use a repeated motif from the same mold; or the wet mortar could be sculpted with a spatula to create individualistic designs.

Walls could also be covered with veneer that was made up of sheets of material placed over the stone wall or blocks. Marble was often the medium and on numerous monuments and walls marble slabs, often only 1 cm thick, were placed over the block. These veneer coverings were often held in place by iron clamps which during the Middle Ages were pillaged. The thin panels did not need the clamps and could be held in place by a layer of mortar. There are not many examples at preserved sites, Pompeii, for example, did not use marble extensively and in other areas the marble was removed.

The walls could also be covered with mosaics. These were made from small fragments or *tessellae*, and although usually found in floors they did occur on some walls. This was especially the case around fountains probably for further protection for the walls from water. Many of the walls in the *triclinia* were decorated with *tessellae*. The Romans did not extensively use mosaics for their walls; this was done more in the Byzantine period. But fine examples do exist at Hadrian's villa, Baths at Baia, and the Baths of the Seven Sages at Ostia. The preparation of walls allowed some to have aesthetically pleasing walls which could then be decorated by more elaborate wall paintings or art objects.

See also: Art: Decorations; *Economics and Work:* Builders; Laborers; *Housing and Community:* Building Techniques; City Houses; Floors; Villa

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HOUSE OF THE VETTII

The House of the Vettii (also called the *Casa dei Vettii*) was a lavishly decorated private residence in the Roman city of Pompeii. The house is particularly famous for its many ornate frescoes. Covered by ash and other debris after the eruption of Mount Vesuvius in 79 CE, the house was preserved for almost 2,000 years before its rediscovery in the late 19th century. The house's ostentatious decoration scheme likely served to display the new wealth and social status of its owners, the freedmen Aulus Vettius Conviva and Aulus Vettius Restitutus, who were likely brothers and were involved, perhaps, in the olive oil, wine, or perfume industries.

It is thought that most or all of the house's decoration was commissioned after 62 CE, when an earthquake struck Pompeii. Most of the frescoes were painted in the fourth style of Roman painting, which was very popular in Pompeii; elements of that style include a stage-like layout and the use of highly ornamental and detailed decoration. The walls of the house's main entrance were decorated with paintings of swans, griffins, candelabra, and a fertility figure that may have represented the Vettii's good fortune. The entrance led to the front hall and atrium area, which contained an *impluvium* (water-catchment pool) and two large bronze chests that were likely used to store the owners' valuables; seals with the Vettii's names were found inside the chests. The atrium opened onto several rooms as well as the large peristyle, a large rectangular area (making up almost one-half of the house's total area) enclosed by a portico and planted with a formal garden. The garden contained many bronze and marble statues, some used as fountainheads from which water jetted into numerous basins.

WOODEN HOUSE COMPONENTS

In addition to timber framing and roofs, wood was used for a variety of house components in the Roman period. Floors made of wood were common, especially in northern Europe. In Gaul, Germany, and Britain remains of lower-level flooring have been found, while in Italy the floors were usually made of stone or tile. The use of wood was more common in the north due to the availability of materials and traditional approaches. Wooden floors were easier to replace and more comfortable than mosaics or tile, and different types of wood were used. Typically, the wooden planks were laid on the bare soil and when they deteriorated they were simply replaced with new ones. Often to ensure that the wood did

not become wet, the floors were raised on stone pillars and the joist rested upon the pillars and into sockets in the walls. The wooden planks were then placed at right angle to the joists. In Italy as seen at Pompeii and Herculaneum, the upper floors were made of wood to form not only a second story floor but also a ceiling for the space below. Wood was also used for walls, especially in the north where logs were cut and fashioned into huts or larger structures. For the common peasant in the north or rural peasants in Italy, wood construction was the most common.

But wood was used not only for walls or flooring but also for staircases. While some staircases were made of stone or masonry, wooden stairs have been found in Pompeii and Herculaneum. Here even the wealthiest houses used wood. The staircases begin with a small pedestal of masonry with a few steps. This pedestal supports the strings or rising section of the stairs that in turn support the steps. From the walls in Pompeii it is easy to see the strings that were often quite steep. The strings show the path in these houses to the second floor. As with modern stairs, the staircases in Herculaneum and therefore probably the rest of the Roman world had two basic types, the solid steps and the open-tread staircase. The solid steps had the tread and risers that created the closed stairs. The surviving remains and plans show that the steps were 26 cm high and 32 cm deep and were at an incline of 38°. Other steps may not have been as steep, but the height of each step was greater. These closed stairs allowed a passageway to the upper levels even if they were hard to climb.

The second type, the open-tread stairs seems to have been the more typical type of staircase. This was due to the fact that the space required for the stairs was less since they would have a greater incline, and the amount of materials needed was less. With the absence of risers the stairs could be even steeper where it could reach 65°. From Pompeii and Herculaneum the open-tread staircases tended to be located in the corner of a room. Again, a small pedestal of masonry had a few stone steps and then a steep set of wooden strings supporting the threads or steps rose to an opening in the floor above. One string was supported by the wall. Often the staircase went through a partition wall, occasionally with a door for privacy. Many of the staircases provided access from outside of the house to other dwellings in the house structure separated from the main house. This probably followed a pattern seen in Rome where many of the wealthy houses were converted into apartments with private apartments accessed from outside the main house.

Another component made of wood was the door and its lock. The entrance into the house formed the *vestibulum* that was very narrow and could not hold the benches mentioned in the literature for the clients. These benches were placed outside the house along the wall. After entering the *vestibulum* the visitor met the door panels that were often made of solid wood. Often there were double panels

that rose to a height over six feet. They had elaborate locks made of metal and locked with a key. In addition, it was common for the house to have a horizontal bar for even more strength and security. Some houses even had more security with a prop or jam that prevented the door, which opened inward, from being opened unexpectedly. The prop rested in the door and on the floor at an angle.

Other wooden components included those used in the farm presses. The press for grapes or olives used wood to crush them. The large wooden lever, the *prelum*, was secured at the end where the grapes were crushed. The *prelum* was lowered using a vertical screw, or *coclea*, or by a winch or *sculua*. At Pompeii one press used a tree trunk with the roots left on to act as a counterweight.

The Romans would have also used wood to create lattice works inside and outside the house. These works would have allowed the separation of spaces without creating an overwhelming structure. While wooden walls or walls supported by wood and covered with plaster were often the norm, the lattice structures allowed for light and air to pass through. In addition, the windows would have had shutters made of wood to keep the elements at bay and to provide security for its inhabitants.

The Romans used wood in nearly every aspect of their houses and building constructions. It was central to their architecture although it has rarely survived. While masonry remains abound, it must be remembered that for the average Roman the houses would have had extensive amount of wood. The need for carpenters and woodworkers was constant throughout the Roman period.

See also: *Housing and Community*; Furniture; Roofs; *Science and Technology*; Hand Tools

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POLITICS AND WARFARE



INTRODUCTION

The Roman government was not created in one swoop like many modern states. Rome, originally a monarchy, underwent a revolution by the wealthy that created a Republic. The power of the Republic lay in its Senate or experienced men, usually wealthy, and its magistrates. Individuals usually followed a path to gain executive experience called the *cursus honorum*, which allowed men who showed ability to be successful in the elections for the next higher office. This system acted like a funnel where there were numerous chances at the lower level but fewer at the top. The people were organized by tribes for voting, although in the elections the wealthy controlled the most votes.

The result of this system allowed the Romans to embark on a series of wars, which resulted in Roman rule over the Mediterranean world. The magistrates, in office for only one year, promoted the policy of imperialism to ensure that they were successful on the battle field to increase their prestige. The Roman view of wars always held that they were the victim, not necessarily true, so as to not offend the gods. Often these wars began between the different race groupings on the Italian peninsula. Once conquering the region the Romans created their own justice and punishment system, which gave them ultimate control. This Roman provincial treatment caused resentment in the late Republic. One aspect of imperialism was the returning home to Italy of slaves, which changed Roman society and economics. This change resulted in the agrarian reforms of the Gracchi brothers, which started the civil war.

The hallmark of the Roman system was its military. Roman citizens manned the legions and navy, while the allies made up the auxiliaries. Both groups were trained in similar fashion and the soldiers' service alternated between brief periods of war and long periods of boredom. Soldiers' training was rigorous, and under

the Republic the army was composed of soldier-farmers. The soldiers' lives influenced Roman society and ultimately altered Rome's economy and government. The military camps were standardized, which allowed for practical training and development. The military command ensured that the elected magistrates had the opportunity to attain glory and wealth, two important outcomes of war, which helped the family. This command allowed for individual military strategies and tactics, but the overarching goal during the Republic was the continual expansion of the state. While military uniforms and military weapons varied during the Republic, by the time of the Empire they had become standardized and were made in state factories.

The wars of expansion were a series of wars that erupted over three centuries. After Rome's initial Republican establishment, they engaged in a series of small wars against their neighbors to the north, the Etruscans. In 390 BCE, the Romans suffered a defeat by the Gauls and were forced to change their alliance system. In the fourth century BCE, Rome embarked on its longest and greatest war with its neighbors, the Samnite Wars (343–290 BCE). This war solidified Rome's position in Italy. In the third century BCE, Rome became involved with the Carthaginians in the Punic Wars that lasted nearly a century and modernized Rome's army, navy and Roman finances. After their victories that allowed Rome to conquer the Mediterranean, they became involved in a civil war with their allies, the great Social War (91–88 BCE) that ultimately made all the allies Roman citizens.

The Roman government and its policies took a small city and within 400 years had created an empire stretching from Britain to Syria.

AGRARIAN REFORMS

The agrarian reforms of Tiberius and Gaius Gracchus became lightning rods and political flashpoints in the late Republic and ushered in a century of civil war ultimately resulting in the establishment of the Empire. The issues in the reform were military, political, and economic. When the wars of conquest ended, which saw an increase in slave labor and a growth in large estates, the *latifundia*, changes in the agricultural economy occurred, which influenced the political and military policies of the state. Since originally a soldier had to be a farmer, the decline of the Roman farming class occurred when individuals sold their family farms to senators and other businessmen who in turn created large estates; this process resulted in a decrease in both the number of available soldiers and the overall quality of the soldier pool. At the same time many of the landowners who had created these

large estates had been using these conquered lands or public land to graze their cattle and as cultivated fields. They soon viewed these lands as their private land since they had spent time and money clearing and cultivating the lands. The result of this change, together with the increase of slave labor being used to cultivate the fields, shepherd the cattle, and build the infrastructure of the large estate, meant a decrease in the number of farmers capable of being called up for service. The final straw was a slave rebellion in Sicily from agricultural workers due to their conditions in 134–133 BCE.

Tiberius Gracchus had come from distinguished families. His father was Tiberius Sempronius Gracchus, a pleb, who had achieved legendary status as *praetor* who had personally ended the first Spanish War in 179 BCE through his military and diplomatic skills and making peace for a generation. As consul he put down a rebellion in Sardinia and as censor in 169 BCE protected the masses through improper levies, curtailed the *publicani* or tax collectors, and was known for his liberal thinking and austerity. He married Cornelia, the daughter of Scipio Africanus, and was personally connected with the Scipio family having protected some family members from prosecution. His wife, Cornelia, was descendent from a great noble line of consuls and censors who promoted the growth of Rome. Together they had 12 children.

The younger Tiberius was also a cousin of Scipio Aemilianus who had destroyed Carthage in 146 BCE and with whom he served. Scipio Aemilianus was the most important man in Rome and was capable of swaying many in the state. He married a daughter of Appius Claudius, another important man. Tiberius was *quaestor* in 137 BCE in Spain where he used his father's name and reputation to save a Roman army. On his journey home he witnessed firsthand the increase in the large slave-run estates and believed they were what led to the military's deterioration in Spain. When he returned to ratify the treaty, the Senate, on Scipio Aemilianus's recommendation, refused to honor it. This insult, especially from his cousin, impacted Tiberius and his plans. Having seen the estates and the result of the slave rebellion, Tiberius decided to remedy the situation when he became tribune in 133 BCE and with Scipio Aemilianus absent in Spain, proposed an agrarian reform.

The reform centered on taking public land from the wealthy and giving it to the urban poor. The wealthy who had cleared and cultivated the public land, which they did not own outright, would be confiscated and distributed to the poor. He therefore proposed to reassert the ancient law that a farmer could only own 500 *iugera* of public land outright. His proposal would then give each head of household 500 *iugera* of land outright as per the ancient but ignored law and then give another 250 *iugera* for each son up to a maximum of 500 *iugera* as a way to recompense the wealthy, a novel approach at compromise. The land

would be owned by the family from then on and not the state. The excess land would be distributed to the urban poor and given as land grants. In addition, the family would receive the necessary supplies to do the farming. The Senate continually used delaying tactics until Tiberius's advisors urged him to bypass the Senate and put the proposal before the people. Although this was legal and had been used in the distant past, the recent history had been a process where bills were debated in the Senate and appeared before being put before the people. Tiberius brought his bill directly before the people, but it was vetoed by another tribune, Octavius. Growing frustrated, Tiberius brought a bill before the people to depose Octavius, which was questionable but probably legal. Tiberius then introduced his bill that passed, although many uncommitted nobles now began to fear the attack on tradition. Tiberius then heard of the death and proposed bequest of King Attalus III of Pergamum who had left his kingdom, Asia, to Rome. The Senate had traditionally, although not in any legal fashion, controlled foreign affairs and financial matters, but Tiberius now proposed to the people that the proceeds should be accepted and used to carry out the recently passed reforms. Tiberius attempted to stand for reelection, which brought an armed conflict to the capital and Tiberius's murder. The land commission nevertheless continued its work and during the next 10 years increased the number of new farmers who began to cultivate the confiscated land.

Tiberius's younger brother Gaius was elected tribune in 123 and 122 BCE and continued his brother's reforms. He had worked on the land commission from the start and had seen the success at reducing the urban poor and strengthening the army. As tribune Gaius proposed a series of laws aimed at reinforcing his brother's reforms and plans to punish his brother's murderers. The early laws that were passed included the supply of wheat to citizens at a set and reasonable price; terms of service for military duty; and public works throughout Italy, all of which helped to reduce the urban poverty and curry favor with the plebs. He went after the senators by putting the *equites* in charge of the tax collection in Asia and established courts with *equites* as jurors to deal with senatorial abuses in the provinces. After his failure to get reelected in 121 BCE, Gaius resorted to violence and was killed in the capital.

The two Gracchi brothers attempted to relieve the urban poverty and strengthen the army by providing land for the poor. Their attempts to transform society failed in the short term because of senatorial greed and opposition. Their ultimate success, after a century of civil war, could be seen in the temperate figure of Augustus who championed the poor while promoting the Senate, albeit reduced in power.

See also: *Arts:* Agricultural Treatises; *Economics and Work:* Agriculture; Economic Policy; Farming; *Latifundia*; Ranching; Slavery

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AUXILIARIES

Auxiliaries refer to the noncitizen legionnaires in the Roman army. They increased in importance during the last two centuries of the Republic when they were mainly the cavalry and light-armed infantry forces. Initially, under the Republic, allies were to contribute an equal number of troops as the Romans. Most of these men were armed like the legions, that is, heavy infantry. As Rome increased its power in Italy during the fourth and third centuries these allies were extremely important since it allowed the Roman army to be effectively doubled without incurring the expenses. These allies mainly came from Italy during this period. The troops often provided Rome with mobile forces that could protect the legions in battle and on the march. These troops provided more flexibility to the Romans and would later form the permanent auxiliaries under Augustus and the Empire.

During the Second Punic War and after, it became more and more apparent that Rome needed different types of troops to keep the Roman army effective, in particular cavalry or horsemen, and light-armed troops ranging from archers, slingers, skirmishers, and the like. These troops now came from the provinces rather than Italy. The Roman army now could be staffed using a variety of means. Rome often did a general recruitment; this was especially true of archers and slingers when they became somewhat akin to mercenaries. These were specialized troops requiring different and developed skills so the Romans realized that they might have to pay more. Other troops such as light-armed infantry might be conscripted from local areas through a general levy and loosely armed. Finally, allies might send to Rome a contingent of troops, such as cavalry, for the Roman army in compliance with their treaty obligations or to curry favor with the Romans. Since these provinces were not yet enfranchised, the units were populated by non-Romans.

The allies who made up the auxiliaries during the second century BCE fought side by side with the Romans but did not receive the benefits of their fighting. This distinction caused the allies to feel resentment toward the Romans and ultimately led the Italians to the Social War in 90 BCE. The issue of the *auxillia* became crucial



Auxiliaries portrayed on the Column of Trajan, Rome, Italy, 100 CE. The auxiliaries in the Roman army originally consisted of non-Roman troops who supported the legions. Many of these units, such as the archers displayed here, were specialized and included slingers, archers, and cavalry. After their term of service auxiliaries became Roman citizens, as did their sons. (Araldo de Luca/Corbis)

during the Social War when the Romans found themselves fighting against their Italian allies who were armed and trained as Roman Legions. This situation caused the Romans to be fighting themselves often with disastrous results. Upon completion of the war, which the allies lost militarily but won politically, the allies became nearly equal with the Romans who ultimately allowed them to become citizens and enter the legions. The auxiliaries were now recruited mainly from the non-Italian lands and a clear distinction between Roman (Italian) legions and provincial auxiliaries existed for the next three centuries.

The auxiliaries or *auxilia* became more important during the civil wars when the various generals needed more troops and turned to the pro-

vincials to help. The provincials were willing since it allowed them the chance for advancement, receive rewards such as money and land, and opened a pathway for provincials to become citizens. The auxiliaries ultimately became formalized not as a supplement to the legions and attached to them but rather as separate units often acting independently and alone from the legions. These units were initially raised and garrisoned in their native region but were soon stationed abroad to prevent rebellion. They were initially named for their home recruited region. When the units were stationed abroad and recruitment came from these new regions the connection between the name (titles) and region was lost.

The auxiliaries provided Rome with a variety of different types of specialized units. There were slingers from the Balearic Islands. These men were highly sought during the Second Punic War and afterward for their agility and accuracy. From

North Africa the Romans enrolled Numidian Cavalry who had served first under the Carthaginians and then the Romans. They were light cavalry and allowed the Romans to have swift support units. The Romans used archers from Crete, who were known for their accuracy and heavy cavalry from the east. In addition to these specialized units, the Romans conscripted the infantry and cavalry units from throughout the Roman world. These units were usually organized in the same pattern as Roman legionnaires. The region where they came from was often inserted into their name, such as *Alpinorum* from the Alps, or *Lusitanorum* from Spain. The units were numbered but usually in connection to the region where they came from, for example, the II *Alpinorum*, which may have been raised centuries after the first but before the I *Lusitanorum*. This type of numbering makes dating of units difficult.

For the average individual, especially one who lived in the provinces, the auxiliaries provided them with the opportunity for advancement in society. The military allowed these individuals the opportunity to leave their tenuous home life and be successful. The auxiliaries were the best means of social mobility for provincials and provided them with security and opportunities. For example, an individual living in Gaul during the early first century CE could join the army and receive a decent salary with potential bonuses. While the soldier was not a Roman citizen, they did enjoy some benefits such as preferred treatment and rations. Upon completion of his 25 years of service he would automatically become a citizen and any of his children, even if already born, would become citizens. This gave him a tremendous benefit, the right to appeal to Caesar in areas of legal disputes (for example, Paul in the New Testament), not having to pay provincial taxes, and local honors often including land grants.

These auxiliaries came into contact with local inhabitants as well. While initially they were from the same region as the civilians, this soon led to issues, especially rebellions, since some of the troops may not have desired to inflict troubles on their own brethren. To prevent this, the emperor moved these troops from their indigenous areas to other provinces. The auxiliaries were known to supplement their pay with bribes and extortion, which probably caused extensive resentment. In the New Testament, John the Baptist urged the soldiers, presumably auxiliaries, not to demand more than is just; implying perhaps that some extortion was acceptable. The auxiliaries opened an avenue for non-Romans to become citizens and the elites in the provinces.

See also: *Politics and Warfare*: Legions; Military Camps; Military Command; Military Strategies; Military Uniforms; Military Weapons; Roman Provincial Treatment; Roman Rule; Social War; Soldiers' Service; Soldiers' Lives; Soldiers' Training; *Science and Technology*: Military Technology

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CURSUS HONORUM

The *cursus honorum* (course of offices) was the sequence of public offices held by a Roman politician as he rose up the political ranks of the Roman Republic. This Roman path of magistracies or offices evolved over time from a flexible system in the early Republic to a rigid formula by the end of the Republic. The earliest magistrates in the Republic were the two consuls, who were originally called *iudices* or judges, as at Carthage. The term consul was used only after 400 BCE. In the early Republic, they were responsible for the military, judicial, and religious oversight of the state.

During the mid-Republic, 300–150 BCE, the full path was developed. Since the state grew, it was only normal to develop other offices to help relieve the consuls. An individual would start off by serving in the military and after a requisite and often varying amount of time, but normally 10 years, stand for election to the *quaestor*. This office served as the accountants and paymasters for the state and army. Originally, there were two in 400 BCE, but as the State grew with more provinces it increased to 20 by the time of Sulla in 70 BCE, who mandated that an individual had to be 30 years old. Julius Caesar increased the age to 40, while Augustus lowered it to 25.

After the *quaestor* a young Roman might stand for election as Tribune of the Plebs, if a plebeian, or as *aedile*. The Tribune arose from the conflict of Orders between the wealthy Patricians who monopolized all the political power and the common peasant, often poor. The Tribunes, originally two and later ten, were considered sacrosanct meaning that they could not be harmed and that the plebs would protect them. After a brief struggle, the patricians recognized the power and position of the Tribunes who could veto (nullify) laws and decisions by the *consuls*, *praetors*, and *quaestors*. By the 360s BCE the Tribunes were seen as moderates, especially after all the political offices had been opened to the plebs, with some even being required. In 132 BCE, Tiberius Gracchus attempted to be reelected (not done for two centuries) and a period of Civil War erupted. After the Civil War, the Emperor Augustus received the power of the Tribune, which allowed him to be sacrosanct, veto laws, and propose legislation. The other path might take the

young man to stand for election as *aedile*, especially if he was a patrician. Originally, there were two plebeian *aediles* who were responsible for the markets, ensuring that the proper weights and measures were used, that peace was maintained, and that public works such as temples were taken care of; and he organized the Plebeian Games. The *aediles* grew to four with the introduction of the *curule aediles* who were patricians. These individuals also ensured protection for the markets but were more responsible for the Roman games. Julius Caesar added two more that became responsible for the food supply. All the *aediles* were expected to put on games that were rather expensive.

The success of these games often ensured whether the individual could move up. Although neither tribune nor *aedile* was required to be elected to the *praetor*, it often guaranteed selection, especially if the candidates were equally matched; and so how one was remembered for their games might prove to be the difference with the populace.

The *praetor* was originally in charge of the legal proceedings in Rome. The first *praetors* were instituted because the work of the consuls had increased too much. By the end of the First Punic War there were two *praetors*, the *praetor urbanus*, created in 367 BCE who was required to remain in Rome at all times to deal with legal issues, while the consuls were away. He performed religious functions and published the *praetor's* edict which outlined his judicial policies for the year; he had great latitude with regards to his interpretation of the laws. In civil cases the *praetor* appointed a judge and decreed what the penalty should be if in favor of the plaintiff; for criminal cases the *praetor* appointed the judges who acted as jurors determining guilt or innocence. In the late Republic when



Augustus wearing the corona civica or civic wreath, Verona, Italy, ca. 40 CE. Reserved for saving the life of a Roman citizen, the civic wreath allowed immediate entry into the Senate, the achievement of a Roman political career. Augustus won his civic wreath for saving the Romans from civil war. The normal progression of a political career began at age 18 as a *quaestor* to the election of a consul around age 40 and sitting in the Senate. (Luisa Vallon Fumi/Dreamstime.com)

the number of praetors increased, different praetors were assigned to the different types of criminal courts concerning the public good: illegal seizure, voter fraud, treason, embezzlement; later courts were added for perjury, professional assassins, and patricide or the murder of family members for gain. The second praetor was in charge of administering justice to foreigners. During the Second Punic War this praetor was often away from Rome on diplomatic missions and in military commands. Another four were added with the conquests of Sardinia and Corsica after the First Punic War and after the conquest of Spain in 197 BCE. These additional men acted more like the *praetor peregrinus* who were in charge of foreigners. Initially, they were in charge of the provinces and ultimately commanded armies during Rome's expansion. By the late Republic, Dictator Sulla added two more bringing the total to eight and Julius Caesar added another eight bringing the total to 16.

The most important normal magistrate was the consul. Throughout Roman history there were only two. While the Romans increased the number of other magistrates, they always kept the duality of the consuls. Like the praetors, the consuls had *imperium* or the right to command an army. In addition, they had veto power over all other magistrates. They were the chief religious officer of the state. They were also judges and in the battlefield they had the power of life and death over a citizen for military issues that could not be challenged. The consul was originally called a praetor or military leader under the monarchy and the early Republic. The term consul probably came into existence during the fourth century BCE. Initially, the consuls were only patrician; it was not until 367 BCE that plebeians could stand for election and in fact legally one had to be a plebeian. It is possible that early in the Republic the plebeians could stand for the office, with perhaps Marcus Junius Brutus the first consul being a plebeian. During the early Republic, the patricians gradually monopolized the office forcing the laws of 367 BCE to require one consul to be from the plebeian family.

Every five years the Romans elected two censors who served for the first 18 months. These individuals were in charge of the census or counting the number of citizens, assessing property, and keeping the morals of the state intact. This office was often seen as the height of a politician's career. An extraordinary office was that of the dictator who was recommended by a consul and approved by the Senate. This single individual held office for six months and his acts could not be challenged or undone. This office was rarely used but allowed the Romans with an option in cases of extreme danger. The *cursus honorum* became a hallmark of the Roman political process.

See also: *Politics and Warfare:* Elections; Government; Roman Rule; Senate; Tribes

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ELECTIONS

Roman elections did not differ from modern campaigns and voting since the elites wanted to make sure they were in control. For the Romans there were different types of assemblies where the voting took place. The *comitia* was the assembly of the Roman People, and could be the *comitia curiata* that dated from the monarchy and installed priests, made wills, and originally confirmed the magistrates; their position was soon superseded by the *comitia centuriata*, the major assembly. This assembly probably dated from the early Republic, ca. 450 BCE and not under the monarchy of Servius Tullius, was based upon wealth and enacted laws, elected the magistrates with *imperium*, made war or peace, and other major issues. They originally met outside the city in the Campus Martius and were arranged in their military order. The *comitia plebis tributa* (*tribus*) elected the plebeian tribunes and *aediles*, and when the plebs had the rule of the plebiscite, it became the major assembly for business. This *comitia* voted by tribes.

Voting took place in the respected assemblies. For the *comitia centuriata* and *tribus* the procedure was as follows. After the initial discussion or *contio*, the magistrate ordered noncitizens to withdraw and the field was then divided by ropes into the number of centuries or tribes as needed and the enclosures were called *saepa*. Until 139 BCE, the voting was done by voice, but from 139 to 107 BCE, it was done by secret ballot. Then the majority of votes in a century or a tribe determined the vote for that century or tribe; in other words it was proportional voting similar to the American system of the Electoral College. Once the number of votes was required for a candidate to have majority, even if all the centuries had not voted, the voting stopped and the winner was declared. Voting only occurred during daylight and one had to be present to vote.

Since the original power lay in the *comitia centuriata*, a discussion on its makeup and voting helps show how the Romans ensured their system did not become too radical. The centuries were originally military in nature and the

assembly had 18 centuries of *equites* or horsemen. There were then 170 of infantry or foot soldiers, divided into classes based upon wealth through the census. The first had 80 centuries divided equally between seniors (aged 46–60) and juniors (aged 17–45); the second, third, and fourth classes each had 20, divided equally between seniors and juniors, and the fifth had 30, again divided equally between the two age groups for a total of 170. Finally, there were five centuries of nonsoldiers for a grand total of 193. To get the majority one needed to have 97 centuries. As seen the elites, the *equites* (18 centuries) and first class (80 centuries) could control the voting since together their votes equaled 98 centuries. Originally the elites could push through any candidate and issue. While the elections appear to have been free and open, they were in reality a closed system due to wealth allowing for powerful individuals and families to control the process.

How to run an election was an important component as well. One of the most famous elections was Cicero's run for the consulship in 64 BCE when the outsider Cicero ran against the elites of Rome, particularly, Antonius and Catiline. A letter from Cicero's brother Quintus for how to run this election is useful in understanding politics and how elections occurred. First, voting was done in person; the concept of absentee ballots was not known. This meant that a Roman citizen who wished to vote had to be in Rome physically. The voting was done by tribes meaning that you voted within your tribe first and then the tribe collectively made their vote. The second part of the election was the connection the candidate had to make with everyone since he could be in different tribes. The candidate had to ensure that the voters knew him and could pander to his ideas. For Cicero the important thing was that he was a "new man" meaning that his family did not come from the old aristocracy that had a long history and family connections. This meant that Cicero had to remind himself that he was an outsider in a society that distrusted them. Quintus tells him to get on the good side of the young nobles in Rome who knew many individuals and can get him into the inner circles. He also informs Cicero that his opponents, while from the nobility, were not better men, Antonius was brought up on charges of maladministration and he was ejected from the Senate, while Catiline was a henchman of Sulla who murdered noble Romans. Quintus then proceeds to tell him how he can win over the people, since there were two types, his own friends and the populace at large. For his own friends Cicero must not only keep them in his stead but also must make sure he is loyal to them. Many of his friends had helped him in the past in the courts and politics and Quintus wants Cicero to make sure he not only acknowledges them but also keeps them on his side. Quintus tells him to work among the senators and *equites* to get to know them better. He also entreats his brother to not forget the *equites* in the rest of Italy since many of them may be in Rome for the election. The second group, the Roman populace, was more difficult. What made it more

difficult for Cicero as his brother tells him is that he is naturally shy and reserved and he not only needs to “get over” this but has also to make it look like he has never had this issue. Quintus tells him that he needs to look at each one in the eye and shake his hands and promise anything. In other words, Cicero needs to get out every day and be among the people. One way to do this is to remember everyone’s name and act as if they were always friends. He should make sure that he can give reassurances that he will try to help even if in the end he cannot. Cicero won the election with Antonius being the second consul. Whether this letter was actually written by Quintus or by Cicero or someone else is not known, but it was a good example of what needed to be done to win a Roman election. The election shows that although the wealthy and powerful were mainly in control, the plebs nevertheless did exert influence and at certain times could control the political picture, even by electing an outsider.

See also: *Arts:* Cicero, Marcus Tullius; *Politics and Warfare:* *Cursus Honorum*; Government; Roman Rule; Senate; Tribes

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GOVERNMENT

The Roman government was composed of the three ideological philosophies, executive, legislative, and judicial. While not exactly corresponding to modern systems of government or branches, the Romans produced a system to allow for checks and balances. The Roman legislative branch was divided between the magistrates, Senate, and the people. The magistrates would bring proposals forward to the Senate for discussion. The items would be discussed both formally and informally by the Senate. The formal process was the magistrate discussing the ideas before the Senate in a formal meeting and receiving feedback and making changes, if necessary. Here the senators would have the opportunity to publically discuss the ideas and suggest changes to a proposal so that other members knew where they stood or if they had changed their stand. The senators might even be able to cancel a proposal if there was enough opposition and the magistrates did not wish to have a fight with this powerful group. Informally the discussions would take place privately between the magistrates and senators, and amongst the senators themselves. The

magistrates, often as senators themselves, would negotiate amongst themselves and with their fellow senators to ensure passage. By convincing key family group members, passage might be easier. The Senate was traditionally an advisory group during the monarchy and technically the same under the Republic. As the Republic continued, the Senate became more directly involved as the legislative branch of the state. The Senate's seizure of power occurred during the mid-Republic with the continual wars when a strong body of knowledge was needed. This was due to the limited time, one year, of the magistrates, which meant that often there was little continuity in the magistrate's policy from year to year. Traditionally, before Sulla the Senate was composed of 300 members.

The censors supposedly ensured that the Senate was beyond reproach and nominated the senators with ex-magistrates usually given preference. This was changed with Sulla who had senators automatically chosen from ex-magistrates. The Senate had jurisdiction in legislation, finance, foreign and provincial affairs, and religion. The Senate had control of legislation, even plebiscites, until 287 BCE; and even afterward it was customary for the Senate to have tremendous influence over legislation with the magistrate seeking the Senate's permission before proposing the measure before the people's assembly. Also, if a magistrate sought the Senate's approval and accepted it, the action had the force of law. But the legislative power of the Senate was limited by the magistrates since the Senate could not initiate business unless a magistrate did so. The Senate met in a temple or other sacred place. The magistrate who called the meeting to order, defined the business and called upon the senators in order of precedence to speak on the matter. The senators could of course say other matters, for example, Cato the Elder always ended his talk with the phrase "Carthage must be destroyed" a reference to the destruction of the North African city. Senators could also filibuster or talk against the time limit set aside to conduct business, and it seems to have been common.

A further legislative group was the people. The people could bring proposals forward through the office of the Tribune. The 10 Tribunes each had the ability to bring a proposal before the people, which could be enacted as law by a plebiscite. In addition, any of the 10 tribunes could veto an action brought forward by a magistrate or fellow tribune, thus ending discussion. It took only one tribune to enact a veto.

The executive branch was through the officers or magistrates. The major officers were the consuls and praetors. Either office could bring forward proposals to the Senate or people or even place a veto. A consul could veto one another and the praetors; the praetors could veto each other but not the consuls. The tribunes could veto both a consul and *praetor*. The magistrates were responsible for carrying out the laws and policies of the state, including the decision of the

people. The magistrates were divided into those with imperium, consuls and praetors, and those without imperium, *aediles* and *quaestors*. In addition, there were the extra magistrates, the censors, without imperium, which were elected every five years and served for the 18 months; they ensured the taking of the census and upholding the morals of the state. The office of the tribune was only open to plebs. Although technically not a magistrate, it was treated as such. The final office was the dictator. The dictator was selected by the Senate upon a recommendation from the magistrate by a request of the consuls. The dictator served for a maximum of six months, although they could step down before and could be reappointed. Since there was no colleague, their actions could not be vetoed. In addition, the dictator could not have his acts vetoed by the tribunes. The dictator could have a junior helper, the *magister equitum*. This individual also had imperium, but his acts could be overridden by the dictator. The dictator was usually appointed during times of great distress, such as military action or social unrest requiring a decision to ensure the state did not fall into chaos or civil war.

The judicial function or branch again crossed over several groups, the magistrate, senators, and people. The judicial function in the state was based upon the magistrates and the assemblies. The consuls originally were in charge of judicial functions derived from the kings. As Rome grew and needed more help, the praetors became the judicial officers deciding cases. The senators were chosen as jurors for court cases either in civil or criminal cases. The magistrates ultimately decided upon the penalty, including for some cases death. The accused could appeal to the assemblies to have the penalty or even decision overturn in certain situations. The Roman government was a mixture of legislative bodies, executive groups, and judicial bodies, which helped ensure Roman growth and flexibility. The common person may not have served in the political arena but probably witnessed firsthand this outcome.

See also: Arts: Cicero, Marcus Tullius; Sallust; Politics and Warfare: Cursus Honorum; Elections; Roman Rule; Senate; Tribes

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IMPERIALISM

Imperialism is the concept of expanding a nation's power, territory, or economic control. For Rome it was mainly the expansion of their territory, which led to their increased power and control of economies. Rome's political system encouraged this process. Since their top two magistrates, the consuls, were only in power for one year, there was an impetus to engage in conflict to win political, economic, and social honors. The political honors included prestige to the individual and family; triumphs or ovations furthered their personal political and military careers. The military expansion brought to the state economic rewards and opportunities. These economic rewards included booty from conquered states, new taxes from newly won territories, and slaves resulting from prisoners. The social honors included prestige from defeating major powers and acting as a protector for smaller states such as Judea, Pergamum, and Numidia that tied them closer to Rome than they probably desired. Most of these smaller groups were later absorbed into Rome's Empire into larger entities or provinces.

Imperialism in Rome probably began haphazardly. As a small city-state Rome's first issue was survival. During the monarchy Rome was controlled by the Etruscans. The early Romans under the Etruscans regularly fought against other Etruscan towns such as nearby Veii. The Romans after expelling the Etruscan kings established the Republic, but the struggles continued. The two yearly consuls fought for control of Latium that opened up opportunities in both the north and south. Veii was ultimately defeated and its territory absorbed. This victory opened the path to control the northern Etruscan regions and allowed Rome enough confidence to move into the south against the Samnites.

The Romans expanded throughout Italy for the next 200 years. By 300 BCE, Rome controlled most of southern Italy. In 264 BCE, Rome became involved in the First Punic War against Carthage. After defeating Carthage Rome seized Sicily and then after the peace treaty, which they broke, they now took Sardinia and Corsica from the Carthaginians. Rome now began to expand beyond Italy. After the Second Punic War, Rome took advantage of the power vacuum and Civil War and seized Spain, Greece, Asia Minor, and Africa, by 133 BCE Rome controlled most of the region around the Mediterranean Sea. Some client kingdoms petitioned Rome for support and help, thus adding them into Rome's sphere of influences.

Did the Romans plan this expansion or was it by chance? This question has been debated since the time of the Roman Republic. It appears that both views are correct. The Roman system of magistrates serving for only one year encouraged continual fighting so that there were personal, family, and state rewards. On the other hand, the Romans often were reluctant to accept bequests and pleas for inclusion in the Roman state. As such it is clear that there was some kind of expansion policy, even if it was haphazard and never fully articulated, it was not necessarily

continual. What made Rome effective was its tenacity. Rome might lose battles but was able to come back and defeat the enemy in wars.

Often Imperialism was centered on individuals and families. The growth of the Roman state occurred from individuals desiring several gains. The first gain for the family was honor. Generals, as magistrates, desired to increase their family prestige. This increase in prestige would allow the family more power and potential influence in the Senate and among the public. The family could then use this influence to help other members of the family thereby increasing the total family power. Major families that witnessed this power growth included the Aemilian, Scipios, Claudians, Metelli, and Fabian. Some families such as the Aemilian and Scipios united through marriage or adoption and became the leaders of the imperialistic bloc. During the second century BCE Scipio Africanus, the victor over Hannibal, and Aemilius Paullus, the victor over Macedon, united through the adoption of Paullus's son by Africanus's son, who was now named Scipio Aemilianus. During this period these families embarked on an aggressive campaign to increase Roman territory and power in Africa, Spain, Greece, and Asia. Due to this growth that occurred through several family members in each family group or bloc, the Aemilian-Scipio group dominated foreign policy. Imperialism therefore allowed families to increase their power, prestige, and wealth.

Individuals also gained tremendously from imperialism. One of the hallmarks of Roman society was the desire to gain personal praise and glory or *laus* and *gloria*. These were the prerogative of the patricians. *Laus* allowed the noble to increase his prestige, while *gloria* justified their position of power whereby war or imperialism allowed them continually to increase and achieve their *gloria* and *laus*. There were other attributes including *concordia* or harmony, *victoria* or victory, *pietas* or piety, and *virtus* or manliness. For example, the idea of *virtus* was what made a Roman general successful on the battlefield.

While nobles and ambitious generals could aspire to these general ideas of *laus* and *gloria*, the common individual needed more. Up until the mid-second century BCE service in the legions was not oppressive. Individuals received bonuses and booty from profitable war. Even though the Second Punic War was initially devastating, it saw a tremendous amount of plunder returning to Italy. For an individual soldier there were tremendous opportunities to increase his wealth. The First Punic War saw the addition of Sicily, Sardinia, and Corsica. Although not a tremendous amount of wealth flowed in, there was some. The Second Punic War saw the plunder of Syracuse and tribute paid by Carthage, probably not enough for most Romans after the hardships of Hannibal. But the victories in Greece, Macedon, and Asia were won with little loss of life but resulted in a tremendous amount of plunder. The Third Punic War was a hard won victory, but the destruction of Carthage allowed for immense wealth to return to Rome. All of these wars allowed an individual to receive part of the plunder and possibly land and or

slaves. Imperialism was therefore advantageous to the common Roman who saw an increase in his own wealth and standing. If the individual stayed abroad in the new territories he could rise from a “common Roman” to provincial elite. Imperialism was the process whereby the state not only saw an increase in economic and territorial gain but also the allowed individuals to gain power and prestige.

See also: Arts: *Romanitas*; Politics and Warfare: Legions; Roman Provincial Treatment; Roman Rule; Roman View of Wars; Senate; Science and Technology: Military Technology

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JUSTICE AND PUNISHMENT

Roman law had two aspects, the delivery of justice and when needed the carrying out of punishment. This entry will examine how the Romans dispensed justice, especially removed from Rome or Italy. Roman law required, with few exceptions, for the prosecution of Roman citizens to come from another private Roman citizen. The citizen was required to bring a case before the Roman courts. The Roman case required the prosecution to not only present the evidence to the courts but also to provide a theatrical show. The citizen through his patron would bring the charge before the urban praetor and the jury. The defense likewise was to present their case not only to acquit their client but also to cast blame or suspicion on others, in other words, another show. While there were no professional lawyers who received compensations, the plaintiff and defendant could consult with their advocates who could even make speeches. The *delator* or accuser had to submit written charges together with the signatures of the witnesses (*subscriptores*) and present them to the praetor in court where the accused had to be present before a jury or *questiones*. The accusers and witnesses, up to 48, had to sign pledges that they were telling the truth and any perjury could be met with fines. The witnesses could be questioned and speeches could be made attacking their character, veracity, and position. Unlike modern courts, there were no objections, and everything and anything was fair game for both the prosecution and the defense. After the

evidence in the form of witnesses was presented, the jury voted requiring only a simple majority to decide the case. The juries were composed of many jurors, not just the 12 as in today's juries. The praetor would deliver the verdict. It was only with the winning of the case did the accuser or "lawyer" receive compensation for his work. If he lost the case he was thought to have brought a false charge or *calumnia* and was fined.

Once the verdict was reached the penalty had to be determined. In Rome, like other societies including modern America, the status of the individual was often the major factor. For serious crimes, such as murder or treason, death was often involved. But cases often involved other issues. If the individual admitted or was found guilty of killing another's slave or farm animal, the accused would pay fair compensation. If someone maimed another person, then the same thing should happen to him unless the two parties come to an agreement. But it was in the arena of politics that the differences between the classes are clearly seen. If a poor individual committed murder they were usually sentenced to death, while someone from the upper class was usually allowed to go into exile with his property seized. Other crimes carrying the death penalty included arson, burglary, maladministration, or even possession of poison.

The Romans originally did not have prisons as modern society has for the permanent or long-term detention. The prisons were merely holding cells until a trial could be arranged so that the accused did not flee. For citizens in Rome, once an individual was found guilty the punishment was carried out immediately and normally without appeal. If it was death then it would be carried out after a short time to allow individuals to get their affairs in order; if banishment, the individual was taken away immediately. This banishment could be passive, that is, going into exile, or active, being sent to the mines or quarries. Often the accused patrician or elite would forego a trial and flee into exile or commit suicide to save the family's estate or name.

Cicero was well known as being able to convince the jurors, even when he was advocating or lying, and still presented evidence to help his client. A good example of this can be seen in his defense of Milo who was accused of killing his enemy Clodius. Cicero's speech *Pro Milone*, made in 52 BCE was made in defense of his friend Titus Annius Milo, a praetor attempting to get the office of consul who was charged with murdering his political enemy, the former tribune and henchman of Julius Caesar, Publius Clodius Pulcher on the Via Appia. The fight began with Clodius's slaves attacking Milo's party and Clodius being wounded and ultimately dying from wounds inflicted by Milo's slaves. Milo initially declared he was only acting in self-defense. The prosecution effectively presented a case showing Milo as a cold-blooded murderer. Their witnesses and speeches caused the crowds on both sides to become violent and forced the de facto leader in Rome, Pompey, to

have armed guards around the court to prevent any violence against either side. After four days of prosecution speeches and testimony, Cicero had to deliver his speech to turn the crowd and more importantly the jury to Milo's favor.

Cicero planned his speech by not contesting the fact that Milo had killed Clodius but instead argued that it was not only self-defense. In fact it was also the best thing for the state. He even argued that the time of day was in dispute even though everyone knew differently. After Clodius's death his supporters took his body to the Curia and burned the body. They nearly burned down the Curia causing a riot. Since Clodius had been a tribune he was a *populares* who supported the cause of the people, as opposed to the *optimates*, Milo, who advocated the elites. Cicero argued that Milo was in a carriage with his wife and was away from Rome on official business and so he could not have been a cold-blooded murderer; Clodius on the other hand, was on horseback, more mobile, near his own villa, and had been absent from Rome. Clearly this must have been a trap. The other ancient authors indicated that they merely met by chance. Cicero could rely on previous memory to show how Clodius was corrupt, having been accused of incest with his sister, and sneaking into a festival for women dressed as a woman. Cicero continued to paint Milo as Rome's savior protecting the state. He also suggested that Milo was a friend of Pompey who in fact feared Clodius and his gang. Cicero also makes use of the idea that during times of war, laws do not have to be followed. The speech was an attempt to not only argue that drastic times called for drastic measures, but it also showed how facts were not always crucial in a prosecution or defense. Cicero, however, failed to get an acquittal for Milo losing 38 to 13 in votes due to the Clodian crowd intimidating Cicero, Pompey wanting a conviction, and the number of witnesses against Milo. The speech was considered one of Cicero's best even though he lost. Milo was condemned and allowed to leave to go into exile at Massilia (Marseille), and afterward he was convicted of bribery, violence, and unlawful association. The example of Milo showed how the Romans conducted their trial and subsequent punishment.

See also: Arts: Cicero, Marcus Tullius; Housing and Community: Crime

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LEGIONS

The legion was originally established during the monarchy and appears to have numbered 3,000 men. There was a property qualification of 10,000 *asses* to serve. The purpose of the property qualification was to ensure that there was a requisite property level so that the individuals could support themselves and give credence to the idea of being a full member of the state. The original formation had three lines or classes, each 1,000 strong. The three lines were the *hastati*, *principi*, and *triarii*. The strongest and most heavily equipped was the third line.

By the time of the Second Punic War, the number in the legion was nominally at 6,000 men divided into 30 maniples, 10 from each class that had represented the original three lines. The legion was drafted from the property class and required that soldiers have property. The property requirement mirrored several concepts. First, since one was required to have property, about 7 *iugera* or 5 acres minimum, in practicality it meant that the individual was a farmer. Legend had that these individuals were hardy farmers used to hard work and duress. Second, as farmers, they were required to work during different times of the year and often during inclement weather. A farmer had “free” time during the winter and potentially during brief times in the summer. Spring was the time for planting and fall for harvesting. This timing often was in conflict with the campaigning season in the spring, summer, and fall. If the enemy attacked during the spring, it could disrupt planting, and during the fall, it would disrupt the harvesting. Finally, the system of elections and magistrates necessitated a short time for campaigning, and the generals were in office only for one year. This meant that the generals wanted the battle or war to quickly get over before a new general was elected.

As time progressed from the early history of Rome, the wars moved from just one campaign season to several years and by the third century BCE could last between 10 and 20 years, such as the First and Second Punic Wars. This time period not only adversely affected their family with members being away, often for years but could also negatively impact the economy with a decline in productivity and the family farm being disrupted. The maniple legion remained in effect until the end of the second century BCE when new threats, both internal and external, appeared requiring a change. The external threats were the German tribes, while the internals were the decline of the farmers/soldiers and corruption in Roman politics. The Germans had moved from Scandinavia and were looking for a region to call their own and had moved up and down the Germanic lands. This coincided with the open corruption of rich families trying to ensure that their family members were given command so that they could enrich themselves.



Trajan's Column in Rome from ca. 100 CE, Replica, Bucharest, Romania. The Roman army was composed of citizen soldiers in the legions and noncitizens in the auxiliaries. As this scene shows, the Roman army constructed forts and other public works in addition to fighting. The legions were the heavy infantry of the Roman army but were also involved in a variety of peacetime acts. (Ciolca/Dreamstime.com)

The major military reform of the legion was under Marius who had seen problems with recruits and military tactics. Marius convinced the Romans to drop the property qualifications so that the city poor or proletariat who were originally forbidden to be part of the military could now be enrolled. These soldiers often joined for personal enrichments such as land or money which the generals promised. The generals often used the promise of land and money as a potential recruitment for service in the military. This would result in changes in Rome's political life. One of the most important changes was the rise of personal armies which led to the civil wars after 90 BCE and Augustus's ultimate victory in 31 BCE.

The Republican legion during the time of the Second Punic War until the time of Marius was organized with the manipule system. Here, there were three lines each with 10 maniples. The first two had each manipule composed of two centuries, while the third had only one century for each manipule. In addition, there were 20 *velites* or light-armed skirmishers who augmented each century for the first line so that the century had 80 men each, while the other two lines had 60 men per century. The first line then had the 10 maniples of *hastati* or 20 centuries of 60

hastati, with an additional 20 *velites* totaling 80, this was then followed by the 10 maniples of *principes* or 20 centuries of 60 men who formed the second line, and then finally the 10 maniples of *triarii* with only 10 centuries of 60 men in the third. Each century was commanded by a centurion so that there were 50 centurions in each legion. Each legion then had 300 cavalry men or *ala* divided into units of 10 men called *ducuniae* commanded by a *decurion* or a total of 30 *ducuniae*. Three *ducuniae* composed a *turma*. The normal battle plan during the period before the war with Hannibal was to simply attack in a marching order. There really was no major tactic. The idea of the Greek phalanx with some mobility continued. The wars with Pyrrhus and then Carthage changed this idea to promote more independence of the maniple, which allowed units to break off and fight independently, something not possible in the phalanx. The traditional fighting pattern, however, remained essentially the same.

The *velites* would normally front the *hastati* and discharge their javelins before retreating behind the first line. Since they were from the poorest Romans they were not well armed or protected. The *hastati* were the youngest Roman recruits and hence the most inexperienced, but they were also from the wealthiest class and probably were chosen to give them experience and allow them to show their valor to win glory. Since they were from the wealthiest class they could provide themselves with the best armor for protection. They were expected to be the primary fighting force of the army; however, if they were being pushed back or needed to regroup, they could retreat behind the second line or *principes*. These men were also from the wealthiest class, but they were the most seasoned and experienced troops. Like the *hastati* they had the best armor, but they were also the best troops. The plan was that the first line would wear down the approaching enemy and then the *principes* would charge and push the enemy back. This plan not only allowed the Romans to have good troops defend the lines but also allowed the best to counterattack. The *triarii* were the most veteran and experienced of the troops. Their mission was to prevent a disaster. If the first two lines were broken then the *triarii* would act as an anchor so that the remnants of the first two lines could reform around them and prevent a complete disaster. The cavalry was used primarily as recon and to prevent surprises on the flanks. Since they were few in number they could not act as a strong force to attack or bring the battle to a close.

Since the army was mainly composed of landowners, the average Roman, those not from the wealthy landowners or at least with some wealth or property, were confined to the *velites*. This meant that most of the army was from the middle class which promoted the idea that the farming poor were significant to form an army with enough wealth to outfit themselves. This changed after the wars of conquest when the number and quality of soldiers declined due to the decrease in

the number of farmers and the rise of the urban landless residents often termed the poor but probably only meaning landless regardless of their wealth.

See also: Arts: Polybius; *Politics and Warfare:* Auxiliaries; Imperialism; Military Camps; Military Command; Military Strategies and Tactics; Military Uniforms; Military Weapons; Punic Wars; Roman View of Wars; Samnite Wars; Social War; *Science and Technology:* Engineering; Military Technology

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MILITARY CAMPS

The Roman military camps were differentiated based on size and function. While the Romans used the word *castra* (sing. *castrum*) to mean legionary fort, it could mean a “marching,” “temporary,” or “permanent” fort. These forts developed based upon the needs of the army. When an army was moving during a campaign, they would build a marching fort meant to house the legion(s) for a short period of time. This type of camp was occasionally replaced during the campaigning season by a summer camp that housed the army for extended periods of time in the field or a winter camp when the army returned from the field. These temporary winter camps were often replaced by permanent camps made of stone. The army was always attached to a camp in some fashion. When marching, it was the practice to erect a marching camp early in the day to ensure the army was protected. Josephus writing about 70 CE indicated that before the army engaged the enemy, the Romans would have a proper and strong camp erected to fall back if needed. The engineers could construct such camps as quickly as a few hours, even during an enemy attack, since they carried most of their building implements necessary to erect a camp with them. The names given to camps often referred to the amount of time the Romans expected to remain in that particular camp; for example, *tertia castra* would mean a camp for three days.

The camps were either square, for one legion, or rectangular, for two legions. In the Republic, the praetor normally commanded one legion, and the consul commanded two. When two legions encamped together, they were placed back to back with their command tents together in the middle of the camp and the legions’

tents housing the soldiers, moving out away from the command center. The camp was surrounded by a ditch or *fossa* that the soldiers dug, throwing the dirt toward the camp, to create a wall or rampart (*agger*) with a palisade (*vallum*) of stakes, which the soldiers carried with them. This allowed the approach to be protected by a ditch in which the enemy went down and then a wall of dirt higher than the ground level with stakes as barriers. This arrangement broke the natural attack and allowed the Romans to defend the site from above, allowing them to have a stronger field of fire.

The camp was then arranged with the main street, *cardo* or *Via Principalis* running uninterrupted north to south and had in its central region the *principia* or command headquarters. Nearby was the parade ground and area reserved for commerce or forum. Running along the *cardo* were the tents of the tribunes and behind them toward the walls were the camp barracks. At right angle was the *via praetoria* where the *Praetorium* (from praetor) or commander's tent was situated. This road led to the *porta praetoria* the main gate so that an army marching through this gate would proceed straight to the camp's headquarters. The camp also housed other buildings such as canteen, hospital, and baths. Each maniple in the army had predetermined areas to establish their tents and positions which also allowed them to quickly build their camp. For the marching camps the size Polybius gives for the Roman fort of a consular army or two legions with auxiliaries comprised 2,150 square feet or 50 hectares.

The Romans built most of their camps as marching camps during the mid-Republic; this meant that they did not have permanent camps. This had several disadvantages and advantages. The disadvantages were that the camps had to be built after a day's march meaning that the army could not march for extensive distances each day since a certain amount of time would be needed for their construction. Although the actual time needed to construct the camp might only take a couple of hours since all of the soldiers were involved, and the camps were standard, one must remember that the total amount of daylight was at the most about 16 hours in the summer; this would allow at the most 8–10 hours of marching with the extra time needed for eating, packing, and constructing a new fort. In addition, a disadvantage was that the camps could not be heavily fortified with stone and bulwark. The advantages were that the camps provided the Romans with a defensible site on open ground to prevent surprise or ambush. The camps could also be located near places that provided food and water not only for the troops but for the horses and pack animals. Unlike their enemies who tended to situate their camps on or in natural defensible sites such as hilltops or in woods/swamps, the Roman defensible camps allowed them, even during the war with Hannibal, to never have their forts taken or stormed. After the battle of Cannae the Romans had

two forts that Hannibal could not take even though he had nearly wiped out the entire Roman army. The military camps provided the army with protection on the campaign trail. The camps allowed the army to move through enemy territory to conquer the region. In the east these camps were used to house the troops before a decisive battle which usually ended the war. In the west, the camps were needed to not only move through enemy territory but also often to create a base of operations for numerous campaigns.

POLYBIUS DESCRIBES A ROMAN CAMP

In Book VI of his *Histories*, Polybius (ca. 200–ca. 118 BCE) the Greek historian of Rome’s rise to power in the second century BCE, provided a detailed description of the Roman *castra*, or military camp. Polybius was ideally placed to write about Roman military practices, having social connections with many leaders of the Republic. Less given to embellishing his work than other contemporary writers, Polybius relied heavily on public documents and eyewitness accounts; he also participated in several military campaigns himself. While historians today debate the nuances of Polybius’s account of Roman camps, most agree that the general picture he painted is accurate. The following is an excerpt from his description of a Roman military camp.

27 The manner in which they form their camp is as follows. When the site for the camp has been chosen, the position in it giving the best general view and most suitable for issuing orders is assigned to the general’s tent (*praetorium*). Fixing an ensign on the spot where they are about to pitch it, they measure off round this ensign a square plot of ground each side of which is one hundred feet distant, so that the total area measures forty-thousand square feet. Along one side of this square in the direction, which seems to give the greatest facilities for watering and foraging, the Roman Legions are disposed as follows. As I have said, there are six *Tribunes* in each Legion; and since each *Consul* always has two Roman Legions with him, it is evident that there are twelve *Tribunes* in the army of each. They place the tents of these all in one line parallel to the side of the square selected and fifty-feet distant from it, to allow room for the horses, mules, and baggage of the *Tribunes*.

(Polybius, 1922, 329)

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The common man had to serve in the army and construct these camps that protected the troops and ensure the Roman army was victorious. The construction of these camps was labor intensive, and while on the march, though it was not necessarily extensive, it did provide protection from surprise attacks. These camps were therefore temporary protection to provide time for the legions to assemble and meet the enemy. As the armies became more settled the camps were changed into forts, first made up of wood and then stone.

See also: Housing and Community: Surveying; Town Planning; *Politics and Warfare:* Legions; Military Command; *Science and Technology:* Aqueducts; Engineering

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MILITARY COMMAND

The development of the Roman military went hand in hand with the political structure and development in the state. During the monarchy the supreme commander was the king who directed the battlefield and the disposition of his troops. Originally, the legions were his private army or bodyguard and were subject only to him. Since the king remained in power for extended periods of time he could control the military as a long-term solution. With the advent of the Republic, the military structure and system changed. The supreme commander was now in the hands of the dual consuls, which could complicate matters and created a shift in military commands and planning.

The consuls each served for only a year which meant a change in military planning and strategy. It was important for the consuls to bring successes home from the battlefield home to raise their own stature and also to give further glory or praise to their family. The families of the great nobles competed for the office of consul and for the theater of operations for the military. Throughout the history of the Roman Republic, the Romans noticed only three years when a war was not



Marble relief, Praetorian Guard, Paris, France, imperial era. The Romans had a highly structured military command. During the Republic the generals were normally the elected consuls, while during the Empire, generals were selected by the emperor, usually based on merit. The most prestigious military group was the Praetorian Guard as seen on this relief who received higher pay and rewards. (Leemage/Corbis)

their command ran out. This potentially meant that if they did not end the war, their successor might end it victoriously and take the credit. This often led to rashness on the part of some commanders since they desired to win the glory for themselves. Because of the nature of the yearly appointment, there often was competition to win a coveted command; and if a general did not achieve immediate success there was competition to succeed him. After the initial period of the Republic the Romans realized that they needed more generals and this gave rise to the praetors since the Romans did not increase the number of consuls. The praetors originally dealt with the distribution of law when the consuls were absent, they were then given command of an army as well and often went out into the provinces. During the Second Punic War, it became necessary to have more generals and the Romans decided not to increase the number of magistrates, instead

declared. This alone showed that the Romans, regardless of their stated desire not to engage in war, viewed military conflict as expected and even desired. The generals who won successful wars took on cognomens identifying their success, such as Africanus (victor in Africa), Macedonicus (victor in Greece), or Numidicus (conqueror of Numidia) or other descriptors such as Cunctator (delayer).

The consuls desired to achieve success so that they could then use their victories on the battlefield to promote their own political agenda. Since it was crucial to win these awards the consuls had to act quickly. Whereas the king could plan a campaign or war that might last several seasons, the consuls realized that if they desired to bring the war to a successful end they only had one year before

they turned to the idea of extending a consul or praetor's command, commonly called the pro-consul or pro-praetor.

The competition often led to issues, in particular the competition among generals to win political favor with the populace. Often the commanders attempted to curry favor by promising rewards. The extension of command allowed the Romans to have a continual supply of generals to continue their expansion throughout the Mediterranean. The ex-magistrates had full power like their original magisterial offices and could continue for longer periods of time if needed. Usually these individuals would continue in the region they were originally given command of and if successful they could see the campaign to an end. This type of command allowed for a continuity of control. The issues, however, that occurred included the beginning of personal loyalty to the commander and not the state. This was first seen in the Second Punic War. Scipio (Africanus) successfully endeared himself into the hearts of his men. When he was not to be given command against Hannibal after his successes in Spain, he was able to rally his men to demand his appointment. With his success against Hannibal, Scipio was able to return in triumph. During the century, after Scipio, Africanus's generals competed to gain triumphs.

The average soldier began to look up to these commanders for support. In the first century BCE, generals began to promise more and more to soldiers. This became more crucial after the reforms of Marius who made a professional army without a property qualification. The army was not made up of landowners as in the past; instead, they could be from the proletariat or urban poor. The urban poor became professional soldiers who were promised lands and money in return for loyalty. This loyalty was surprisingly successful for the generals. While sometimes a competing general could bribe the opposition, usually the soldiers remained loyal.

This loyalty led to competition between the generals. Marius held sway for a generation because of his great victories in the north against the Germans. After the Social War when troubles arose in the east, Marius had hoped to gain command, but when the Senate gave command to his rival, Sulla, Civil War erupted. Sulla left with his troops, but before leaving Italy, Marius successfully turned the crowd, which supported him, to nullify Sulla's command and have him appointed leader. Sulla in turn rallied his men and marched on Rome forcing Marius to flee. Sulla declared to his men that if Marius was to be given command they would not get the rewards and property but others would, namely Marius's men. Sulla then left for the east, and Marius returned again becoming in charge of Rome. Sulla, after his victory, returned and forced the followers of Marius (who had recently died) to fight and ultimately lose. Sulla and his men then began a reign of terror with the proscriptions or legalized murder. The successors of Sulla continued to use their men to control the political history of the state. The ultimate winner was

Octavian or Augustus who established a new system loyal to the commander, in this case, the emperor and his family.

The men who followed Augustus and the other generals relied on their commanders for money, land, and a new hope. The men were able to achieve these rewards but at a terrible cost, the destruction and death of their fellow Romans. In the end, their victory was at a cost. While they received peace, land, and prosperity, they gave up control of their political system. The generals gave rewards but took away their self-political determination.

See also: *Arts:* Caesar, Gaius Julius; *Politics and Warfare:* Auxiliaries; Legions; Military Strategies; *Recreation and Social Customs:* Triumphs

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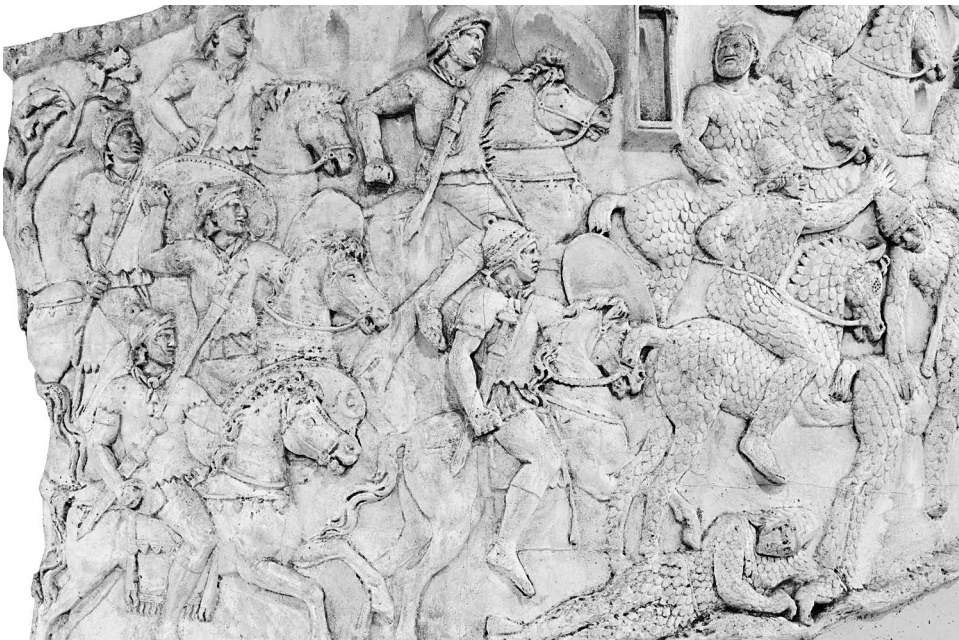
MILITARY STRATEGIES AND TACTICS

Roman military strategy and tactics fall under several different categories. During the Republic, these strategies often harmed individuals in the state while attempting to protect the state and its people. An examination of the various forms of strategies helps explain the process. At the lowest level was the tactical strategy, which involved individual battles and operations. The earliest stage involved reconnaissance when the armies attempted to discover the whereabouts and movements of the enemy. This could be done by spies or light cavalry. After the enemy had been located, the general would draw up his plans (see below) and put them in play. The initial battle often would open with the cavalry attempting to gain control over the enemy's cavalry or hide the infantry's advance. This was important since if they were successful in gaining control over the opposing cavalry they could attack in support of the infantry. Also the cavalry could be used to screen the advance of their heavy infantry providing the element of surprise. Alongside the cavalry was the use of slingers and archers who could lay down covering fire in hopes of disrupting the enemy lines. The heavy infantry would then advance to provide the shock or brunt of the attack against the enemy infantry. At the same time the light

infantry would often be on the flanks to ensure that the enemy did not envelope the heavy infantry. The initial charge by the heavy infantry involved the throwing of spears or *pila*, which were designed to weigh down the enemy shield by the iron spear head bending if the enemy soldier was not hit. After discharging their spears the Romans would fight with their sword. One of the innovations in the Roman maniple system as opposed to the Greek hoplite was the use of checkerboard arrangements where the Romans had enough space to allow reserve troops to advance and take over without the wholesale retreat or movement. The new troops could move up through the gaps and relieve the wounded or exhausted troops.

Accompanying the direct battle tactics were the arrangements for battle. The Romans had a variety of arrangements at their disposal. The standard arrangement was for the Romans to line up in three lines with the strongest troops in the front. Another option was to have the two wings strengthened so that when the enemy attacked, the middle would “cave in” and allow the wings to envelope the enemy; this is what Hannibal had done at Cannae to the Romans. The Romans might create large gaps in the lines or channels that allowed the enemy cavalry or more regularly the enemy war elephants to be driven down and attacked; Scipio did this at Zama against Hannibal. The Romans might also mass a large number of troops on one side, usually the right, and attack the enemy’s weak left side; this had been done by the Greeks. The Romans would also make use of natural barriers such as a lake or hill to help them; of course, the enemy could do the same. Hannibal used Lake Trasimene to force the Romans to spread out in a column with the lake on one side and the hills on the other. Hannibal and his troops then rushed from the hillside downward and either killed the Romans or drove them into the lake where they drowned. The arrangement for battle was then at the tactical level. At the strategic level was the overall strategy.

Above the tactical level was the operational level. This was the theater of operations where the armies planned and operated at a concerted level. An example of this was the planned operations in Italy during the Second Punic War when Hannibal’s brother Hasdrubal attempted to link up with him. Hasdrubal crossed the Alps and attempted to join Hannibal but got lost; the Romans split their armies with one remaining in the south to hold Hannibal in check, while another traveled north and intercepted Hasdrubal, defeating and killing him. Above this level was the Grand Strategy where Rome had a plan above the operational phase. An example of Grand Strategy was at the beginning of the Second Punic War when Scipio Africanus’s father (Scipio) and his consular colleague were defeated at the Battle of Trebia and Hannibal slipped passed them into central Italy. Scipio asked the Senate whether he should follow Hannibal or continue toward Spain, his original plan. The Senate ordered him to continue to Spain and attempt to separate Spain



Trajan's Column in Rome, replica in Bucharest, Romania. The Romans developed a variety of tactics and strategies to deal with various enemies. The Romans would attack using cavalry, as seen in this scene, or through the heavy infantry. Their strategy was often based on terrain or the group they opposed. (Ciolca/Dreamstime.com)

from Hannibal. This was crucial since Spain could provide Hannibal with needed reserves. The Grand Strategy at this level was to prevent Hannibal and Carthage with the resources needed to conquer Italy. Finally, above the Grand Strategy was the overall political aim of Rome. In the example above it was the defeat of Carthage and Rome's supremacy in the western Mediterranean.

The Second Punic War showed examples of how strategies evolved to meet the needs of the state. When Hannibal won his second major battle at Trasimene he hoped to deliver the final blow quickly and defeat the Romans forcing them to make peace. Instead the Romans selected Dictator Fabius Maximus, who avoided battle but shadowed Hannibal, attacking his stragglers or foraging parties without attacking the main force. Hannibal attempted to lure Fabius into battle without success. For six months Fabius successfully held Hannibal at bay without a major battle. After his term as dictator expired, the Romans elected new consuls who engaged Hannibal at Cannae leading to disaster. Once again Fabius was called upon to delay battles; thus, earning his nickname the Delayer (Cunctator). This did not mean that the Romans did not fight; they attacked Hannibal's forces wherever he was not present. Since Hannibal could not be everywhere, the Romans attacked

at multiple cities forcing Hannibal to choose but giving up other strategic sites. For the average soldier the strategy may not have been understood, but it allowed them to survive and ultimately win the war.

Down the centuries, the Roman soldier had to be adaptable, as the Roman military readily adopted new strategies, tactics, and weapons from the peoples they fought. In the early Republic, Roman troops were citizen-soldiers called into arms to meet military emergencies. The heavy infantry predominated over the cavalry, as the Romans, fighting Greek and Etruscan armies, adopted the strategy and equipment of the Greek hoplite. Wars against the Celtic peoples led to the arming of Roman troops with swords and heavy shields, and wars against the Samnites in Italy taught Romans the use of guerrilla tactics and more flexible infantry formations. In the Second Punic War, Hannibal showed how a smaller army employing superior strategy could defeat a larger force relying mainly on numbers. In the late Republic and early Empire, the proliferation of foreign wars turned Roman soldiers into military professionals, who served the state for years and were not allowed to marry while in service. New strategies and weapons adapted from the Celtic, German, and Hellenistic armies they fought were added to the equipment and training of the Roman soldier. By the later Empire, the demands of warfare against Germans and Huns placed a greater emphasis on body armor and cavalry, thus foreshadowing the medieval knight, but the heavy infantry still remained the heart of the Roman army.

See also: *Politics and Warfare*: Auxiliaries; Legions; Military Camps; Military Command

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MILITARY UNIFORMS

Roman military uniforms and clothing had both standardized and unique elements. The soldiers had common dress and armor, but there was no standard uniform. Instead, local areas produced their own variations for the allies. The Romans

allowed their own troops some individual leeway in dress and armor. Later, when the Roman state mass produced its armor, it was not with a standard plan; instead local manufacturers had their own variations. In addition, a Roman soldier could wear armor that was previously produced or owned by someone else, as long as it was still usable.

The basic soldier's equipment included a helmet or *galea*. There were different types of helmets, at least four types for the infantry, which were influenced by the Etruscans, Greeks, and Gauls. The earliest type was the Montefortino helmet, which was conical or round with a raised central knob and was commonly used in the Republic until about 100 BCE. A contemporary helmet was the Coolus helmet, which again was round but without a raised knob. Both had cheek guards. These were replaced by the Imperial helmet, subdivided into the Imperial Italic and Imperial Gallic based upon their manufacturing sites. Both had more advanced features such as a more pronounced neck guard, ear protection, brass shielding, and were later reinforced by skull ridges. The helmets were probably mass produced from a few factories or workshops that were given state contracts.

Another important component was the *lorica*, which means body armor and can be divided into various components. There was the *lorica hamata*, a chain-mail-type armor produced during the Republic and Empire. Composed of rings and wire, it gave the wearer freedom of movement and good protection. While it was time consuming to produce it, it could be used for decades if well maintained. The *lorica segmentata* supplanted the *lorica hamata* since it was cheaper and quicker to make. Composed of circular strips of armor plating that were fastened to leather straps and were overlapped downward, the armor was made in two halves that were joined or fastened in both front and back. The armor had to be constantly maintained since it was liable to rust. Another common form of armor was the *lorica squamata*, which was scale armor sewn onto a leather shirt. The scales were made of iron or bronze and each were about 6 mm in width and 9 mm in height and overlapped. While the cuirass or muscle cuirass, which was composed of metal cast, to fit the individual existed in the early Republic, it was too expensive and heavy to be used by most. Although it was commonly seen on pieces of art, it was probably rarely used. A final type, reserved for commanders was the *lorica plumata*, which had pieces of metal looking like feathers, a very expensive form of armor.

Legs were protected by a pair of greaves, which could be made up of leather or metal. Some protected the entire leg up to the thigh, while others guarded only the lower leg. In the Republican legion, the *triarii*, the strongest line, often had both legs protected, while the *principes* and *hastati* had only the left or none. During the Empire, the legionnaires wore greaves on both legs, while in the late Empire the soldiers no longer wore them.



Fragment of Triumphal Arch, France, 50 CE. The Roman army by the end of the Republic had standardized many parts of their uniform. A typical soldier would have a shield, helmet, breastplate, cloak, and greaves, as seen on this gravestone. There were, however, variations within these standard items and often were related to geography or function of the troops. (Timedreamer/Dreamstime.com)

The Romans were also outfitted with clothing that helped them during their battles and normal daily life. The shoes were the *caligae*, the marching shoes. Although resembling sandals they were more heavy duty and had hob nails, like cleats, to provide traction. These boots allowed the Romans to have traction on the march and battle and provide stability. The boots were open, hence like a sandal, and were worn without socks. The open boots prevented them from blisters on the march since they did not produce friction or rubbing as when socks are worn. In addition, the open design prevented other fungal diseases since the individual's feet could breathe.

In the north, the soldiers often wore *braccae* or pants made from wool. The *braccae* were first encountered by the Romans against the Gauls and they soon adopted them since they provided protection from the cold. Their length varied between just above the knees to the ankles and corresponded to the season. While the Romans first considered them effeminate, they soon replaced the *tunic* in the north. The *tunic* had been the traditional Roman military dress worn under their armor and for casual settings. The *tunic* can be viewed as a long shirt worn from

the shoulder to just above the knees. It was loose to provide movement and could have a belt at the waist.

The soldier also wore a *balteus*, which was a belt worn over one shoulder and held their sword. In addition, the soldier might have a scarf to prevent chaffing from the armor. The *paludamentum* was the cloak often associated with a Roman soldier in popular art. They were usually only worn by officers and fastened on one shoulder. The cloak provided the soldier with a coat allowing him to keep warm during nasty weather. The typical soldier wore instead the *sagum*, which likewise was a rectangular piece of wool and fastened on the shoulder and worn over the armor. The soldier could also wear a poncho or *paenula*, which was probably cheaper to purchase than the *sagum*. The troops also had a small pack or *loculus*, which probably kept their rations or valuables.

Since individuals were responsible for their own outfit, it was probably common for the lower ranked infantry and new recruits to have lesser number of clothes. The soldier often had cost of his clothes deducted from his pay, which made it easier for the soldier to pay for his clothes.

See also: Fashion and Appearance: Military Dress; Politics and Warfare: Legions

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MILITARY WEAPONS

The Roman army had a variety of weapons used by individual soldiers and units within the army. These different types of weapons were used for different purposes to ensure success. This entry will examine not only the weapons used by the individual but also the other weapons in the Roman arsenal.

The standard legionnaire and auxiliary were equipped with a sword. Before the Second Punic War, the Romans used long swords that were useful for power but did not have easy mobility and adaptability. During the Second Punic War, Scipio Africanus, when fighting in Spain, liked the feel and use of the Spanish sword or *gladius* and began to outfit his troops with it. The *gladius* due to its versatility soon

became the standard sword for the Roman army. It could stab or slash. In the battles in which the armies were often fighting in close quarters, the *gladius* was ideal since it could be used for stabbing, while other types of swords were primarily for slashing and could not be brought to bear and deliver a powerful blow. The *gladius* became the standard sword until the late Empire. The Roman cavalry typically used longer sword, the *spatha*, which allowed them more protection and power than the *gladius* due to their distance from the enemy combatant. The Romans also carried a dagger or *pugio*, which allowed the legionnaires to have a backup

weapon if their *gladius* was lost or broken. The dagger was about a foot long with a wide blade.

Just as critical as the sword was the spear. In the early Republic, the legion fought like the Greek Phalanx that employed the long spear. The first few lines had their spears out, while the later lines held them up and shoved the forward lines. The Romans changed this system to the legion that had three lines. The first two lines used swords, while the strongest and best line, the third or *triarii*, had the *hasta* or long spear about six and a half feet long. The heavy spear was not used for throwing but was rather used for poking. The Romans found that the *hasta* was not the best weapon for offense. For offense they used the second type of spear, the *pilum*, used by the first two lines. The *pilum* was about 6 feet long. It had a thin iron shank with a barbed tip and a heavy shaft. The design gave



Gravestone, Roman soldiers, Lyon, France, imperial era. The Roman army by the end of the Republic had standardized many parts of their uniform. A typical soldier would have a shield, helmet, breastplate, cloak, and greaves, as seen on this gravestone. There were, however, variations within these standard items and often were related to geography or function of the troops. (Alexandre Fagundes De Fagundes/Dreamstime.com)

the Romans some distinct advantages. The *pilum* could be thrown from 50 to 70 feet away. In addition, the shank, about two feet long, could pierce a shield or body armor. But what made the *pilum* even more useful was that when the spear struck a shield, the weight of the shaft would bend the shank making it nearly impossible to pull out of the shield. With the *pilum* dangling at 90°, and the nearly four-foot shaft, heavy and cumbersome, pulling the shield to the ground, the enemy was forced to throw away the shield making himself open and vulnerable. The *pilum* became a defensive weapon that turned into an offensive weapon that the Romans could discharge on an approaching enemy (defensive), which blunted the advance and allowed the Romans to charge (offensive). A Roman soldier often had several spears.

An effective defensive and offensive weapon was the bow. The Romans used the composite bow made of horn and wood. The archers were often placed on the wings and behind the three lines shooting over the infantry to break up the enemy charge. Offensively the archers produced fear in the enemy. Unless the attackers were sufficiently protected, they were liable to be hit by arrows from either above or straight on. Defensively the archers provided cover during a march or while they were encamped. A similar type of weapon for the same use was the sling. A simple weapon, the sling was used effectively and was inexpensive to outfit.

The Romans used heavy projectiles known as ballista, which could fire missiles or other material long distances. These heavy weapons had been developed during the Greek period and grew in popularity during the period of Alexander the Great and later. The weapons were captured by the Romans during their conquests of the Greek cities in the south and east and replicated. These weapons had both offensive and defensive uses. One of their uses was during sieges. During the siege of Syracuse, the Romans used heavy ballista to fire spheres, similar to shot puts and weighing various weights against the heavy walls. While Syracuse also used the same weapons to break up the Roman attack and create terror. Some of the projectiles were small stones or lead shot baked into a clay ball. When hit they would break into pieces and create a fragmentation weapon causing serious injury. The ballistae could also project pots filled with burning oil, which could be used against a city or an approaching army. The Romans also used the ballista to fire multiple spears, which again disrupted the enemy and produced terror. The ballistae were the artillery of the ancient world and like modern cannons could scare or disorganize the enemy.

The ballista had a maximum range of 500 yards for the darts and probably 300 yards for the stones. The ballista could be the heavy torsion catapults manned by four men, later called the *onager* (Latin for donkey) because they had recoil or a kick like a donkey. Another ballista used by only one man was the *manuballista*,

which was a powerful bow. Each late Republican legion had 10 *onagers* and up to 100 *manuballistae*. The production of these weapons meant that the Roman army had a constant need of laborers to continually create the weapons and their ammo.

The weapons in the Roman army were used for both offensive and defensive stances. The weapons had the ability to make the Roman army nearly invincible.

See also: *Politics and Warfare*: Auxiliaries; Legions; *Science and Technology*: Metallurgy; Military Technology

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NAVY

The Roman navy was an extension of earlier naval designs and practices that had existed in the Mediterranean. A brief history of ancient naval warfare and practices helps in the understanding of the Roman practices. Initially the fleets, as relayed in the Homeric poems, were nothing more than transports, ferrying troops across the seas so that they could disembark and engage in land battles. During the Greek age of colonization, about 800 BCE, the fleets changed to include both transport and warships with the latter protecting the colonizing transport fleets, safeguarded the economic livelihood by patrolling coastal regions and shipping lanes, and swiftly transported armies for land engagements. The fleets were expensive and until the end of the Peloponnesian War (ca. 400 BCE) were manned by citizen rowers, which put a heavy strain on the other economic infrastructures of the city-state. The ships were triremes and the normal naval tactic of ramming the opposing ship sufficed. The ships were not able to withstand the savage storms and effectively could not be used to block the enemy since they were so small. The fleet also did not have enough resources to stay in the water for a long period of time.

The Greek fleets of the Hellenistic Age had about the same number as previously, but the standard ship was the *quinquereme*, which was manned by twice the number than before. The two major kingdoms in the east after Alexander the

Great who used their fleets were Macedon in the Aegean and Ptolemaic Egypt in the Levant. In the west, the major naval force was the city of Carthage, founded by colonist from Tyre. The Carthaginian fleet was first used in trade, while later their warships were built to protect the rich trading routes in the western Mediterranean. Carthage and the city of Syracuse would constantly fight over the island of Sicily, with Carthage winning occasionally but confined to the western part of the island by 300 BCE. During the period from 500 to 275 BCE, Carthage and Rome signed several treaties ensuring Carthaginian control of trade routes in the west, while both cooperated against their common foes such as the Etruscans. The Carthaginians helped Rome by providing a fleet against Pyrrhus in the 280s BCE. Shortly after this period, however, the two forces came into conflict over Sicily leading to the three Punic Wars. In the First Punic War, control of Sicily counted on the naval power for both. Rome successfully won by continually outfitting a fleet of at least 200 warships. The Romans used the ships as an extension of their land warfare by not ramming the enemy but rather by boarding the enemy ship. The Romans and Carthaginians would fight several battles, usually with Rome winning, but nature often destroyed the victorious Roman fleet afterward. The Romans won the war based on their willingness to continually build and outfit successor fleets, while Carthage decided not to follow suit. In the end Rome won the First Punic War through their tenacity and Carthage's attrition.

After the First Punic War, Rome's navy controlled



Navy depicted on Trajan's Column in Rome Italy, ca. 100 CE. While the navy was subsidiary to the Roman army it was nevertheless crucial in military matters as seen here where they attack across the Danube River during Trajan's invasion of Dacia. The navy during the Republic was important for its victory over Carthage in the First Punic War. (Goran Bogicevic/Dreamstime.com)

the western Mediterranean preventing the Carthaginians from making attacks on Italy or reinforcing Hannibal extensively. In the east, Rome effectively controlled the Adriatic Sea and during the Macedonian and Syrian Wars did not meet extensive opposition. Rome changed the type of ship used from the trireme and larger number banked ships to the smaller *liburnian* or bireme. Rome's control of the sea was not challenged by any organized foe until the first century BCE when the pirates in the east began to increase. This increase came about due to several factors. During the second century BCE, Rome punished its ally Rhodes, which had a sizable navy and who patrolled the east keeping pirates in check, by establishing a free port at Delos. Rhodes had collected import/export duties, which kept their fleet operational. Unable to compete with the free port at Delos, Rhodes declined and its navy disappeared. After the collapse of Rhodes, Rome no longer cared about the east, which allowed pirates to flourish. In addition, the Roman system of government allowed the pirates to flourish since governors could not pursue the pirates into provinces that they did not govern.

The Roman navy saw resurgence in the 60s BCE under Pompey who was given command to destroy the pirates. Later, Julius Caesar created a landing fleet for his invasions of Britain in the 50s BCE. During the civil wars the various generals outfitted for themselves fleets to attack one another. The most notable were the fleets of Sextus Pompey against Octavian; Antony and Cleopatra's fleet; and Octavian's fleet under the command of Agrippa who successfully defeated Sextus Pompey in southern Italy and later Antony and Cleopatra's fleet at Actium to win the civil wars. Octavian, now Augustus, established two major fleets, one in the western part of Italy at Naples, the other in the east at Ravenna.

The Romans used lighter warships as opposed to the heavier ships of the Hellenistic kingdoms. Later Roman writers attributed Octavian's victory over Antony at Actium to the lighter, swifter, and more navigable *liburnian*, which had two banks of 25 oars on each side. The ships could sail at 14 knots under sail and probably at 7 under oars. In addition, each ship was expected to act on its own, thereby freeing them of a unified military command that could hinder them.

Throughout the Roman Republic the main armament was the ram or rostra, which were used to strike the enemy below the water line to either sink or immobilize it. Agrippa is supposed to have invented the *harpax*, which was a grappling hook fired by a catapult allowing the enemy ship to be towed toward the Roman ship so it could be boarded. Their ships were also backed up by towers on both the stern and aft to provide cover. The fleets were powered by citizens and organized like the army with a centurion in charge. The ship itself was commanded by the Trierarchs who may have been the actual captain and accorded a high rank. A squadron of 10 ships was commanded by a *nauarchus*. Citizens could sign up as marines, rowers, or attendants making the navy a possible alternative to the army.

See also: *Economics and Work*: Shipbuilding; *Politics and Warfare*: Punic Wars; *Science and Technology*: Ship Rigging; Ships; Warships

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PUNIC WARS (264–146 BCE)

The struggle between Rome and Carthage during the Republic resulted in three wars, the Punic Wars. The relationship between Rome and Carthage had originally been peaceful and several friendship treaties had been negotiated. This peaceful arrangement occurred in part because Rome was primarily agricultural and confined to central Italy, while Carthage was a naval mercantile state spread throughout the western Mediterranean holding a commercial monopoly. In addition, both states fought against Pyrrhus cooperating against him.

Rome's continual advancement into the south resulted in more contacts with the Greek cities of southern Italy and Sicily. For centuries, these cities had relationships, both good and bad, with Carthage, often resulting in war and alliances both for and against the African city. In 264 BCE, Carthage, with help from Syracuse, occupied the Greek city-state Messana in northeast Sicily, which altered the peace. A group of mercenaries who held Messana, called Mamertines, had initially asked for Carthaginian help, but when they occupied the city the Mamertines asked Rome for aid. The Senate initially rejected the mercenaries' request, but the people overrode the Senate and made an alliance with the Mamertines, precipitating the First Punic War. The First Punic War, 264–241 BCE, was fought for different reasons by the participants. Rome wanted to make sure that Carthage did not gain a strong position in Sicily and southern Italy so as to limit Roman influence. Carthage desired not only to ensure that Sicily would not fall to Rome but also to maintain its economic position in the western Mediterranean by controlling the sea routes around Sicily. This control was crucial given that Carthage was so close.

The First Punic War opened with Rome's success in pushing Carthage out of Messana. This resulted in Syracuse switching side; and Rome then took Segesta and Agrigentum. Since Carthage did not capitulate, Rome challenged Carthage's naval superiority. Rome constructed a fleet of 160 warships that defeated the Carthaginian fleet off Mylae in 260 BCE using grapnels, which allowed the Romans to board the enemy ship and fight as if they were on ground. After this early victory Rome sent the consul Regulus to Africa to fight the Carthaginians near their capital. After a naval victory, the Romans landed, only to be defeated the next year (255 BCE). The Romans sent a relief fleet to evacuate the survivors, but it was destroyed in a storm on the way home. While Rome captured Panormus in Sicily, they could not expel the Carthaginians from western Sicily; a new Roman fleet was also destroyed off the coast of Sicily. The Romans continued to blockade Sicilian towns, while a new Roman fleet attempted to blockade the Carthaginian town of Drepana but failed since the fleet was soon destroyed by a storm. The Romans cut off communication with Drepana; and the Carthaginian General Hamilcar Barca soon attempted to attack the Romans in guerilla-style warfare from 247 to 241 BCE; however, Rome under Catulus with a new fleet defeated the last Carthaginian naval force off the Aegates islands and a peace treaty was negotiated whereby Carthage would evacuate Sicily and pay indemnity of 3,200 talents over 10 years.

The Second Punic War became the seminal point in Roman history. The war had its roots not only in the hatred of Hamilcar Barca and his son Hannibal but also in how Rome treated Carthage after the First Punic War when it seized Carthaginian Sardinia and Corsica. Rome in 219 BCE interfered in Carthaginian Spain and forced Hannibal and Carthage to wage war. Hannibal decided that to win, it was important for the Carthaginians to strike Italy quickly. In 218 BCE, Hannibal crossed the Alps and defeated Rome at Trebia destroying two legions; in 217 BCE, he defeated the Romans at Lake Trasimene wiping out three legions; and in 216 BCE, at Cannae, he achieved a great victory by defeating eight legions, killing or taking prisoners nearly six legions. Rome, even though it had seen unprecedented defeat and destruction, did not submit. Instead Rome not only put into the field anywhere from 10 to 15 legions per year but also carried the war to Spain cutting off Hannibal's supplies and reinforcements. Although Rome did not defeat Hannibal in Italy, they were able to chip away at his allies retaking most of the cities such as Capua and Syracuse. In 204 BCE, Scipio after returning victorious from Spain crossed to Africa. In 203 BCE, he won at Utica; and Carthage sued for peace, which Scipio granted and both Carthage and Rome ratified. Carthage then breached the treaty and in 202 BCE recalled Hannibal. Later in 202 BCE, Scipio defeated Hannibal at Zama. Rome stripped Carthage of its empire and forbade it to make war outside its reduced territory and could only defend its territory with Rome's permission.

After the war, Carthage began to restore its empire not by military conquest but by economic promotion. Carthage, during the next 50 years, made it a point not to engage in military operations, even to the point of acquiescing to constant demands for territory and tribute from Rome and its allies, especially King Masinissa of Numidia. Using its traditional connections and its former system of trade, Carthage flourished and became wealthy. This resurgence of wealth became a concern for Rome, especially for Cato who had a strong personal dislike and distrust of Carthage. Cato in fact had gone to Carthage in 157 BCE to arbitrate a dispute between Carthage and Masinissa. Cato returned home and decried the wealth of Carthage and how they were once again gaining power, a bit of hyperbole. Cato from then on would end every speech with the phrase “Carthage must be destroyed.” Finally, in 149 BCE, Rome decided to eliminate Carthage and declared war. In 146 BCE, after three years of devastating war and a siege, Carthage surrendered and was destroyed. Rome then seized Africa making it into a province.

The Punic Wars created tremendous change for Rome and the Mediterranean. The wars disrupted Roman society and economics. In the Second Punic War, Rome faced disaster, as Hannibal repeatedly defeated its armies on Italian soil. The conflict had a great effect on the Roman national consciousness. Fear of Hannibal and the threat he posed lingered in the Roman memory; for centuries afterward, Roman parents warned naughty children that Hannibal would get them if they misbehaved. But a fierce pride and study confidence also flowed from the national memory of the war, the outcome of which had left Rome as the master of the western Mediterranean and launched the imperial Republic. The Rome of the Caesars was born out of the war with Hannibal. The Punic Wars also effected a change in Roman political culture. Before Scipio, Roman leaders had been anonymous, short-tenured servants of the Republic. Scipio’s victory over Hannibal gave him a position of unprecedented power within the state. He was the first general to be known by the name of the country he defeated—“Africanus”—and he was the first general to hold an army command for a full decade. The powers that he accumulated through state service were later actively sought by other Roman leaders and, when achieved, used to assert their rule over the state. The Punic Wars, then, greatly affected the future development of the Roman state and Roman society.

See also: Arts: Livy; Polybius; *Politics and Warfare:* Auxiliaries; Legions; Imperialism; Military Camps; Military Command; Military Strategies and Tactics; Military Uniforms, Military Weapons; Roman View of Wars; *Religion and Beliefs:* Punic Religion

BATTLE OF CANNAE

The following excerpt from the *History of Rome* by the Roman historian Livy (ca. 64 BCE–17 CE) describes the scene in Rome immediately following the Battle of Cannae, which was fought on August 2, 216 BCE in southeastern Italy. A disastrous defeat for the Romans and a brilliant triumph for the Carthaginian general Hannibal, the battle marked the low point of Roman fortunes during the Second Punic War. Roman casualties were so high the city was left without an organized fighting force, and it was said that there was not a single person in the city who was not related to or acquainted with one of the slain.

P. Furius Philus and M. Pomponius, the praetors, called a meeting of the senate to take measures for the defence of the City, for no doubt was felt that after wiping out the armies the enemy would set about his one remaining task and advance to attack Rome. In the presence of evils the extent of which, great as they were, was still unknown, they were unable even to form any definite plans, and the cries of wailing women deafened their ears, for as the facts were not yet ascertained the living and the dead were being indiscriminately bewailed in almost every house. Under these circumstances Q. Fabius Maximus gave it as his opinion that swift horsemen should be sent along the Appian and Latin roads to make inquiries of those they met, for there would be sure to be fugitives scattered about the country, and bring back tidings as to what had befallen the consuls and the armies, and if the gods out of compassion for the empire had left any remnant of the Roman nation, to find out where those forces were.

(Livy, 1912, Book 22: 55)

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RACE

The Roman idea of race differed from modern concepts. To the ancient Romans, race dealt more with ethnic identity rather than our idea of color. While the Romans had contact with other races, such as North Africans and Middle Eastern groups, the majority of their interactions were originally with the Italian tribes and southern Gauls. Many of these groups or tribes came into Italy from various regions. There were groups from Greece, northern Europe, including Scandinavia, North Africa, and even the steppes of Asia.

The Romans identified themselves as Latins. It is probably that the original Romans were in fact a conglomeration of tribes. According to legend the founder Aeneas was a Trojan from Asia Minor who arrived and merged his group with the native Latins. These stories are probably anachronistic, but they point to the idea of mixture of ethnic groups, which the Romans always accepted.

During the early founding of Rome their King Romulus moved to incorporate the Sabines, a hill tribe near Rome. The Sabines became the original backbone of the Roman expansion. The Sabines were seen as hardy, boisterous, and capable men. Several patricians' clans, including the Claudii, were said to be descendants from the Sabines. Many of the Romans during the mid-Republic desired to make a case for their "Sabineness." Some argued that the Sabines were descendants of the Spartans and could best be seen in the example of Cato the Elder. Cato was seen as simple, frugal, stern, and a conservative, the hallmarks of the Spartans.

During the regal period, the Romans came into contact and ultimately under the control of their northern neighbor, the Etruscans. The Etruscans's origin is still unclear; they may have come from the north or according to Herodotus from Asia Minor or even Babylon. The Romans respected the tradition of the aristocracies. One of the claims made was that their office of Haruspices came from the Etruscans. The original influences of the Etruscans after the regal period declined since there was a feeling of anti-Etruscan monarchy and their ideas. Nevertheless, by the late Republic, the Romans began to welcome and incorporate Etruscans into their politics and society.

Moving further away, Rome began to control southern and middle Italy in the Apennine and eastern coast. The Samnites became one of Rome's most feared enemies during the early Republic. The wars during the third century resulted in Rome not only taking over territory and population but also having to deal with the hill tribes in some accommodating fashion. Rome could not continue its previous policy of assuming the tribes to be enemies when it had just incorporated them into Rome's sphere of influence. Rome decided to make a series of treaties with the tribes to bind them directly to Rome and not to their neighbors. These treaties ensured that Rome would control them directly and not as a federation. This plan

allowed the allies the possibility of entering more fully as Roman. Even though the Romans successfully controlled the Samnites, it would take the Social War of 80s BCE and nearly a century later for the old prejudices to disappear. To the southwest lay the Campanians, especially around Capua, which Rome began to control at the end of the third century and into the second century BCE. Many of the Campanians had been conquered by Rome only to be lost to Hannibal. These individuals were seen as transition races between the Latins and Samnites on the one hand and the Greeks of southern Italy on the other.

The southern Greeks posed a new race for the Romans, non-Italians, who had a clear history and connection with the Greek mainland. Although Rome had come into contact with them earlier, it was not until the third century BCE that they began to be incorporated into the Roman sphere of influence. By the late Republic, they were seen not so much as Greeks but as southern Italians. The same could also be said of the northern Gauls who had come into Italy during the great migration of the fifth and fourth centuries BCE. Sacking the city of Rome, they ultimately were pushed north to the Po River where they continued to harass the Romans. Siding with Hannibal in 218 BCE, they were a constant enemy to Rome until the late second century BCE. All these tribes, both in the south and north, would attempt one more racial war in the Social War of the 80 BCE. Their fight was about how Rome treated the northern and southern non-Latin races and how successfully it defeated them. It was not until the peace of Augustus, however, that the Italian races were viewed as being just Italian or Roman.

The other tribes that Rome faced were in the new provinces. As Rome expanded into the other regions of the Mediterranean, they came into contact with numerous tribes. These tribes were not Italian but native tribes including Spaniards, which Rome referred to as Iberians or Celtiberians who were part of the Celtic people. The Celts were throughout the western European region from Spain north to Britain. There were also pre-Celtic tribes in Spain. The Iberians, Celts, and pre-Celts were ultimately defeated by the Romans and incorporated into the Roman state. The tribes in Gaul were mainly the Celts who had immigrated in successive waves from the east. While they spoke pre-Celtic and Celtic languages, they should probably not be seen as homogenous tribes since they arrived over a period of centuries. To the east of Gaul the region of Germany was also inhabited by Celtic tribes, which again had received immigrants from the east and the north. To the Romans, all these tribes were categorized as Celts or Gauls. To the east, in the Danube, the Romans again identified local tribes as Celts, Germans, or Dacians. The Dacians inhabited Romania and were ultimately defeated and conquered by Trajan in 106 CE. Because of the conflicts many of the old stereotypes remained not only in Italy but also in the newly conquered regions. The stereotypes ranged from the Gauls being lazy or excessive in their personal behavior, drinking, and dress.

See also: *Economics and Work:* Social Structure; *Family and Gender:* Legal Division; *Fashion and Appearance:* Ethnic Dress; Greek/Eastern Dress; Northern European Dress; *Politics and Warfare:* Imperialism; Roman Provincial Treatment; Tribes; *Religion and Beliefs:* Punic Religion

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ROMAN FINANCES

Roman finances were comprised of several parts: budget, taxation, treasury, and oversight. While each entity was distinct, they were all tied together to create a composite portrait of the financial structure of Rome. This entry will deal with the treasury, budget, and oversight. The Romans had several treasuries (*aerarium*) or strong boxes, each with their own function and sphere of control. The *aerarium populi Romani* or the Treasury of the Roman People held the state money and accounts, as well as the public laws, legionary standards, Senate decrees, and other important archives. The treasury was located in the Temple of Saturn in the Roman Forum. This treasury was the main “bank” for the Roman state; and tax revenues were deposited there and the usual expenses for the state were made from there. The Romans also had a special reserve fund or *aerarium sanctius* (sacred treasury), also located in the Temple of Saturn. The funds that came into this treasury were probably the booty from conquest and later the 5 percent manumission tax on slaves. These funds were not be used except in times of crisis. Augustus as emperor would ultimately take control of both treasuries, although in his usual way he had the Senate continue to administer them (he merely appointed the officials), and he created a new treasury, the *aerarium militare* or military treasury, which received normal tax revenues and paid out expenses for the soldiers. Originally, Augustus established an endowment for the treasury and the taxes on public sales and wills went to support the treasury.

The Roman budget was structured and developed through a complex system of checks and balances. The primary group of magistrates in the Republic that created the budget was the censors working with the Senate. The censors were responsible for a variety of duties, but what is of interest here is their role in

finances. One of their duties was to determine how much a citizen was worth or an assessment. This assessment took place during the five-year period called the *lustrum* where an individual's total worth was examined and the censors placed them into their respective class. The censors then determined how much *tributum* or property tax a citizen would pay. When Rome acquired territory, it was responsible for the *vectigalia* or foreign tax that might be tribute (money) or tithes (goods). The censors could also sell public land with the proceeds going to the state. The censors were then responsible for the expenditures and for the letting out the contracts for roads, public buildings, and tax revenues. These individuals were crucial for the setting and working out the procedures for the budget for the common good of the state. Another key individual involved in the budget was the consul who would bring before the Senate and the people the annual requirements of running the state or to discuss the extraordinary requirements the state needed.

The Senate became the body that had ultimate control of the finances for the state, excepting the people. The Senate made sure that the state's bills were paid and debated what projects the state would undertake. After approving the projects, they began the process of funding and implementing the projects. The Romans viewed the setting of their budget in a different fashion than modern states. First, the Romans conceived their system as the one based on cash, that is, the state rarely issued debt, and based it upon payments made in metals. Second, the Romans viewed their budget based on the assumption, especially after 167 BCE when taxes were abolished for Roman citizens, that conquered regions were going to pay the heavy burden of state finances. The Romans abolished direct taxation on Roman citizens during the second century BCE since their overseas expansion allowed foreign money to flow into Rome. Finally, the Romans also wanted the money the tax collectors planned to collect from the provincials up front so that the state had in mind their budget for the coming year or years. These funds were then collected and used by the state to pay for projects, salaries, and to ensure a reserve for future issues.

The group that was responsible for the active payment and tracking of funds were the *quaestors*. The *quaestor* made sure that the funds were properly spent and accounted for. There were 10 *quaestors* by the third century BCE and were assigned to various posts to help oversee the state's finances. Originally there were probably two and by 400 BCE there were four. These men were probably assigned to the city; they helped with the general outlay of funds for projects in the city. With conquests, some of the newly created *quaestors* were assigned to the generals and their staff to provide pay for the troops. Some were also given tasks in the provinces of helping governors, probably in the guise of financial affairs. Ultimately the consuls, as commanders of the armies, and governors, often as consuls or proconsuls, had *quaestors* on their staff to supervise the financial matters of the armies and provinces.

The problem with the Roman finances began at the beginning of the first century BCE when rival generals began to vie for power during the civil wars. With the creation of competing armies, supplies and pay were needed, which often forced generals to demand payments or exactions from provincials and even Italian cities. Generals began to promise their troops land and money forcing them to secure the land and money from wars or if unable to confiscate land or personal fortunes, often violently from local inhabitants including Romans. An example of this violence was the actions of Sulla who issued the proscriptions, which were nothing more than legalized murders not only at his political enemies but also at individuals who had fortunes.

The treasuries were often looted during the civil wars so that any kind of reserve was lacking; the budget essentially did not exist making any planned building or repairs improbable; and oversight was essentially lacking. There were times when the state repaired itself, for example, under Pompey's successes in the east in the 60s BCE and after Julius Caesar was successful. These surpluses were then depleted during the civil wars between Octavian and Antony during the 30s BCE. Octavian, as Augustus, ultimately created stability with several different treasuries, a new tax system, and an organized budget.

The Roman finances during the Republic were for the most part not onerous for the average citizen, except during times of emergencies, particularly the last century of the Republic. The average citizen did not worry about most issues since the state collected most of the tax money from the provincials. The stability of the state under Augustus made life easier for all.

See also: Economics and Work: Money; Taxes; Science and Technology: Metallurgy; Minting

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ROMAN PROVINCIAL TREATMENT

Rome dealt with the inhabitants of its empire in different ways. The Romans viewed the inhabitants of their conquered regions according to their status and

position during the Republic. They typically viewed their subjects with disdain. Inhabitants in the Greek east were given more leeway than those in Spain or Gaul but were seen as effeminate and untrustworthy. They viewed the Gauls and Spaniards as barbarians, savages, and uncivilized, and their territories were seen as inhospitable, but they provided Rome with a steady supply of slaves. The Romans by nature were abusive to all of their conquered subjects. The Romans did not have a standard system of dealing with the provinces. The Roman commander who conquered the region or the Senate itself determined the province's organization. Sicily, for example, was controlled by a governor sent from Rome with the aid of two *quaestors* who helped in the control of the island. The governor and one *quaestor* resided in the provincial capital at Syracuse in the east, while the second *quaestor* was in the west at Lilybaeum. The governor had complete control over the *quaestors*.

The Romans typically had complete control over the inhabitants who were not Roman citizens who had few or at best limited rights. This meant that an inhabitant did not have certain rights of due process that a citizen had. A provincial



Mosaic, Joseph and Mary taking census, Istanbul, Turkey, late Roman era. The Roman treatment of provincials was usually presented as harsh, even by the Romans. Provinces were often required to take a periodic census, as pictured here, so that the Romans could determine its tax rate. The Romans argued that the provincials received peace from their rule, while many provincials argued that they only received abuses. (Ahmet Ihsan Ariturk/Dreamstime.com)

could be punished by the Roman governor and usually there was no appeal. A good example of this dichotomy can be seen in the New Testament with Jesus and Paul. Both were accused of sedition. Jesus as a provincial was executed and there was no plan for his appeal. His execution was carried out immediately. His crime was that he called himself a king. Paul likewise was accused of sedition by upsetting the balance of power. Paul was seen as fomenting trouble that possibly could lead to riots and mayhem. Paul was brought before the governor and during the investigation Paul announced that he was a Roman citizen and had the rights of appeal.

The Romans usually left local justice in the hands of the provincials. Typically, the locals had control over justice when it came to issues between two natives in the same town or region. In Sicily, the constitution had that if a Roman sued a Sicilian, a Sicilian judge was appointed; if a Sicilian sued a Roman then a Roman was appointed a judge. In terms of criminal law the governor had ultimate power and individuals could appeal to him.

Land in the provinces was subject to taxes. The Romans typically set the tax projections for each province without regard to the provincials' concerns. The Romans "farmed" the collection of taxes out to private individuals and companies. This could lead to abuses over the provincials. The process began with tax companies giving a bid to the censors or Senate on how much the company would pay the state. The company probably attempted to make a good estimate based upon the provinces' capabilities, its peace or war status, and any other factors. The company with the highest bid was awarded the contract and paid the amount before setting out. The company then went out and collected the taxes to reimburse themselves. If the amount they bid was too high, the tax company still had to pay the state and attempt to extract more from the provinces than was possible; if the bid was lower, the companies could extract less but probably retain more of a profit. Companies used abusive practices to gain as much money out of the provincials either way. If the tax companies could not honor their bid, it often led to even more pain and suffering. The tax collectors would arrive in the province and they often would need to bribe the governor and members of his staff to cooperate. These bribes allowed the collectors to abuse the provincials with immunity since the governor was supposed to look after the state's interest, keeping the peace, and he had ultimate power and authority.

An example of this system occurred in Sicily in the first century BCE with Governor Verres who took bribes and allowed the tax companies to reap their taxes without any regard to the populace. The abuses were extremely high prompting many of the provincials, including wealthy individuals, to approach Verres and request relief. The governor ignored their appeals, which forced the provincial to appeal to Cicero who took the case up and began a series of speeches against

Verres, which resulted in him being driven out of Rome into exile. These speeches occurred after Verres had returned from Sicily several years later. Interestingly, Verres got to keep most of his money. The only relief the Sicilians got was their prosecution of Verres, but they did not see any practical relief.

When Roman took over a region they interacted with the different social groups to maintain control and benefit from the province's resources. They recognized that they needed to have some support from the local population. The native elites were soon recruited to help control the population. Although they were not given complete control, they were allowed to exert influence over their provincial's brethren and some influence with the Romans. Examples of this can be seen in nearly every province. In the New Testament, it is seen in the families of the Jewish elites in the Sanhedrin. In Britain, under Nero the families of the kings/queens of local tribes held their traditional power. Politically, these individuals were not the most important in the province; that honor was reserved for the Romans, but these local elites were often the group that Rome looked to help them keep the population pacified. The next group that was important was the local merchants. These individuals did not necessarily desire to control their kinsmen politically; rather they wanted to make a profit. Unlike the elites they may not have been used to control the population, but they were crucial in keeping the province running economically. The final group would be the local peasants who did the majority of work and paid the most taxes. They were forced to provide the state with most of the resources. While they may not have been in control they were nevertheless the controlling factor in the Roman economy and society.

As time progressed, many of the regions began to seek entrance into the Roman world by becoming citizens. At first it was extended to select citizens and then to cities. It was not uncommon for a whole region to be given the rights of citizenship, that is, by not having to pay taxes. Rome then extended this right to an entire province. Ultimately, by 212 CE, the Emperor Caracalla gave all free individuals citizenship; but by this time, very few regions did not have some rights.

See also: Arts: Cicero, Marcus Tullius; *Romanitas*; *Economics and Work*: Taxes; *Family and Gender*: Freedmen; Legal Division; Population; *Politics and Warfare*: Imperialism; Justice; Roman Rule

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ROMAN RULE

Roman rule refers to how the Romans administered their empire during the Republic and early Empire. This entry refers to the importance of the Roman provincial system and how the Romans continually adapted their policies to their growth. Before the First Punic War Rome did not have any provinces that they defined as foreign conquest outside of Italy. Afterward, Rome began to occupy foreign lands. The Roman magistrates who held *imperium* or the right to command a Roman army were the consuls and praetors; these individuals, as well as ex-consuls and ex-praetors, were soon placed in command of the provinces. Typically, the consul or praetor was assigned a province as their theater of operations, including lands beyond their province. As the number of provinces increased, the Romans were faced with two options: increase the number of magistrates or turn to ex-magistrates to govern the provinces. The Romans decided on the latter.

The provinces that Rome added began with Sicily in 240 BCE. It was quickly followed by Corsica et Sardinia (one province) in 237 BCE. Both of these provinces were former Carthaginian lands that Rome seized after the First Punic War. Gallia Cisalpina, northern Italy, was added in 203 BCE and the two provinces of Spain, Hispania Citerior (nearer) and Hispania Ulterior (farther) in 197 BCE came after Rome's victory in the Second Punic War. Cisalpine Gaul had seen Roman operations throughout the Republic and with their alliance to Hannibal in the Second Punic War; Rome wanted to ensure that they would not pose a threat in the future. The two Spanish provinces were also former Carthaginian territories. In 167 BCE, Rome added Illyricum in the Balkans and in 146 BCE, it added Macedonia (which included Greece) after Macedon's final defeat in the fifth Macedonian War and Africa, the area in northern Africa containing Carthage after the Third Punic War. In 129 BCE, Rome received the province of Asia through a bequest from King Attalus of Pergamum. In 120 BCE, Rome took southern France, Gallia Narbonensis. During the 70s BCE, Rome took several provinces in the east, Cilicia in 78 BCE, Bithynia in 74 BCE, and Creta et Cyrenaica in 74 BCE as well. In 64 BCE, with Pompey's eastern conquest the Romans took Corduene, part of Armenia, Cyprus that with Cilicia formed the province of Cilicia et Cyprus, and the Pontus that with Bithynia formed the province of Bithynia et Pontus in northern Turkey. Syria was also added in 64 BCE and became the linchpin in the east. The area of Gaul or modern France was added by Julius Caesar during the 50s BCE. Augustus would add several provinces during his reign, Egypt in 31 BCE, Galatia in Asia Minor in 25 BCE, Raetia on the Danube in 15 BCE. Germania Major, or Germany, beyond the Rhine was held from 12 BCE to 9 CE before being lost. Iudaea became part of Rome in 6 CE as well as Moesia, while Alpes Maritimae was absorbed by Rome in 14 CE. The Emperor Tiberius added Cappadocia in Asia Minor in 18 CE. The Emperor

Claudius added Mauretania Tingitana and Mauretania Caesarinsis in North Africa and Noricum on the Danube in 40 CE, while Britannia and Lycia et Pamphylia in Asia Minor were both added in 43 CE. Claudius also added Thracia in 46 CE and Alpes Poeninae in 47 CE. Nero, the last Julio-Claudian emperor added Alpes Cottiae in 63 CE. The Flavians, Vespasian and Domitian, added Commagene in 72 CE, while Germania Superior and Germania Inferior were added at around 84 CE. Trajan added several provinces, Arabia in 105 CE and Dacia in 107 CE, while his conquests of Armenia, Assyria, and Mesopotamia, were abandoned in 118 CE, a year after their conquest. These provinces became the major lands of the Roman state.

The Romans had a standard system of rule while allowing for local variations. The first thing that the Romans conducted upon taking a province was a census, or a counting of the population and an evaluation of the province's resources. The census might include all inhabitants of a family or all adults over the age of 12, or just males. The evaluation of the land was usually related to grain lands, pasture lands, olive groves, vineyards, or farm animals such as pigs, sheep, goats, oxen, and cattle. The Romans would govern a province from a capital city where the governor normally resided. The capital was usually the main center or capital of the former land. The Romans would then import their form of government and adapt the local systems when needed. The local cities usually were allowed to keep their local form of government as long as it kept the system working and provided Rome with the necessary taxes. The local cities were required to select individuals who would be responsible for the collection of taxes.

In addition to the collection of taxes that ensured the running of the Roman state the governor was responsible for justice also. For civil suits between two provincials, the Romans normally allowed the local system to be used with the caveat that individuals could appeal their case to the governor. Appeals, however, were expensive since it would require the individual to travel to the capital and remain there until they could get a hearing and then remain still further until the governor gave a ruling. If the case involved a civil action between a Roman and a provincial, it could be heard by either a provincial or a Roman judge depending upon who brought the action. The Roman citizen, however, had additional rights, such as appealing directly to Rome and of course the fact that they were the favored group with more prestige than provincials. In criminal cases that involved serious acts that could lead to death or imprisonment in the mines, the governor was usually the one who handled the case; for less serious crimes the local authorities could do it provided the sentence was monetary or noncapital punishment. An example of the system can be seen in the case of Jesus in the New Testament. The Romans were content to allow the local authorities to deal with it as long as it was not a capital issue; but when it became a matter of treason (capital), the Romans had

to decide the case. The final aspect of the rule was the military protection of the province from either internal rebellion or external invasion. For internal rebellion, the Romans usually had a small garrison force; for external threats, it was not uncommon to have a legion or two under their control.

The Republican system promoted military expansion. This often led to governors setting out to wage war in hopes of rewards. An example of this was Julius Caesar and his decision to invade Gaul. This type of behavior made Augustus divide provinces into senatorial, without military forces, and so the governor was only acting as a judicial figure, and imperial provinces that had military forces. The imperial provinces were usually commanded by men handpicked by the emperor. This prevented the nobles from usurping power.

See also: Economics and Work: Taxes; Politics and Warfare: Imperialism; Justice; Roman Provincial Treatment; Recreation and Social Customs: Triumphs

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ROMAN VIEW OF WAR

The Romans viewed war in a variety of ways that influenced their politics and their everyday lives. The Romans believed that every war they were involved in was a just war, meaning one that they did not start. This was important since to the Romans beginning a war was sacrilegious and potentially one in which the gods would punish them for being the aggressors. The Romans went to great pains to show how they were never the aggressors, even when it was clear that they wanted war and started it; rather they presented themselves as the “innocent” victims of aggression. The Roman psyche required that their war be defensive. While this concept was not always true, for Rome did start wars, they nevertheless went to great pains to manipulate reality to show how a slight or incident years before actually was the cause for the war. In other words, Rome justified to themselves and others that Rome was the victim.

The Romans also equated their personal life with that of war. The Roman concept of *virtus* was instilled in every Roman male, especially the upper classes. *Virtus* can be described as “manliness,” that is, the qualities that an individual had to show to

ensure that he was not viewed as a coward and was therefore willing to fight for his nation. The Romans believed that this manliness translated into acts of courage on the battlefield or in everyday life, such as court cases and politics. For the Roman nobleman as he was climbing his way up the political ladder, it was crucial for him to show that he had been successful on the battlefield, especially, to get elected. The Roman view of *virtus* then became a central part to his political and military upbringing.

The elites believed that the main way for an individual to constantly achieve greatness was to win military honors. Since the elected magistrates, consuls and praetors, had *imperium* or the right to command an army, it was important that they be successful with their army to be politically successful. An embarrassment for the individual and family was if there was no war or not being assigned to a military region. In addition, since the magistrates were elected for only one year, it was even more important that they fight quickly and successfully so that they could achieve their victories and not let their successors win the honors. This often led to recklessness, which was deplored but not necessarily condemned, even if the general lost the battle. The Romans were constantly in competition with one another for these honors that mainly occurred on the battlefield. This idea produced a constant state of war in Rome. During the spring of each year, the elections were held and the new consuls and praetors were given their regions or promises of command. The magistrates would then assemble their armies in late spring and early summer and campaign until early fall. If they were successful they could return to Rome and attempt to claim a triumph or ovation (mini-triumph). The triumph was the culmination of their success in the battlefield giving them more power and prestige. Not all campaigns led to a triumph since not all victories were the same and the awarding of a triumph was political—in the hands of the Senate.

The Romans believed that every citizen had an obligation to serve in the military. An individual would not be considered a man unless he could show that he had not only served but also had fought with distinction. This military valor helped ensure that he, if a nobleman, could get elected. According to custom when there was no war the doors of the Temple of Janus, the two-faced god looking both backwards and forwards, were shut. Since the beginning of the Republic, the Romans engaged in war in all but three years. For many Romans the symbol of the open doors was a reminder of how they were always at war.

Many Roman writers attempted to show that Rome was destined to control the known world. One of the greatest Roman authors who showed this rise was Livy. Writing at the beginning of the Empire, Livy detailed the rise of Rome as a struggle between the virtuous Romans who were pushed into defending themselves. The descriptions of the Roman actions by Livy were a moral story meant to teach the Romans that their empire was won by right and justice. Another writer, Sallust, likewise wrote a work concerning Rome's war and how the image

of war pervaded society and politics. Sallust wrote concerning the war against Jugurtha and in this case Rome was not the idealized hero that Livy had made them. Instead Sallust was critical of the Roman corruption and how war was being used to promote the cause of particular generals. Perhaps the best example of how Rome viewed war was presented in the written commentaries of Julius Caesar of his conquest of Gaul. While the work praises Julius Caesar, the author, it is also provides an excellent commentary on why the Romans waged war. Some of the reasons given were the need to protect Italy; to ensure glory for Caesar; the lure of wealth to provide resources not only for Rome but also for Caesar; and the general view that the state needed to expand. This commentary written by Caesar was in third person so that people would forget that the person being praised has actually written the text.

The personal reasons for war were numerous: glory, wealth, power, prestige, and honor. Many of the reasons for why a poor individual went to war were opportunities, money, and excitement. These same ideas transferred to the elites but in different degrees. War allowed the Romans the opportunity to garner these attributes and promote their own career and lives regardless of their social and political standing. Since war was viewed as noble and part of the Roman psyche, the concept of pacifism was never fully developed and discussed by writers.

See also: Arts: Caesar, Gaius Julius; Livy; Polybius; Sallust; *Politics and Warfare*: Imperialism; Justice; Roman Provincial Treatment; Roman Rule; *Recreation and Social Customs*: Triumphs

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SAMNITE WARS (343–290 BCE)

The region of the southern Apennine Mountains supported the Samnites who lived in unwallled villages and engaged in agriculture. There were four tribal states, each independent, but part of a federation cooperated occasionally. The Caraceni, Caudini, Hirpini, and Pentri were administered by a *meddix* or senior administrator of

the Oscan people. He did not have a colleague but was not absolute in all matters, just law and administration. For wars, the federation tribes usually appointed a general, often in common, to lead their armies.

The Samnites spoke Oscan, a common dialect in southern Italy, and wrote in a modified Etruscan alphabet. Although an Italian language, it differed from Latin in several important ways: sound, forms, and vocabulary but not in syntax. The language would continue in use well into the Empire with examples surviving from Pompeii.

As Rome expanded south toward Campania, they came into conflict with the Samnites leading to three wars from 343 to 290 BCE as well as other conflicts beyond this time frame. Although Rome had made a treaty with the Samnites in 354 BCE establishing the Liris River as the boundary between Latium and Samnium, Rome's neighbors in Samnite territory asked Rome for protection against the Samnites resulting in war. The Campanians, especially the city of Capua feared a strong Samnium and urged Rome to intervene. One story has the Romans initially refusing the suggestion by Capua that it surrender to Rome, thereby forcing Rome to protect Campania against the Samnites. This is probably a later story to justify the conquest of Capua in 211 BCE, but it may show that Rome, who also had a treaty with Capua, was concerned with a powerful Samnium. Rome ultimately went to war and defeated the Samnites and seized northern Campania. Although it is impossible to know if the Roman victory was a result of three victories, two of which were in Campania, as the Roman historian Livy indicated, it is clear that Rome would have had to push the Samnites out of Campania since they had time to seize key spots in Campania. The Roman historians portray the Romans as being drawn into a war they did not desire and selflessly helping the Campanians. The truth is probably different. While it is difficult to know completely, the Romans were not above manipulating previous treaties and diplomatic negotiations to ensure that they entered into a conflict as part of a just war, one that would protect them against charges of breaking the old treaty. The Romans also were not above expanding their territory at the expense of an ally. Some have questioned whether the First Samnite War took place, although it does seem strange for the Roman historian Livy who always praised Rome to discuss an event with Rome in a bad light, that is, turning on their allies, the Samnites, and then dominating Campanium to be included. The importance of the narratives was to set the stage for the second war.

The Second or Great Samnite War occurred from 326 to 304 BCE and was of greater magnitude and importance. Like the first war, the Samnites attacked the Campanians and established their control around the Bay of Naples. The Samnites hoped to build an alliance with Neapolis and establish forts to prevent Roman expansion into the south. The two sides began their struggle in the

Liris River valley. For the first few years the Romans were successful. In 321 BCE, the Samnites sued for peace, but the Romans demanded so much that they refused to submit. In the same year, the two Roman consuls led their armies into the south into the mountains where at the Caudine Forks, a mountain pass, they were trapped; they could neither advance nor retreat. The Samnites under Gaius Pontius defeated the Romans and forced them to surrender. After being disarmed the Romans were to pass under the yoke, a symbol of humiliation and disgrace showing their servitude, like an ox, before they were released. The ancient ritual, further humiliating for the Romans since the yoke was made from the Roman spears, was the ultimate disgrace for an army. The consuls agreed to a five-year treaty, which the Romans later attempted to dismiss stating that it was never agreed upon, which was favorable for the Samnites. At the conclusion of the treaty in 315 BCE, the Romans again went on the offensive only to again be defeated at Lautulae. The Samnite successes were further enhanced in 311 BCE with an alliance with the Etruscans whose 40-year treaty with Rome was coming to an end. The war then became a struggle for control of Italy with Rome and its allies in the middle fighting the Etruscans in the north and Samnites in the south. In 310 BCE, the Romans defeated the Etruscans and were now able to get the upper hand against the Samnites. In 304 BCE, the Samnites sued for peace and a treaty was established giving Rome control of the southern plains. It was during this war that the Romans built the Via Appia in 312 BCE to move troops south.

After a six-year hiatus the Third Samnite War broke out in 298 BCE when the Samnites attempted to take control of the Lucanians who now pleaded with Rome for help. Rome may have wished to engage in a new war for fear that if the Samnites controlled Lucania it would give them a strategic advantage. The Romans in 298 BCE engaged both the Etruscans and the Samnites probably pointing to a renewed alliance between the two Roman enemies. The war lasted until 290 BCE when after a series of defeats, the Samnites sued for peace. The treaty was somewhat favorable to the Samnites probably because the Romans had seen how tenacious the Samnites had been and did not want to risk another long-drawn-out war.

The wars were highly successful for the Romans. The First Samnite War allowed Rome to control Campania and its rich farm lands. Even though defeated, the Samnites controlled more land than Rome at the beginning of the Second Samnite War. The second war was one of exhaustion for the Samnites and at the end their land was reduced and Rome established a series of colonies to protect the plains. The final struggle saw Rome victorious, but the Samnites were still not broken. The Romans ultimately gained control through assimilation and bringing the Samnites more fully into their political system; this process would only occur at the end the Republic with the Social War and the establishment of the Empire.

The long and difficult Samnite Wars, marked but such disasters for Roman arms as the surrender at the Caudine Forks, taught the Romans the virtues of both military strength and political flexibility. Two features of the Roman character that were to serve the Republic well in later resisting Carthage and laying the foundation of empire. Roman armies adapted to mountain warfare by exploiting interior lines and planting colonies to break up enemy territories into manageable blocks. And Roman diplomacy treated defeated enemies with generosity, binding them with treaties that recognized their inferior status but also protected the authority of their ruling groups. The states allied to Rome by such treaties were largely allowed to govern themselves so long as they supplied troops for Roman armies when needed. Such treaties became the basis of the eventual Roman unification of Italy. The Samnite Wars thus represent a further evolution of Roman and Italian political culture.

See also: Arts: Livy; *Politics and Warfare:* Imperialism; Legions; Punic Wars; Roman View of War; Race; Social War; Tribes

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SENATE

The Senate was originally an advisory group to the Roman monarchy. Like most early tribes or conglomeration of peoples, a council of elders was common. The word Senate in fact comes from *senex* meaning old man. The original Senate was therefore the leading elders of the Roman families. As their city grew it became natural for them to select one of their own to be their leader, this gave rise to their power in selecting a *rex* or king. When the king died power would then revert back to the council of elders who could then select a new king. This phenomenon was common in societies like early Rome. The king would of course turn to the Senate for advice; so from the leading families the Senate was included in the discussion of important issues and they gave advice to the kings. The Roman historian Livy indicated that the last Roman king, Lucius Tarquinius Superbus, Tarquinian the Proud, executed many of the leading members of the Senate and the aristocracy heading to rebellion.

With the expulsion of Tarquinius, the Roman Republic was established. Since Rome was used to strong executive power, this continued with the election of two annual consuls. The first consuls, Brutus and Publicola reconstituted the Senate by selecting 300 members. This became the nominal number of members of the Senate, although as time went on it often increased beyond this hypothetical number. Initially the Senate was not very powerful and it would take time for the new members to feel strong enough to challenge their consular colleagues. As the Republic became more established, the status and importance of the Senate increased. The Senate began to pass opinions or advice known as *senatus consultum*, which although were not binding and were technically only given as advice to the magistrates; they were usually followed. These *consultum* were important, since it gave the magistrates political cover so that they could do something controversial knowing that they had the backing of the Senate; likewise, if the *consultum* was advised against doing something and the magistrates continued on that path; it would provide clear understanding on where the sides were drawn. Most of these *consultum* were advice on how foreign policy, that is, war, should be handled. During the early Republic, the role of the Senate continued to evolve with the body being drawn into discussions about all aspects of the Roman society. The Senate became more involved in the day-to-day running of the government giving advice to the consuls and at times being asked to appoint a dictator. The Senate also took a lead in the budget and financial issues of the government. The Senate reviewed the tax contracts, discussed policy issues like war/peace, and was meant to represent all of the Roman people, not particular groups although in reality it represented the elites. The Senate also became the collective memory of the state. Entry into the Senate was reserved for those who held the highest office. Their families were then seen as Senatorial and provided better access to government magisterial positions, which in turn allowed them entry into the Senate. The Senate as the collective memory became the major body that could reflect upon an issue.

During the mid-Republic, members of the Senate were selected by the censors from those who had been ex-magistrates, that is, *consuls*, *praetors*, and *quaestors*. Since the censors were elected every five years for a period of 18 months, the filling of the body occurred at these set intervals. The censors could pass over ex-magistrates whom they felt were not worthy of the honor. The ex-magistrates had the right to sit in the Senate but not vote so that the meeting of the Senate was larger than the voting 300 members. Since a Roman could become a senator at the end of his term of *quaestor*, and since one could hold the office at the age of 31, one might become a senator at 32, although this was probably not common. The Senate could meet on the *Kalends* (1st), *Nones* (5th or 7th), or the *Ides* (13th or 15th) of each month. The Senate could meet in any place inaugurated by

the augurs who “consecrated” the site; the original meeting place was the Curia Hostilia, but Temples could be used such as the Temple of Concordia and even a place like the Theatre of Pompey, where Julius Caesar was assassinated and had a shrine.

By the time of the Second Punic War, senators were forbidden to engage in commerce with the law stating that they could not own a ship carrying more than 300 amphorae, large enough for a senator to bring their produce from their overseas estate. While many senators violated the law, it nevertheless continued to be on the books. By the end of the Republic, when the Senate had a virtual control of the state its powers included supreme control of religion. It had power to decide how the wars were to be conducted and how the legions were to be deployed. The Senate decided which provinces the consuls and praetors were to be assigned. At the end of wars the delegation sent to determine peace was sent by the Senate with authority to negotiate. The Senate controlled the finances of the state as well. These powers gave the Senate virtually complete control of the state either directly through its own powers or indirectly by influencing the magistrates and even tribunes. Unfortunately, for Rome and the Senate the personal greed and ambition of individual senators and their families caused them to put their own desires before the state. During the last century of the Republic, the Senate began to break down into divergent groups each with their own competing agenda causing the state to fracture. This fracture led to the civil wars and ultimately the creation of the Empire, appointment of an emperor, and the diminution of the Senate.

The average Roman citizen could not hope to become a senator, but he might be able to be one’s client. A client was a free man who worked to advance the interests of his patron, particularly in terms of helping the patron succeed in public life. The patron advanced his client’s private interests, providing him both financial and legal support. Hereditary and charged with a quasi-religious significance, this patronage system was one of the most important and all-pervasive aspects of Roman society. And it was the working of this system that put the Senate, officially an advisory body, at the heart of Roman government by the late Republic. Although the Assembly, a body containing mainly clients, was officially vested with great powers, it was the Senate, a body of patrons, that held the exercised real power in the state. Thus, though common citizens rarely interacted with a senator, their lives were directly influenced by the Senate. A senator not only had prestige and power, he could also determine the future of most average citizens.

See also: *Economics and Work:* Social Structure; *Family and Gender:* Legal Divisions; Patronage; *Politics and Warfare:* *Cursus Honorum*; Elections; Government; *Recreation and Social Customs:* Sumptuary Laws

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SOCIAL WAR (91–88 BCE)

The Social War was the struggle between Rome and its Italian allies. The struggle was for rights and power in the governance of the state demanded by the allies. During the second century BCE, as Rome expanded its power their allies were required to commit men to fight for Rome. What the allies complained about was that they were fighting for Rome but were not receiving any of the rewards from conquests. In particular the allies wanted to receive land and not be subject to punishment by the Roman commanders. The war also had its roots in the ancient wars some three centuries earlier. The cities and regions of the south, the Samnites, still remembered the humiliation they were forced to suffer after the Samnite Wars in the late fourth century BCE. Many of the other hill tribes had resented Rome's continual expansion, such as in the north where the remnants of the Marsi tribes would lead their armies against Rome. The allies did not receive what they believed to be their appropriate rewards, especially land; and after 133 BCE they began to see their status and role diminish.

The tribes after the Samnite Wars were originally content to accept the treaties that Rome created. These treaties stated that the tribe or city would have the same friends and enemies of Rome. The treaties in theory would provide rewards for the allies as well as Rome. As Rome continued to expand, the allies who were linked to Rome one on one, could not unite to prevent Rome from dominating.

The issue came to a head in the 90s BCE and led to open warfare from 91 to 88 BCE. The war started with the assassination of the Marcus Livius Drusus, a tribune of the plebs. Drusus had strengthened the power of the Senate by increasing their numbers from 300 to 600 and by providing relief from the jury courts that had been set up to punish the senators. He had support of many of the leading senators including Gaius Marius. But in 91 BCE, he proposed giving citizenship to the Italian Allies. Many Romans soon opposed him since they believed that their power would be lost. The Senate feared the influx of so many new and powerful Italians, the equestrians feared a loss of their economic rights and power, the Roman plebs

feared that the newly created citizens would flood Rome taking away their cheap grain subsidies, and even wealthy Italian landowners feared that Drusus would seize some of their lands to provide lands for the Italian poor. What sealed his fate was the fact that it was revealed that the Italians, if became citizens, would become his clients, which would give him considerable power, prestige, and votes. For the Italian allies they would now have a greater say in the running of the Roman Empire, receive relief from taxes, and provide them with more of the plunder. The allies decided to declare their independence.

When the war began the allies, except the Latin allies who remained loyal to Rome (except Venusia) and fought with them, planned to form an independent nation. The major tribes were the Frentarii, Hirpini, Marrucini, Marsi, Paeligni, Picentines, and Samnites, which were probably depicted in their coins as eight soldiers taking an oath. The allies were separated in the north and south by Rome in the middle. The two groups were fighting at the same time but did not necessarily coordinate their efforts. The groups fought in the same manner as the Romans, and as such the war was in essence a civil war. The war then was fought initially to achieve some relief; when that was not coming forward, they turned it to a war of independence. These Italian allies had seen continuous war and were able to field about 100,000 men.

The war initially went well for the allies. Coins from the allies show an Oscan Bull, their mascot, goring a wolf, a Roman mascot. The coin is very graphic showing the throwing off of Rome's domination by the allies. These coins clearly show the view of the allies that they were superior to the Romans and seeking to crush them. The year 90 BCE was one in which the Romans saw setbacks and defeats, but they were able to hang on and not succumb. The Romans lost one consul, and a praetor was captured and executed. In 89 BCE, another consular army was defeated with the consul killed. The other consul was successful and the Romans under Sulla won back the north. By 88 BCE, the Romans had succeeded in the north, while in the south the Samnites continued to withstand Rome's attacks. The Romans now faced a decision, continue to fight a long-drawn-out war or attempt a new solution. The new consul L. Julius Caesar carried a new law that gave citizenship to all allies who had not rebelled provided the whole community voted on the proposal. This was used in the Marsic areas to allow for the northern tribes to be reassimilated since many were said not to have "rebelled" since they were now allies again. For those who were in a state of rebellion another law, the *Lex Plautia Papiria* allowed them to become citizens if they presented themselves to a praetor individually within 60 days. The allies, however, generally did not trust the Romans since the new citizens were enrolled in only a few tribes so that their voting power was limited. Nevertheless, the Romans were able to effectively create a process so that the allies could become citizens. The Romans would have

some operations in the south, but effectively the war ended with the allies winning all they wanted. Ultimately, the Romans extended citizenship to all allies south of the Po River.

The Social War was an unnecessary war that pitted Italians against each other. For many of the allies it was an example of Roman arrogance and obstinacy. The Romans viewed the allies as ungrateful, never realizing that their own actions had caused so much distrust and ruin. The Social War disordered the Roman economy, causing much damage in the Italian countryside. It also accelerated long simmering changes in Roman political culture that culminated in civil war and the replacement of the Republic with one-man rule. When a noble faction sought a more equitable settlement of the Social War, proposing more favorable voting rights for the defeated Italians, they encountered opposition and turned to the general Marius for political help. In return for the support of his faction, Marius was given an eastern command that had been promised to the general Sulla, who responded by rousing the troops he had commanded in the Social War. This action led to the first march on Rome by Roman soldiers, the first civil war, and the first instance of troops defying the Republican government to support their general, all of which were to be hallmarks of Roman political culture over the next 50 years. The Social War was thus the catalyst for significant changes in Roman politics and society.

See also: *Politics and Warfare*: Auxiliaries; Legions; Military Strategies and Tactics; Military Uniforms; Military Weapons; Race; Samnite Wars; Senate; Tribes

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SOLDIERS' LIVES

The normal day-to-day life of a soldier was different than the time they spent on campaigns, which was usually brief. A soldier's service was filled with hardship, danger, and potential death, while his daily life was probably much mundane. The life of a soldier can probably be divided into distinct parts: garrison duty, construction, and daily life.

Garrison duty was crucial to the defense of the unit and the surrounding area. Soldiers could have guard duty at the main legionary fort, a probable plum job since they did not have to worry about sudden attacks or boredom. The guards were responsible for manning the gates, watch towers, and the occasional patrol around the perimeter, the most dangerous. Often a unit was nominally assigned to a fort but then saw its men further divided amongst other forts and outposts. In Britain, for example, records show that half of one unit was assigned to an outpost. Other evidence indicates that troops were sent on patrol inside enemy territory and reported back to the commander the disposition and movement of the enemy. While part of soldiering, it was not fighting but rather normal intelligence. It is probable that the Romans continually deployed their troops as needed.

Accompanying garrison duty was the need to police the regions. The soldiers not only protected the local governor but also maintained the peace. In the New Testament, Pontius Pilate had a unit of Roman soldiers with him when he was in Jerusalem who carried out the execution of Jesus, troops separate from the Jewish local authorities. The soldiers would also patrol the roads making sure bandits and separatist did not attack travelers. The troops also collected taxes, and papyri from Egypt show that they supplemented their own income, and probably that of their superiors, by extorting money from travelers. One papyrus clearly has on its account, "to the soldiers as bribes" as if it was common. This is reinforced in the New Testament when John the Baptist told soldiers to not take more than they should, implying it was normal for extortion. It is likely that the soldiers were divided into small squads that continuously patrolled the roads, escorted supplies on the *cursus publicus* or public roads, checked merchants and others to ensure that nothing or no one illegal was moving about, and to keep an eye out for anything suspicious. For the local inhabitants the soldiers could be a blessing or a curse. Keeping them safe was crucial and something that Rome touted as part of their benefits; the continual exactions and bribes, however, took their toll on their benefits and would arouse occasional anger. Soldiers were also called upon to carry messages throughout the province or even between provinces. Using the public roads the soldier was allowed to stop and get fresh mounts; spend the night free if on official business; and receive supplies. These road stops, or *mansiones*, were usually set up every 20 miles.

In one piece of evidence a papyrus gives the duties of 40 men of a legion. Some of the evidence indicates that some soldiers were stationed away from their camp. Out of these 40, nine were away with duties such as guard of an armory, cart driver, a bodyguard of a tribune, clerks, and a guard at a roadside station. The remaining 31 troops were in the camp. It seems most were assigned guard duty or sent to temples or other buildings, probably as guards. Some troops were sent to granaries to bring back rations and protect the governor. One of the main tasks may have been to collect taxes or at least protect the tax collectors. Again this probably did not

make them very popular. The troops also were known to patrol the roads to make sure custom dues were paid and that smugglers did not bring in illicit materials. The soldiers also carried out protection and guard duty to make sure that the roads were safe from brigands and potential rebellion and would guard watch towers.

A second aspect of the soldier's life was construction. The Roman soldiers constructed the great roads throughout Italy and then into the provinces. These roads were primarily used for the army to move troops and supplies. Some of the great military roads were the Via Appia and Via Egnatia. These roads then became commercial roads after the Romans pacified the regions. The soldiers would also build forts and road stops alongside these roads. These construction projects were carried out by the army as they advanced into the enemy regions. The construction projects served several benefits. First, the troops were kept busy so that they did not get out of shape or cause trouble. One of the results of the army settling down during the Empire was that the troops often did not engage in projects that led some Romans to complain that this gave the troops too much free time and to grow restless leading to rebellion. Second, the construction projects clearly had the benefit of providing infrastructure for the region, this included bridges, roads, towers, temples, baths, and even hospitals.

Everyday life in the camp would include feeding the horses, cleaning and washing, and ensuring the camp was properly equipped and outfitted for hygiene. The most important was the ensuring of clean water for consumption and the removal of waste. The Romans constructed latrines and bath complexes. The troops had to ensure that the camp was supplied adequately, so often the soldiers had to forage and collect supplies, especially when the camp was temporary and used on the march. The final aspect of daily life was their boredom in camp and seeking to keep themselves amused. The most notable activity was gambling as witnessed by archaeological evidence of games and from literary evidence attesting to its prominence. The commanders attempted to keep the troops in check and allowed these behaviors as long as they did not lead to violence or disruption.

See also: *Food and Drink:* Rural Peasant Diet; *Politics and Warfare:* Soldiers' Service; Soldiers' Training

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VINDOLANDA

One of the most important Roman archaeological sites in Britain is the Roman fort of Vindolanda. The fort was located about two miles south of Hadrian's Wall, which was built to define and protect the border between the Roman province of Britain and the territory of the unconquered Caledonian tribes to the north. The first fortification erected at Vindolanda, probably built before 90 CE, was a simple structure of earthen walls. Over time, Vindolanda expanded and took on the shape of larger, more permanent military installations. Those forts normally were square in shape, with two roads bisecting the length of the site, one north-south and one east-west. Vindolanda had an east-west orientation, like many Roman forts, and contained several buildings, including some of stone. There was even a bathhouse nearby to the east. The next phase of construction, starting about 120 CE, saw the tearing down of the existing fort and the building of an entirely new one. This fort sat on a north-south axis and included a large area to the west for the civilian population. It was common for settlements to grow up around military forts. As trade with new peoples, and between Roman civilians and soldiers, grew, these camps evolved into towns. The civilian sector, or *vicus* (village), which grew up inside the old boundaries of the fort, boasted an even better bathhouse and a large hostel for guests. Even today, one can see the remains of the hypocaust system (a way of heating bathwater) of the bathhouse, including the channel where excess water once cleaned a latrine not far away. By the early part of the third century CE, many of the newer buildings were made of stone. This last phase of building is what remains of Vindolanda today.

SOLDIERS' SERVICE

The Roman army evolved over time from a local militia to a standing army. This evolution required that the conditions of service change as well. In the monarchy and early Republic, the army was organized like the Greek hoplites in which set battles with large numbers of men was the norm; this most likely did not take place often since Rome fought mainly against the local hill tribes who usually fought skirmishes. Rome originally was a conglomeration of hill tribes themselves and they organized their army in a clan-based force. This meant that the soldiers were initially allied to their clan leaders and not necessarily the city. By 600 BCE, the city was sufficient in size, the second largest in Italy behind Tarentum



Roman fort at Vercovicium, Housesteads, England, ca. 130 CE. The Romans constructed temporary and permanent forts for their legions and auxiliary units such as this one at Housesteads. The soldiers spent their time doing a variety of acts such as policing the region, building roads, and ensuring the safety of the countryside. After 20 years of service they could retire. (Last Refuge/Robert Harding World Imagery/Corbis)

or half the size of Athens, to see a change in the army's organization. The army now became regional. In 490 BCE, after their victory over the Latin forces at Lake Regillus, Rome did not try to impose their complete control over the Latins but rather entered into a bilateral alliance. This probably occurred due to Rome's realization that they needed help against the hill tribes who now made their way into Roman history. Specifically, the new treaty required both sides to commit the same number of troops. From 500 to 400 BCE Rome defeated the Sabines and Etruscans before meeting the Gauls who defeated Rome in 387 BCE sacking the city. Although Rome once

again began to restore its power, it took extensive resources for this to be accomplished. It is estimated, however, that their sphere of influence never exceeded the region around the city of Rome, or Latium, until after the First Punic War. Ultimately Rome's victory over the Latin cities in 338 BCE allowed them to annex or directly control them.

This early period probably saw an army of no more than 10,000 men divided between the two consuls. In addition, the early treaty with the Latins required them to contribute an equal number of soldiers to the new league to protect the region around Rome. The men came from the lower classes as witnessed by their lack of armor and simple weapons. Around 400 BCE, the Romans began to pay their troops, probably enough for their food, clothing, and some additional weapons. It is most likely that the troops would fight for a short time each year and may not have been called up every time. The army was then doubled in size from two legions to four about 300 BCE when the Romans fought the Samnites. It was also at this time that the allies had to contribute an equal number of troops to the Romans as they had on duty. The new army therefore totaled about 40,000 men, half Roman and half allied.

The soldiers in the Republic were conscripted on the Field of Mars by the consuls. The soldiers were recruited from those who had property equal to 100 *denarii*. Since the recruits had to supply their own armor and weapons, it required that a minimum property assessment be maintained. Those without this minimum property could serve in the navy since armor was not required. Since the soldiers were farmers, it was probable that they represented the poorer peasants. Before the fourth century BCE, the state began to supply armor that probably came about to regularize the army; provide a business that could produce quality and quantity supplies; and allow for individuals to be conscripted with a set property amount and not necessarily the subjective issue of quality of land and productivity. During the Second Punic War there were more changes, such as a further increase in the number of legions, probably approaching 12 per year and the rise of the allied contingents to include even more troops. The other major change was the number of years that these men were under arms. Often the troops could be away from their farms or families for up to six consecutive years. Although limited by law to six consecutive years, they could be called up after a break in service. *Iuniores* (infantry) troops could be called up for a total of 16 years during their eligibility period (16–46 years) but up to 20 years during times of emergencies, as well as the *seniores* (over 46 years). In addition, many volunteered becoming in effect professional soldiers. The property qualifications were largely ignored since the number of troops needed was immense. It was with the Second Punic War that Rome began to change toward a more professional army.

The soldiers spent much of their time training and fighting. They learned to march in order; fight using different styles, such as in the open and in close quarters or under a siege. The soldiers were trained to march in a straight line and up to 20 miles in five hours. They learned to jump, run, carry supplies, and swim. One type of system was the turtle in which shields were overlapped over their heads to allow the troops to advance during a siege. When a soldier was enrolled in the legion, he took an oath of obedience, agreeing to uphold the commands of his general even to the point of giving up his right to appeal a general's sentence of death to the Roman people. If a soldier had a minor infraction he might lose food rations or receive a beating from the centurion. If one was convicted of a more serious crime such as insubordination or fighting, the soldier could face fines, demotions, or even dishonorable discharge. For very serious crimes like desertion, the soldier could be executed. When an entire unit or legion engaged in a dishonorable act, such as retreating or failing in a battle, the unit could suffer decimation, that is, every 10th man was killed by the others; this was quite rare. On the other hand a unit or army that was successful would receive rewards such as money, land, and slaves. Individuals could

receive special rewards for acts of bravery such as decorations, often made of gold, showing acts of scaling a wall, killing the enemy's general, or saving a besieged army. The greatest reward was the triumph awarded to a conquering general and his army when the troops could march through the city of Rome, something that was not allowed.

During the Empire, the soldiers were able to retire after 20 years. The pensioners were given land and money. Soldiers were not allowed to marry, but it was common for them to have common law wives and upon his retirement his children would be eligible for citizenship and be recruited into the army. The army also began to move toward the establishment of permanent forts that promoted new cities.

See also: Politics and Warfare: Soldiers' Lives; Soldiers' Training

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SOLDIERS' TRAINING

The Roman army required not only physical training but also knowledge of tactics and strategy to ensure that the army could function properly. The early Roman army functioned like the Greek classical army, built on the idea of the phalanx. In the early Republic, the soldiers were organized and fought in the clan or family units. Most likely the equipment and armor were rudimentary with tactics focused more on skirmishes and border raids. By the late regal period Rome probably could put into the field about 9,000 men, of which 6,000 would have been heavy infantry. Like their contemporary Greeks, they were equipped as hoplites. The training for the hoplites stressed physical endurance since the purpose was to push the enemy off the battlefield. Since the armor was heavy, it was important that the soldier was able to endure the marching and fighting. Most Greek battles seem to have lasted only about half to an hour due to the heavy physical requirements. The hoplites, whether Greek or Roman, therefore needed to constantly exercise, as individuals, to ensure they could handle the physical exertions of the battle.

When Rome changed to the use of maniples, the training needed also changed. The difference required the soldiers to be more versatile. Instead of a mass of men moving forward, the maniples allowed for more flexibility. This change now required the soldiers to fight as independent small units. The first requirement was a soldier's physical ability. The recruit needed to have the ability to endure hardships such as marching under dangerous conditions in all types of weather. The army prized individuals who had endured hardship before, such as working on a farm. To that end their first training was marching. Soldiers needed to be able to keep up since stragglers were easy targets and could disrupt the entire unit. They were trained to march in formation keeping the entire unit cohesive. A late Roman author indicated that during the summer months the soldiers were required to march for 20 miles in five hours. There were two types of marching, the short pace or "military pace," which was needed for the tight drill and the full pace, which was used for regular marching over the long journey.

In addition, the second thing the soldier needed was intelligence. Recruits were usually screened to determine their ability to read, write, and do math. Those who showed a high degree of ability in these attributes were often selected for more specialized duties. The actual training then commenced. In addition to the normal running and other exercises, the Roman recruit learned how to use the sword and shield (*scutum*). The soldiers first used wicker shields and wooden swords, both twice as heavy as the usual weapons, for practice against wooden stakes or models, and not real soldiers. The trainers probably thought that using heavier models would increase their physical training alongside their agility. The recruit needed to understand and learn that although they were individuals who had to cover a region and could move independently, they still needed to protect and work with the other men in the maniple lest they be overrun and defeated. This required the recruits to understand the commands and form into various formations and shapes as needed.

The training then moved to the next stage, which was action against fellow soldiers. Trained in the same fashion and using the same weapons as used by the gladiator schools, the recruits used wooden weapons of the same weight as actual weapons against one another. The purpose here was to teach the recruit the proper way to use the sword in combat. The training was meant to educate what the proper technique was best to inflict a fatal blow. The typical blow was to stab and not slash. Here the recruit learned to stab upward from the hip keeping the sword hilt close to the body and stabbing into the abdominal cavity below the ribs so that he could inflict as much damage while using as much force without wasting energy. In addition, this avoided the slashing, which would expose the right side to a stab from the enemy. The recruit also learned that the shield was not only a defensive weapon but could be used as an offensive tool as well. The boss or metal hub in the

middle of the shield could be used for punching the enemy. The recruit would train until they had mastered the techniques. Instructors in arms training were highly valued and received double rations. After mastering the sword the recruit then was trained in the use of the spear or *pilum*. Again the training spear was twice the weight of an actual weapon. The throwing of spears against the enemy was crucial in disrupting their approach. In addition, some were trained as archers and slingers who were useful in disrupting the enemy lines and promoting terror. Weapons training were so crucial that indoor training facilities were constructed during the Empire in the areas where the winter climate prevented outdoor training.

The recruit was also trained on how to construct a marching camp. This was crucial since the camp had to be of a standard layout so that the soldier would always know where each component of the camp was located regardless of what region they were set up. The recruit was trained on positions of camps and the resources needed to ensure that a camp could withstand an assault. For example, the camp needed to be on the highest ground in the area to prevent the enemy from firing down into the camp and it needed to be on ground high enough to prevent flooding. The troops were to constantly train once they were in the army. During the late Republic and early Empire, the legions were to march three times a month with one being to march out fully armed for 10 miles and then back again. The soldiers were to march not on plain and even ground but over varying terrain.

See also: Politics and Warfare: Military Camps; Military Command; Military Strategies; Military Weapons

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The Romans were originally divided into three tribes: the Ramnes, Tities, and Luceres. These tribes supposedly dated from Romulus and their members were related to one another. These tribes were led by a tribune who represented the



Celtic bronze helmet, London, England, first century CE. The various tribes throughout the Roman world had distinctive attributes, often seen on such items as military helmets, as here with the ogival skull piece and wide rear-peak, dress and housing. The tribes often were based on family connections and relied on close binds for organization. (Werner Forman/Corbis)

tribe in all matters of civil, military, and religious matters. As leader of the tribes they were chief magistrate. They led the tribe in battle and performed the religious sacrifices. Originally, the three tribes were each divided into 10 *curiae* or voting districts. The 30 *curiae* made up the *comitia curiata*. The process of the voting was that each member had a vote and that the majority of the membership determined the vote for each *curia*, which in turn had one vote collectively of the 30 *curiae*. Since there were 30 *curiae*, a total of 16 were needed to reach majority. While it may seem odd that an odd number was not chosen, it did ensure that there was a clear majority, even if the vote was 16 to 14. The *comitia* conducted their business in the *comitium* and originally the proposals submitted to the *comitia* could not be debated, amended, or even discussed but rather just voted yes or no. Many of its power were then transferred to the *comitia centuriata* by Servius Tullius. The Tribal Assembly still elected the lower magistrates,

namely the *quaestors* and *aediles* but after the *comitia* elected the *consuls* and *praetors*.

King Servius Tullius at about 550 BCE instituted a series of reforms to deal with the growing population. He attempted to bring new members into the state that were not originally linked to the three tribes, for example, manumitted slaves, to ensure the population could grow. To properly deal with the rise of the population and to ensure that old grudges would not harm the state, Servius abolished the old tribes and created new tribes based upon geography and not blood. In this way he was anticipating the full and more complicated creation of Cleisthenes of Athens. He appears to have created four urban tribes, the Palatina, Collatina, Esquilina, and Suburana. The first three refer to the hills of Rome, while the fourth dealt with the suburban area across the Tiber River. He then probably created 17 rural tribes, which were later increased to 31 for a total of 35 tribes. These 31 rural tribes were Aemilia, Aniensis, Arnensis, Camilia, Claudia, Clustumina, Cornelia, Fabia, Falerna, Galeria, Horatia, Lemonia, Maecia, Menenia, Oufentina, Papiria, Pollia, Pomptina, Publilia, Pupinia, Quirina, Romilia, Sabatina, Scaptia, Sergia, Stellatina, Teretina, Tromentina, Velina, Voltinia, and Voturia. The purpose of this division was to eliminate the blood ties seen in the early tribes. These tribes elevated the power of the rural communities, while the four urban tribes were seen as inferior. As Rome increased its territory and established new colonies, new tribes were created rising from the original 17 to ultimately the 31 rural tribes. By the end of the second century BCE, the population was spread out so much that many of the citizens in some of the tribes could not attend the business meetings in Rome due to the long distance.

Servius also introduced the new *comitia centuriata*, which was a division of the state into 193 centuries so that a majority of the 193 or 97 was needed for elections and was now based on wealth and class. His intent was to move the election of magistrates, determination of policy, and determine war or peace out of the tribes or *curiae* into the hands of the wealthy by providing the whole population a nominal say. The citizens were now divided so that wealth became an important factor and the upper class had 18 centuries of *equites* and 80 centuries of patricians, which gave a total of 98 or a majority. The tribes voted in the Tribal Assembly in which all members of the tribe had an equal vote. This was different from the *comitia centuriata*, which voted by rank with the upper classes voting first and having more power.

The purpose of these tribes was not ethnic but rather an attempt to divide the population into voting units. At the same time it was a way for the elites to ensure that the voting was beneficial to them. For example, the majority of the urban and rural poor, and later the Italian inhabitants, were enrolled into the four urban tribes.

This had the effect of making them large but politically inconsequential since the voting by tribes was by a majority of the tribes and not the population. Originally, the tribes were geographic, but since one held membership in the same tribe as his father regardless of where he lived later, this tie was removed. The urban tribes were subdivided into smaller geographic units called *vici*, while the rural tribes' subdivisions were called *pagi*. The probable origin of these geographic tribes was to collect taxes, take the census locally making it easier for the censors, and to levy the military conscripts. Indeed, a citizen would incorporate his tribe into his name, thus Marcus Tullius Cicero's full name included his tribe, Cornelia, and was Marcus Tullius M. f. Cor(nelia) Cicero. Those members of a tribe who voted under the power of the Tribunes were the plebs and their assembly was called the *concilium plebis* with the patricians excluded and the measures passed were called plebiscite; while when the consul or praetor called the assembly of the tribes with both patricians and plebs it was known as the comitia tributa and the measures enacted were *leges* or laws.

The tribes over time developed their own organization and operations. There was a treasurer and an officer who registered the members of the tribe to ensure voting and property rights. Since voting was done in the tribal assemblies, there were individuals in each tribe who received money from the different candidates to bribe the tribal constituents. This was important during the late Republic when the competition for offices was great. Since the census was conducted every five years, it was at this time that the censors could apportion varying amounts of land to the different tribes to manipulate the political system. Tribes receiving more land often received more voters from a particular region, which might change the balance of influence in a particular tribe. Once a tribe received land it could not be taken away so the system in America of changing voting districts could not really occur in Rome.

See also: Politics and Warfare: Cursus Honorum; Elections; Senate

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RECREATION AND SOCIAL CUSTOMS



INTRODUCTION

Roman recreation and social customs were intertwined and influenced all aspects of society. Policy influenced Roman entertainment as well as the arts. In addition, how the Romans relaxed varied from classes and the sexes. Class structure and status were the overriding influences for all aspects of recreation and social customs. Etiquette, for example, was based upon one's position; for example, the idea of hospitality was crucial for the upper classes and showing their position. Likewise, the idea of work versus leisure days really applied only to the wealthy since unlike the poor they could relax on certain days without the worries of survival interfering. The Roman triumph, where a conquering general was not only honored but was also dispensed gifts, was crucial for society. With these benefits the wealthy, however, were subjected to control through the sumptuary laws; they nevertheless failed each time to control the expansion of wealth.

Entertainment varied in Rome from harmless to dangerous. While the adolescent may wander the streets and be involved in drunken fights, most Romans did not come into contact with them. The games children played were similar to the modern ones such as playing ball. More common and potentially dangerous was gambling, which was allowed during the Republic but apparently was outlawed in the Empire unsuccessfully. Wealthy individuals could engage in hunting wild animals. These were potentially dangerous but provided great sport for the participants. For those not wishing to participate, they could watch circus racing in the Circus Maximus. For the drivers these races were potentially dangerous but not as much as the gladiatorial combat. Here individuals battled to the death and from the evidence it is clear that the Romans could not get enough of it. Gladiatorial training was crucial since it separated the great victors from the dead losers.

Not all entertainment was confined to the arena. Actors performed in the theaters and odeon and became quite successful. There were music–dance performances using a variety of musical instruments. Finally, for solitude the libraries and their books allowed individuals to get away from noise and find some peace.

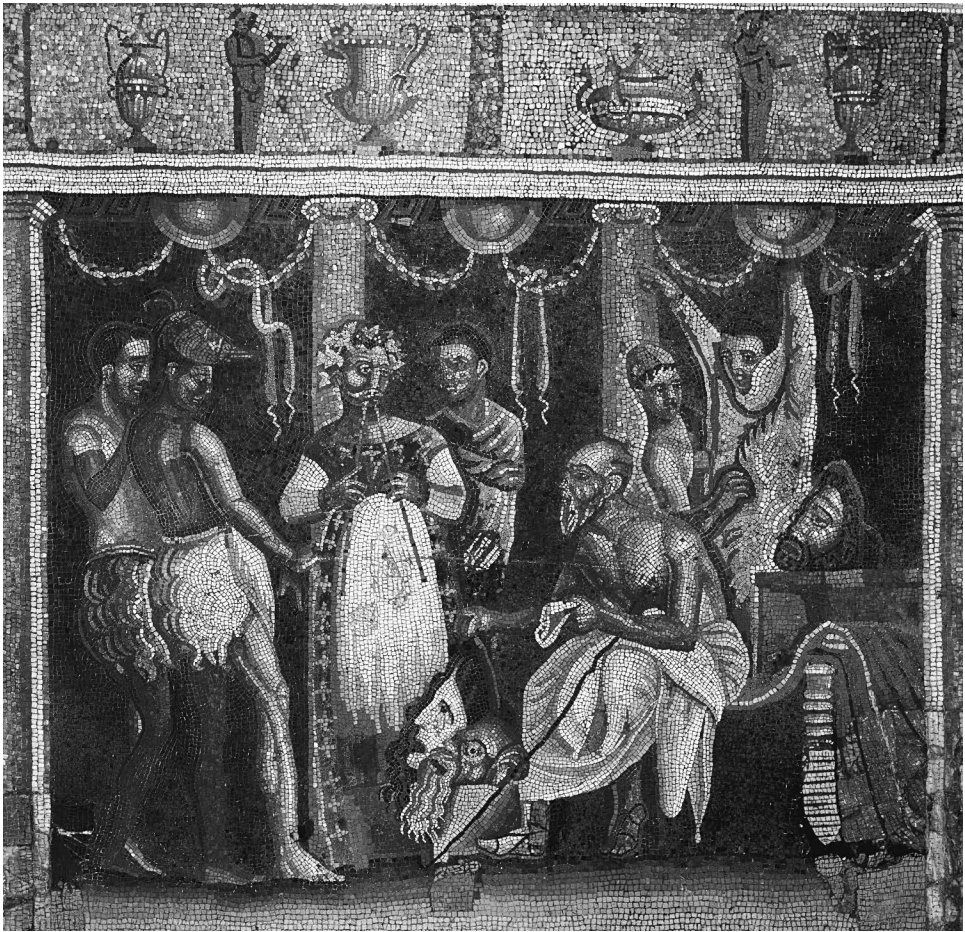
The Romans also relaxed through a variety of other ways. The baths were probably the most famous avenue for providing leisure. While leisure could be looked upon as bad since one was not engaging in work, it was also seen as acceptable as an escape from the day's toil. Another type of pleasure that existed and was not necessarily condemned was the visits to brothels. Sport and their time away from work were also highly valued by the wealthy. The general public relaxed at the great public festivals at Rome, which ensured a wide range of games and food. Private or home festivals were important for the family and honoring their relatives.

Most individuals did not get the time to relax through retirement. Most Romans could not afford to retire, nor could they travel or take vacations. These activities were reserved for the wealthy that had the capital and time not to worry about their livelihoods. Most people merely relied on the public games and associated festivals for relaxing.

ACTORS

While actors in the Greek world were held in esteem and respected, most Roman actors were from the lower classes and even slaves. Roman actors were not seen as respectable since they displayed themselves in public and were paid for their service. Many of the actors were either slaves or freedmen who continued to work for their former masters in the acting company. Often the actors were Greek or other eastern foreigners since Roman citizens were forbidden to act.

Ancient Roman play productions are not well known, but it appears that production and acting companies existed. The owners of the troupes probably were also the bookers and negotiated with the *aediles* to promote their company and provide entertainment. The *aediles* would probably negotiate for a series of plays to be put on and the owner/manager would then set the specific plays. It is probable that only the lead actor(s) was free with most of the rest of the troupe being slaves. The female parts were also played by men probably until the second century CE. Many of these actors became not only famous but superstars similar to the ones in modern media. This rise in fame arose during the fourth century BCE throughout the Mediterranean and was remembered in inscriptions, vase and wall paintings. These superstars were fostered by the rise of new Hellenistic monarchs and their kingdoms that promoted competition. This competition among the states, actors unions, and the ability to travel more easily allowed them to promote themselves



Roman mosaic showing a professional acting group preparing for a production. Performers would use masks to help convey emotions and moods reflected in the plays. The actors would use props to designate the various actions. (Roman art: a theatrical troupe preparing for a satirical drama. Mosaic. 70 AD. From the House of the Tragic Poet, Pompeii. 58 x 59 cm. National Archeological Museum (inv.10020), Naples, Italy)

and their troupe more readily. During the late Republic, Cicero was great friends, even to the point of fawning over him, of Roscius, the greatest actor of his age.

Acting in ancient Rome was a complex system that provided entertainment for the public. While actors were known for their ability to perform, there were other aspects of acting that helped, one being music. The range of performances in which music occurred covered all aspects from tragedy to comedy. It appears that the Romans used music extensively especially for pantomime and comedy.

Another aspect of acting was the physical aspect. The idea that the actors just stood there and recited lines needs to be discounted. Rather, the actors were

involved not only with expressing emotions through actions, they were also engaged in such acts as dancing and stage fighting. Actors often had to rely on their physical ability to get the author's message across to the audience. These representations can be seen on vase paintings in which the comic actors appear before tragic actors in their representations. The representations of actors on mosaics again show how the actors desired to be seen. During the Greek period in the New Comedy, 425–400 BCE, realistic acting became more common and crucial. This method involved the use of common language and realism. This type of comedy would continue into the Hellenistic Age with Meander where his lines were meant to be voiced out loud and not just read; this would continue into the Roman period.

During the Republic, there were free-born men who acted; and even under the Empire there were some who fancied themselves as actors just like those who dabbled in the arena. According to Roman law, citizens could only act in the Atellan farce, a religious event, and any citizen who publicly acted could not appear on the censor's role, meaning he was not able to serve in the military or be elected to office. This even extended down to the local communities. Augustus went even further classifying actors in the same class as prostitutes; and senatorial families were forbidden to marry an actor/actress or their children going back three generations. Given this social classification, it is clear that they did not have much protection or standing. This is further confirmed in that actors were often expelled from the city. In 115 BCE, they were expelled for the first time and it was common for actors to be punished by officials, which Augustus later limited to punishing them in the theater itself for gross misbehavior, presumably getting the audience all worked up. During the first century CE, it was common for actors to be banished only to be recalled by the next ruler. During the Empire, it was common for the emperors to receive pleas from the audience to reward or free the actors.

The lure of acting was great; and often the rewards could be substantial. Actors were paid by the performance and could be substantial, five gold pieces were occasionally mentioned, although this was unique. There were several actors who earned substantial amounts and many made more than the writer of the plays in which they performed. Some of the more famous and successful actors included Roscius who was defended by his friend and admirer Cicero. Another late Republican actor was Aesopus who was worth 20 million *sesterces*, a sizable amount. But the majority of actors lived obscure lives. They were often able to survive even during the worse economic times since the lure of theater was common. There were other actors who were more successful and were able to win honors in their local towns and cities. Some of these men were freedmen who were even elected to the local priesthoods of the Augustales (the imperial cult). Actors could also form themselves into guilds, which gave their members some security and

protection. These guilds were able to bid for services as a team rather than as individuals.

The actors in ancient Rome, like modern society, often attained the status of superstars. These actors, especially under the Empire, were often highly sought out not just for their acting ability but for their association with court. Many of the men and women in the court wanted to be seen with these actors in public. Some like Mnester, a pantomime actor, became a favorite of the Emperor Gaius and the Empress Messalina, wife of the Emperor Claudius, who became involved in the intrigues of the court and was ultimately executed in the purge following Messalina's execution. For most Romans it was probably common enough to see actors in the theater and occasionally in their day-to-day interactions.

See also: *Arts*: Cicero, Marcus Tullius; *Drama*; *Performing Arts*; *Roman Classical Literature*; *Fashion and Appearance*: Greek/Eastern Dress; Shoes; *Food and Drink*: Banquets; Dinner Party; *Housing and Community*: Public Structures; Town Planning; *Recreation and Social Customs*: Class Structure and Status; Music and Dance; Theaters and Odeon

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ADOLESCENT

The ancients believed that a young boy did not become a youth or man until the age of 14. Until this age one could not be expected to make a rational decision; although after this age the individual was often viewed as a youth who could be expected to make inappropriate decisions. The carefree youth was often viewed as a dandy, a reveler, or spendthrift.

The dandy, noticed by his appearance of extravagance, was a common occurrence in ancient Rome from 200 BCE onward. During the second century BCE, the author Polybius mentions that the Roman youths, presumably the well-to-do ones,

accepted and adopted Greek ideas and dress. The obvious point here was that the youths were not engaging in the ancient Roman ideas of war or politics. During the late Republic, the youths were now often engaged in parties and a luxurious life rather than one of service to Rome. These youths were often recognized by their clothes, often said to look like women; and they used perfume. The result was that these luxurious clothes became even more expensive. By the first century CE, the youths were viewed as lazy, not engaged in any intellectual pursuit or honest work. In the eyes of the moralists these youths were more concerned about drinking and dancing. Their hair was braided and they spoke like women. The Romans were more upset with how the youths dressed, the way they wore their clothes as well as how they walked and talked. The dandy was also seen as one who shaved all of their body hair and wore expensive perfume. The author Seneca continued to rant and rave against how these youths wore a beard but no mustache.

Another aspect that represented the carefree youth was reveling. This was considered part of the fun and games of youth, like love or sex. Parents and older men apparently were not too upset by their young relatives carousing. Cato the Elder showed no reproach to a young man coming out of a brothel. The poet Terence related how a father saw no disgrace for a young man patronizing a prostitute. This does not mean that everyone agreed with this lifestyle. Polybius indicated that most of the youth of Rome, that is, the wealthy, were degenerates due to their parties and excesses of life going on with their lifestyle. During the late Republic and early Empire, there was a common sight of these young dandies about Rome. Cicero would rail against these young men who needed wine to be witty or sarcastic in the company of women. Cicero would attack the followers of Catiline who had rebelled as those who enjoined reclining at banquets and engaging with prostitutes and wearing wreaths and covered with perfume. For these youths the going about town was viewed as a rite of passage and depending upon who was involved, it was either fun and games or degenerate.

Since the parties, clothes, pets, and reveling all required money this led to a common complaint among the authors that these youths did not know the value of money, something most modern parents could relate to. The youth was expected to run through money but not to be a profligate. But a question remains as to how the youth got the money to do these things since their father was in charge of all aspects of the family's property. It is clear that the youth was able to get the money, and it is probable that their father must have made some of the family's estate available to them. Even Cicero who railed against the youth spending so much made sure that his son Marcus, when he was studying in Athens and spending extensively, received his allowance. Cicero wrote to his friend Atticus to make sure that his young son would not lack anything and that his own reputation would not be harmed for not giving his son money.

But not all parents could or would help their sons, and it is apparent that these sons used dishonest means to get the money they needed. It seems that young men stealing their father's money was common; and if this was not possible the young man would go to moneylenders. If he failed to repay the loan, a common event, the father was either obliged to pay or see his son hauled into court for nonpayment and possibly bring shame on the family. The Romans, however, enacted laws to prevent some of the abuses of moneylenders, but it was probably a rare event that the lender did not get his money back. It was often common for the youth to gamble to get back the principle needed to repay his father or moneylender and lose even more. It was also common for the young men to join the military to gain riches.

A more dangerous component of the carefree youth was vandalism and violence. In early Rome, during the struggle of the orders, a story was related how the rich youths often engaged in dangerous activities. Two plebeian brothers, Lucius and Volscius, were out one night when they met a group of patrician youths who had been drinking and carousing around. The leader Caeso and his group then attacked the youths; Lucius stood up to them and was savagely beaten and later died. His brother Volscius attempted to step in and was also beaten. The common complaint was that these youths would get drunk and then go out in search of excitement. These drunken youths would often attack innocent passersby to get rid of their frustrations and energy. This was seen in the plays of Plautus during the second century BCE when he relates how the streets were not safe at night. This was a common complaint throughout the Roman period. These youths would go about in a group. One can probably see the following scenario where a group of young men go out and start drinking. They may go from bar to bar having fun drinking and gambling. When they were kicked out of the last bar they took their activities to the streets and engaged in fights and robbery, perhaps sounding familiar to modern readers. One of the great examples was the future emperor Nero who with his companion Otho, later emperor, went about the city and got into fights and often broke into stores and stole items. Of course, they were immune to legal actions.

The youth would also spend their time in other pursuits such as attending the circus races or gladiatorial contests. These individuals would spend time hanging around these venues to have fun. The wealthy youths would have the time and money to enjoy while the average Roman had to deal with their shenanigans.

See also: Family and Gender: Family Life; Paterfamilias; Food and Drink: Banquets; Dinner Party; Recreation and Social Customs: Baths; Brothels; Circus Racing; Gambling; Leisure

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BATHS

One of the most important aspects of Roman society was the bath. The baths were not only a physical structure allowing for cleanliness, it was also a social event. The baths were not peculiar to Rome, but the Romans nevertheless increased and promoted them. The Republican myths had the old Roman fathers not bathing except once a week, but by the end of the Republic, baths had become a common feature. Originally, the baths were simple structures, but over time they became more grandiose and opulent showing the change from simple cleaning to more social gathering. The baths in Rome were first built in the second century BCE with separate baths for each sex. The public baths were denoted as *balneae* while private were called *balneum*. The social system called for body exercise in the *palaestra*, which afterward was followed by the cleaning of the body in the *thermae*.

There were both private and public baths. Probably every large home had some kind of private bath, which over time became more luxurious as attested in archaeological finds. Seneca writing during the time of Nero stated how some complained that their private baths did not have the Alexandrian marble or elaborate paintings. The more usual bath was the great public or privately financed baths for the public. The public baths were usually free or at a low cost while the private baths charged a higher fee depending upon the status of the bath or the amenities they offered; more luxurious private baths offered even more options. The bath-house keepers or *balneatores* were low in social status but offered chances for wealth through tips and providing services for guests. Upon entering a large public bath one passed through a long narrow passageway so that the population could be controlled to pay their small fee. Once pass this barrier the bath opened up into a large park that allowed for gatherings and relaxing. Here in the *palaestra* individuals could engage in exercise, either individually or in a group. The exercise could include running, throwing the ball, or more vigorous sports such as wrestling and boxing.

The bath itself was often immense. The first room patrons would enter would be the *frigidarium* or cold room; it was a large open hall that as its name implies was unheated. There the individual would disrobe and if they were wealthy would give their garments to their slaves; if not, they could give them to an attendant who charged a small fee. One of the complaints in baths was that clothes were often stolen. Here in this room the individual would limber up with exercise. Once they had finished, perhaps working excess energy off, the patron would go to the swimming pool or *natatio*, which was also unheated and in large baths could measure 100 by 200 feet. Sometimes this was the end of ones bath, that is, they may decide not to go into the warm bath rooms. Most patrons, however, wanted to take advantage of



Bath complex at Bath, England, built beginning in 70 CE, on a Briton shrine. Baths became important components of Roman life promoting hygiene and sanitation and remains are found throughout the Roman world. Used not only for bathing, they became social gathering places with some like Bath, England becoming religious sites as well. Nearly every region of the Roman world has examples of baths. (Tungtopgun/Dreamstime.com)

the hot rooms. Sometimes in larger baths there was a different first room, called the *apodyteria*, which was merely a changing room before the *frigidarium*.

The patron would then enter the next large room, the *tepidarium*, which was heated from the floor. Here an individual would sit and relax while soaking up the heat and perhaps engage in conversation or just doze off. The floor was heated because of hollow tiles through which the warm air flew from the charcoal or wood furnaces in the basements or in small furnaces outside. The *hypocausts* or tiles allowed the air to be drawn through the building, under the floor, and up the walls and then outside, created by the air pressure of a flue system. After relaxing, the individual then entered into one of the smaller chambers that had pools of extremely hot water in which only a few people could enjoy. Some of the patrons could withstand the heat and lie in the pool while others just sat around on benches and enjoyed the hot mist rising from the pool. Afterward the individual would go into the *laconicum* or *sudatoria* where again the *hypocausts* would heat the floor and walls with a dry heat. Here the patron, after drying off from their plunge, would sit and perspire profusely.

The next part was the scraping during which a patron's slave or an attendant slave would scrape the body with a flexible bronze strigil. This would remove any dirt and body matter and provide the bather a clean and smooth skin. The individual would then be rubbed down with towels and have oil rubbed in. Often the individual received a massage. The bather would then go to the *frigidarium* and pick up his clothes and exit.

The baths were open to both sexes although usually not together. Often the times of day were set aside for the different sexes or even-off days. The attendants were of course of the same sexes. The baths were also open to all the different classes of society. The standard entrance fee was small, only a *quadrans*, which would cover the expenses of the attendant for watching the clothes, the oil necessary for the rubdown, and the wood or charcoal for the heat.

After bathing, the individual could continue the experience by visiting the shops outside the bathhouse. Here the participant could engage in eating at small shops or *popinae*. There were a great variety of food stuff that could be bought, such as meat, bread, and sweets. There were also peddlers in the *frigidarium* and

IMPERIAL BATHS

By the first century BCE, public baths were so common in Roman towns as to be unremarkable except in their absence. During the Republic, prominent Roman men dedicated luxurious baths at Rome and elsewhere, but it was with the advent of the Principate that such dedications became most common, and set ever higher standards of grandeur and expense. The bath complexes built by the emperors Nero, Titus, Trajan, Caracalla, and Diocletian were legendary for their size and architectural importance. By the time Diocletian completed his baths in 305 CE, the finest public baths of the Roman world boasted enclosed gardens, lecture halls, and libraries. They had become cultural centers as well as sites for the Roman world's complex political and social life. Moreover, they had become architectural showpieces, enclosing more and more space within their walls and arched domes. For example, Diocletian's baths enclosed a stunning 130,000 square yards. Columned walls and porticos lined exercise areas, while stunning mosaics, magnificent ceilings, and rare marbles dazzled the visitor's eye. Meanwhile, as the scale of the baths increased, the luxuriousness of the materials used in the construction of the baths kept pace. The Baths of Caracalla, completed in 216 CE, could accommodate 1,600 bathers in pools of polished alabaster, granite, and basalt.

the *tepidarium* where they would sell their food items. Other shops existed in the baths selling such things as perfumes or unguents. The baths provided all Romans with the opportunity for hygiene, relaxation, and engagement.

See also: *Fashion and Appearance:* Toiletries; *Housing and Community:* Public Structures; Town Planning; *Recreation and Social Customs:* Brothels; Class Structure and Status; Games; Leisure; Pleasures; Work vs. Leisure; *Science and Technology:* Aqueducts; Engineering; Water Inventions

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BOOKS AND LIBRARIES

The ancient Roman system of books and their reading is quite different in many ways from modern systems but also similar in others. Books then did not have the constructs of today, that is, a series of independent pages compiled together that are read by flipping the pages. The ancient system was a papyrus roll that attached to two rods; the papyrus was rolled on the left rod and was moved to the right with the papyrus stretched between them and was read moving right to left, reverse from a modern book. The writing, however, was left to right for Latin and Greek as in English. As one read, the roll on the right rod was increased while the left was decreased. It was considered rude to not to move the roll back to the left rod.

The Roman system of bookmaking was complex. The book had to be mounted first. The papyrus was first treated to repel worms by using cedar oil before the last papyrus leaf was mounted to the thin wooden rod called the *umbilicus*. The papyrus was then attached to both sides and a string was attached to one rod with the name of the book. Most books were really pamphlets since one did not want to have a large bulky book roll. Most books were less than 100 "pages." The Iliad of Homer that has 24 books was usually written on 24 rolls, one for each book.

Often these books were then collected and put into a book container, a cylinder that could hold several rolls.

To mass produce a work, it required a large number of man hours to manually copy the work over and over. As such, the practice of copying books was very labor intensive. The copyists tended to be slaves who painstakingly copied the work. Cicero's friend Atticus apparently had a lucrative business in publishing works. He had a group of slaves skilled in copying the manuscripts. While each copy was made individually, several copyists could work simultaneously on several copies. A possible theory on how the work could be copied was with a group of copyists sitting and writing the words that were read by a reader. Although it is not possible to know if this occurred, it could have been a quick and easy way for copies to be made.

The writer in Rome did not have the same rights or opportunity to make money off their work as in modern society. The system did not have copyrights, so a publisher could make knock off copies. Typically, the author would sell his work to a publisher, copyist, and distributor all in one. The poet Martial wrote that his work was used by soldiers and people even in faraway Britain, but he did not make any money. There was a district in Rome that had publishing shops so an author could go and make his contract. These shops produced inexpensive books costing about 2 *denarii* each.

Books could then be housed in libraries. It is clear that educated men created and developed their own libraries. For the educated, reading was an important part of their daily life. Before the modern world and its technology, reading by the elites was one way to immerse them in distraction. There was a consistent curiosity among individuals to learn. Cicero's letters make it clear that people enjoyed learning about history, religion, law, and politics. Individuals bought books and even traded books with one another to develop their own libraries. These private libraries were supplemental to the great public libraries in many cities like Rome.

There were public libraries throughout the city of Rome. During the early *principate*, there were five great public libraries. These libraries had their original foundation in private libraries but now were in the hands of the public. Asinius Pollio, an officer of Julius Caesar, had given his library to Rome, which was located in the Atrium Libertatis on the Aventine; the new emperor Augustus created two libraries, one in the temple of Apollo on the Palatine near his own residency and was perhaps viewed as his private library, and the other by the Theatre of Marcellus in the Porticus of Octavia, which his sister created. His successor Tiberius appears to have added two more libraries, one in the temple of the Divine Augustus and the other in his house, the Domus Tiberiana. Of course, there were rumors that Tiberius had his own private library of pornography and erotica in his island retreat at Capri, but that was clearly just slanderous gossip. Another library in Rome was added by Vespasian when he created the Temple of Peace. This library may have had its foundation in the captured goods from Palestine. The Emperor Trajan built a library in his forum, actually two buildings, one for

Greek authors while the other for Latin, each flanked his column. These were said to be the largest by the end of the first century CE, which is to be expected, given that his forum was the largest. Finally, there was another library, probably the public library on the Capitol. By the fourth century CE, there were reported to be 29 libraries in the city. Of course, these libraries were not necessarily the same as the ones existing during the first century since the numerous fires destroyed some of them, especially in 80 and 191 CE.

There were also libraries throughout the Roman world. There existed some in at least seven towns in Italy. Pliny the Younger, perhaps emulating Pollio, established a library at the city of Comum. Many of the great libraries in the east dated from the Hellenistic era. At Pergamum in Asia, which came into Roman possession in 133 BCE, the great library of Attalus became a Roman library. In addition to this library, there were other famous libraries in the east, for example, at Ephesus, and at least six libraries in Greece. Carthage and Timgad in North Africa each had libraries, again given as gifts by wealthy individuals. The greatest libraries, for there were several, were in Alexandria, which came into Roman hands in 29 BCE with Augustus's conquest. These libraries had the scrolls stacked in cupboards, which were arranged by subject matter. From literary evidence it is clear that individuals could check books out or go to a library and browse coming upon a treasure unexpectedly. But the libraries were not just places of study; they were areas of social discourse and leisure. There were reading rooms in which they could sit and enjoy their books and also socialize.

The size of these libraries varied. In Alexandria, there was said to be over 400,000 rolls or books, such was the passion. The Roman libraries probably contained similar numbers given the Roman penchant for collecting. A rich senator had a library of 60,000 rolls. For the average Roman, the libraries were not accessible; nevertheless they were a common site.

See also: Arts: Roman Classical Literature; *Recreation and Social Customs:* Leisure; Work versus Leisure

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LIBRARY OF CELSUS

The Library of Celsus at Ephesus housed a collection of thousands of scrolls in antiquity and remains one of the best-preserved libraries of the Roman Empire. Located near the forum in the city of Ephesus in Asia Minor (present-day Turkey), the library was built during the second century CE to honor a former provincial governor. It remains a particularly valuable example of a Roman public library because the many libraries that existed within the city of Rome itself have not been preserved. The library's ornate facade has been extensively restored by the Austrian Archaeological Institute.

The library's construction began in the early second century (about 110 CE) under the direction of Gaius Julius Aquila, who was then consul at Rome. The library is well known for its elaborate facade, often likened to the *scenae frons* (stage wall) of a Roman theater. Nine marble steps ascend to the three entrances in the facade, which is made up of two levels of *aediculae* ("little buildings," architectural frames or niches) flanked by pairs of columns. Composed of costly white, purple-veined Phrygian marble, the columns were a particularly extravagant feature. While the columnar capitals on the facade's upper level are of the Corinthian order, the capitals on the lower level columns are Composite (combining Ionic and Corinthian features) and include carved lotus leaves that may symbolize eternal life. Inside the lower level's four *aediculae*, such virtues as knowledge and wisdom were personified by statues of female figures. Inside the library, the high-ceilinged main hall was 36 feet long and 55 feet wide; the walls and floor were veneered with varicolored marble. An air passage behind the library's inner walls helped to prevent the accumulation of moisture that could cause the deterioration of scrolls.

BROTHELS

An establishment in nearly every ancient Roman city was the brothel. Unlike some modern cities where a particular district is known as the "red light" region with brothels, ancient Roman cities had brothels spread out over a wider area. It is true that in Rome the region known as Subura had more brothels than other districts, but this is because the region was mainly devoid of public buildings and was more residential. In Pompeii, there is evidence of about 30 known brothels and probably about 10 other establishments that had rooms where suspected prostitutes conducted their business. There are issues with trying to determine what a brothel was. Often an inn

or tavern also had a room where a local girl or boy could practice their trade. Often a barmaid, like in modern strip joints, could also be purchased for such activity. Many of the graffiti advertising prostitutes in Pompeii were associated with taverns. Baths were also recorded as places where prostitutes would frequent. Later Christian writers admonished individuals for setting out lamps on their front “porch” since this was a sign that it was a brothel, hence giving rise to the idea of the “red light” district.

Because it was often difficult to determine what a brothel was, archaeologists have often used three defining factors in determining if a site was a brothel. First, there is the structural attribute. These are the masonry beds in the room for the clients, the most reliable artifact and seen in several brothels in Pompeii. Second, there are the artworks that depict sexual scenes, often interpreted as what services were offered, but probably more generic to indicate to the illiterate that prostitutes were available. Finally, the collection of graffiti around a particular house indicating that sex was available, often in the terms of bragging by the author. In addition to these brothels there were *cellae mereticiae* or cribs, rooms in which prostitutes conducted their business, and again, the masonry bed was the best indicator. The use of the masonry bed does not mean that all prostitutes used one, rather, these objects should be seen as the minimum possibility of brothels; undoubtedly other establishments had wooden or rope beds. Likewise, the art and graffiti does not mean that all places had them. In addition, just because a house or establishment had them does not mean that a brothel existed.

Prostitution in ancient Rome existed and flourished as part of society. While the Romans were not necessarily opposed to prostitution, it was nevertheless seen as something respectable people did not engage in. The Romans called an individual who made their living off the selling of their body a *meretrix*. By law a prostitute was forbidden to wear the traditional clothing of a Roman matron, and in fact they wore a man’s *toga*. The Romans licensed and taxed the profession that ensured that the state profited by the needs of men and women. The *aedile* would register prostitutes, the so-called *vectigal meretricium*. The second emperor, Tiberius, forbade anyone related to an equestrian, hence a senator, from being a prostitute. Both men and women could be prostitutes, but traditionally women were the most common practitioners. Prostitutes could be self-employed, that is, carrying out their profession by themselves and ultimately being responsible for their own safety, well-being, and care. Occasionally, a young lady would live with a madam, or *lena*, who ensured the young lady’s safety and procured her customers. Some madams were designated as mother, but it is probable that most were not biological mothers but rather more experienced prostitutes. Some prostitutes worked out of other establishments such as taverns or even as free agents out of organized brothels.

The collection of women, and men, organized into a business often opened a brothel allowing for the possibility of large-scale commercial activity. There were

different levels or statuses of prostitutes in a brothel. Some serviced the poor or middle class; these individuals were the most common and probably had a schedule of prices based upon time. Above these were the elites, these may be compared with the Athenian courtesans who were well educated and often made a profession of dealing with the wealthy providing intellectual as well as carnal pleasures.

The brothel was called a *lupanar* or *lupanarium* coming from *lupa* or she-wolf. The brothel could be owned by a pimp or madam who provided for the upkeep, rent, and other expenses while they received the income. The second type had the brothel where the pimp or madam was the agent for someone else (prostitute) who owned the establishment, perhaps not realizing it was a brothel. The madam would assign the rooms to the various girls and set their prices. Usually a brothel had a book keeper or attendant (*vilicus*) who kept track of the number of clients received by each person and the amount collected. From this collection the girl would receive her food, clothing, room, and a small stipend while the majority of the money went to the managers or owners. In Pompeii, a large brothel has been excavated, which shows several small rooms that opened into a large central receiving area. The rooms had above each door different pictures of sexual acts, the so called *schemata veneris*. There is debate as to whether the pictures were meant to show which kind of sex acts the brothel engaged in, or whether they were merely pieces of art to titillate the clients while they waited. The rooms were decorated minimally with only a bed or cot with a mattress and a small table with a lamp. The attendant would often bring to the rooms a bowl of water and towels to allow the patrons and prostitutes to clean up. Typically, a brothel had a curtain or *cento*, which led into a house with rooms or *cellae*. The *cella* would have a door for privacy and next to it was a sign that advertised the prices. Although there was some privacy, it was neither guaranteed nor even expected. The price for a prostitute was probably a half day's laborer's wage or about 8 *asses* (where 1 *denarius* was a day's wage) in the first century CE.

Some of the ancient brothels may have employed tokens that could be purchased beforehand and used when the client visited. An example of this token or *spintria* was found in London. The small bronze token, almost like a coin, shows on one side a man and a woman engaged in a sex act while on the other side XIII or 14, which may indicate that the token cost 14 *asses*, roughly the amount of one day's wage. Some, however, believe that it was a gaming token. These tokens have also been found in Pompeii. From Pompeii there exist prices ranging from 2 *asses* for oral sex up to 16 *asses* or 1 *denarius* for intercourse and a night. There were prices in between and probably were based upon the reputation of the girl or house and the services they provided.

The brothels could be an organized house in which the only services provided were carnal activity. There were the taverns or inns in which a girl, perhaps one

of the barmaids, could be engaged for the night. There were the prostitutes who encouraged customers from the street and had a room in house or other place. In other words, brothels could be found anywhere and were found nearly everywhere.

See also: Fashion and Appearance: Clothing; Housing and Community: Apartments; Crime; Recreation and Social Customs: Class Structure and Status; Games; Pleasures

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CIRCUS RACING

Another popular Roman recreation was a visit to the circus or the races. As time continued the races became more frequent and popular. Like modern car racing, the circus provided individuals the opportunity to cheer their favorite driver or even team on to victory. In addition, people constantly gambled on their outcome. Contrary to popular belief, the Coliseum was not used for chariot or horse racing since it was too small and a continuous curve made it cumbersome for racing; rather racing events took place in the circus, the most famous been the Circus Maximus, which stands between the Palatine and Aventine hills.

The race was called the *ludi circenses* and had a very ancient tradition. According to legend, when King Tarquinius Priscus took an enemy town he gave games consisting of fights and races to commemorate his victory. The races were held in the spot of the later Circus Maximus where the senators and equites built stands so that they could see. The name circus was given to it to denote either the individuals "standing around" or because of the general circular pattern. This was not the only



Mosaic of circus racing from Piazza Armerina in Sicily, 300 CE. Circus racing became a popular form of public entertainment in Rome and the provinces with fans rooting for their favorite team designated by a color. The circus often became a way for the Roman populous to express their opinion of the emperor with anonymity. Expensive to put on, the number of days with races was not great, especially in the provinces. (Diego Barucco/Dreamstime.com)

place where the races took place in Rome, there was the circus Flaminius, and so the area between the Palatine and Aventine, which was bigger and allowed it to be named the Circus Maximus or the greatest. Tarquin appears to have then built a permanent structure with seats cascading like a theater. This type of seating not only allowed for a better view by all, it allowed for more people to be seated in a smaller area. According to tradition, when Tarquin built the circus each of the 30 *curiae* had their own section, but the plebs were not permitted to sit there, so the circus Flaminius was constructed for their games. When the legal barriers between the plebs and patricians disappeared during the early Republic, the plebs were allowed to sit in the Circus Maximus.

The circus had several components. First, there was the oval seating, or *cavea*, with the seats rising upward as in theaters classified as *gradus*, *sedilia*, *subsellia*. A wall protected the seats from the track. At the end of one of the longitudinal branches before the curve in the seats was an island that may have been reserved for the giver of the games or someone else of dignity. On the opposite side at the other end near the stalls for the horses stood a raised platform on which during

the Empire the emperor's box stood allowing him to see the beginning and end of the race. In the middle of the circus running down the length about two-thirds was a small podium or the *spina* or spine. On this stood at either ends three wooden cylinders called *metae* or goals. In between stood two great obelisks; another two columns that had seven balls or eggs (*ova*), which were raised one at a time to show the number of laps completed, was at the far end of the spine opposite the curve in the seating. At the other end, opposite to the stables stood another two columns with seven dolphins, the sign of Neptune, the god of horses. These were probably there to complement the symmetry of the eggs. Where the two longitudinal arms end at the open part of the compressed horseshoe or U-shaped layout was the *carceres* or stables with the chariots/horses. The stalls were vaulted and probably numbered 12. They were closed with a gate that was opened simultaneously at the given sign. Men, *armentarii*, opened the gates and the chariots/horses could emerge. The stalls are not straight since that would give the ones directly in front of the *spina* a distinct advantage; rather the stalls were curved so that at the far end they were closer to the *spina* so that the distance was equal. In addition, the right side of the track (looking from the stalls) was wider so that the initial jockeying could be equal and the other side more narrow after the turn. There was a portico that ran on the outside of the structure. On top were shops that sold refreshments for the race attendees, and in the area within the vaulted portico the local prostitutes were allowed to "sell" their goods.

There were different types of games held in the circus. The first was the *cursus* or races. Here the chariot was drawn by either two or four horses. There were four teams or companies called factions to represent the different seasons and designated by colors: green for spring, red for summer, blue for autumn, and white for winter. The driver stood in the chariot with the reins around his back allowing him to put his weight to either side to guide the horses; a danger, however, if the chariot was upset since it would have dragged him, so the driver had a small knife to cut the reins. When the race started the doors were open and the chariots went to the white line ready to start; the mappa or cloth was dropped and the race began. The chariots raced down the right side keeping the *spina* always on the left and turned the corner to race back toward the stables, this was one completed course or lap. A typical day had 25 races each seven laps long, which provided individuals ample time for enjoyment and betting. The other games were the *ludus troiae* or fake fights on horseback; the *Pugna Equestris et Pedestris* or fake battle between cavalry and infantry; *Certamen Gymnicum* or Greek games that were for athletes; the *venatio* or hunts that occurred in other places as well; and the *naumachia* or naval battles that were usually held elsewhere where a pit with water could be made.

These games allowed a large number of people to be entertained for a small charge, or even free. It allowed the average person distractions from the mundane hardships of life.

CHARIOT RACING—“INANE, INSIPID, AND TEDIOUS”

In this letter to his friend Calvisius, Pliny the Younger (62–ca. 113 CE) expresses his utter disinterest in the chariot races, here called the Circensian games. He criticizes the tendency of many Romans, including those of high social status, to attach themselves so strongly to their favorite racing teams and especially to the distinguishing colors—either blue, green, red, or white—of the drivers’ clothing, here called a jacket.

The Circensian games [are] a species of exhibition which does not attract me even in the faintest degree. There is no novelty, no variety about them, nothing which one is not satisfied with having seen once only. This makes me all the more astonished that so many thousands of persons should have such a childish desire to see, over and over again, horses running, and men standing in chariots. If, at least, they were attracted by the speed of the horses or the skill of the men, there would be some reason in the thing. As it is, it is a bit of cloth that they applaud, a bit of cloth that they love, and if during the race itself and in the very heat of the contest such and such colours were to change wearers, the favour and applause of the public would change over with them, and the very drivers, the very horses whom they know from afar and whose names they shout out, would all at once be deserted. Such is the influence, such the importance, of a contemptible jacket! I say nothing of the vulgar [crowd], itself more contemptible than the jacket; but such is the case with certain persons of standing. . . . I take some pleasure in the fact that I am not taken by this pleasure.

(Pliny, 1890, 293–294)

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See also: *Housing and Community*: Public Architecture; Public Structures; *Recreation and Social Customs*: Games; Leisure; Sport

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CLASS STRUCTURE AND STATUS

When one examines the ancient Roman class structure, there are not only distinct separations but also clear delineations within each of the classes. The legal status of the classes was clearly laid down in the written law codes and by political authors, irrespective of wealth. At the bottom of the social structure were slaves. Above them were ex-slaves or freed people. This group was followed by the plebs or commoners of Rome. Above this group were the elites, the equestrians and then the senators. A further group that occurred due to political life was the imperial family; this group was not a class per se but a political group elevated by the army. Rome was therefore a hierarchical society that was class conscious based on birth.

Slaves by their very position were at the bottom of the social structure and by law had no rights. Slaves could be born into slavery, captured in war or piracy, or sold into slavery by family members or slavers. Within the slave class there were distinctions. Rural and work slaves, such as in building and road constructions, were seen as nothing more than property that could be used and then thrown away; urban slaves on the other hand were distributed among the various levels. At the top were domestic slaves, held in confidence by their masters, often earning their freedom outright for service or they could purchase their freedom from their savings from their work. Other domestic slaves who worked in the household could often also earn their freedom from savings, but it often took much longer than others.

Ex-slaves or freedmen/freedwomen had certain legal rights but were held in disdain by many free Romans. These individuals might be wealthy from their business activities but were still seen in a lower status by Romans, even when poorer. Although they could become citizens if their former masters had been citizens, they could not hold office. What made freedmen a distinct phenomenon in the ancient world was that in Rome this status lasted for only one generation. The children of a freedman were a citizen outright with all rights, including the ability to hold public office. Above the freedmen in this lower class were those with Latin rights. These individuals were freeborn until the Social War, 89 BCE; afterward, the Latin citizens became Roman citizens and therefore formed the next class. The final low class, the plebeians, was freeborn Roman citizens who were allowed to wear the distinctive Roman dress, the *toga*, without a stripe.

The upper class was divided between the equestrians and senators. Originally, equestrians were concerned more with economic gain than political. To be an equestrian one had to have a property qualification of 400,000 *sesterces*. The equestrians wore a *tunic* with a narrow stripe. If an equestrian became a magistrate, he could enter the Senate and become a senator and by extension his family would continue to be so. But entry into this class meant that an equestrian had to give up his life as a business man. The senators were those in the upper

class who desired a political life. This class included those who served in the Senate and their family. A family that had at least one member as a consul was a noble; those individuals who became the first family member to be elected as consul was called a *novus homo*, examples included Cato the Elder and Cicero and were a mark of distinction for them and their families. Senators had to have a property value of at least 1,000,000 *sesterces*. Senators wore a *toga* with a broad stripe.

An important component of class structure was clientage. Any class member could be part of the clientage system. At the poorest level the plebs were often attached to the wealthy houses as clients. The *clients* then were beholding to the *patron*. In the beginning the kings and nobles had as their clients wealthy individuals. The poor would then become clients when they were not able to provide for themselves or needed the political/legal protection of someone more powerful. The client would then submit himself and his descendants to the patron. This act tied the two families together. This was important for the poor plebeians, since they became crucial for politics during the early Republic. The patron needed the political support of his clients. During the heights of the Republic, the institution of clientage was important for the political future and success of the patron.

During the late Republic, the political importance was still there at the time of voting, but even that had decreased. The politicians still used their clients for political advantage, but most votes were decided beforehand with the consuls and others merely appointed. With the end of the political need the only benefit was for the clients and their legal protection. This too ended during the late Republic when the poor received more and more legal protection and discrimination. What then replaced this political/legal setting were the economic realities. The clients went to their patron's house in the morning and waited for their handout. The clientage system was even more demeaning.

The class system of ancient Rome was originally built upon the idea of one group more valuable than another. This concept had its roots in the political power of the kings and then the Roman elites of the Republic. This system reserved entry into the upper stratum to a very few, which was controlled by this group. For example, a member of the upper class who married into the lower class lost their status and became a member of the lower class, and not vice versa. The next stage saw the rise of powerful families in the lower class. These individuals became powerful mainly due to their economic power. The upper class now had a dilemma, how to appease this new powerful group. If they did not appease them then there was the potential for more disorder. In Roman mythology concerning the rise of the plebeian class, there was the conflict of the orders or a conflict of power between the upper class and powerful members of the lower class. The mythology has

the plebs succeeding from the Roman state until their demands were met; most likely, the powerful plebeians were able to forge an accommodation. The elites accommodated the plebs by allowing them to hold power and in turn marry into the upper class and become members of the upper class. The powerful plebs were able to convince their followers that this would give them more rights. The reality was that the powerful plebeian families were co-opted.

For the average Romans, class structure and status defined them and placed them within a rigid society. This structure allowed some movement, especially under the Empire, but it was still controlled by wealth and power or the absence thereof.

See also: Economics and Work: Laborers; Professionals; Slavery; Social Structure; *Family and Gender:* Freedmen; Heirs; Household; Legal Divisions; *Paterfamilias*; Patronage; *Politics and Warfare:* Roman Provincial Treatment; Roman Rule

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ETIQUETTE/HOSPITALITY

One of the most important ancient philosophies was the concept of hospitality. It was a custom going back to the early years when an individual would welcome a stranger into his home as a guest. Of course, this was confined to someone of the same or higher class. The custom was to ensure that the gods were not insulted. The typical etiquette for hospitality involved welcoming the stranger into the formal setting, providing a meal and drink, and allowing them to encamp on their land. For individuals already known or recommended by a mutual friend then the extension of hospitality would include shelter within the family's home. It must be remembered that this form of hospitality involved the wealthy and powerful; it would not have been extended to the poor. When one visited another they

would not only clasp the hand in friendship, but they expected the individual be protected.

Often one's guest seemed to be a permanent fixture; Cicero, perhaps complaining a bit, indicated that Dolabella was at his home at Tusculum for so long that he interfered with his writings. When traveling, it was common to plan the journey so that one would stay at whichever friend or family member's house, even if it meant taking them on a circuitous route, was available. It was important to get a formal invitation, which sometimes included the privilege of the entire party to stay. When an individual of higher rank or known prestige arrived unexpectedly or announced on short notice, it was common for the host to be obligated to entertain. Still, the guest would give some kind of prior announcement, even if it was his slave coming several hours before.

The meal was the most important element in hospitality and there was a rigid form of etiquette in terms of social status. The highest in rank would sit at the head of the table and then move down according to their rank. It was customary for the diners to wash their hands at the table, and as always it was a ceremonial washing. The guests usually only ate at dinner; they were not invited to attend midday meal. During the Republic, it was not uncommon to eat the evening meal (dinner) at a table with stools or chairs. Later, the Romans adopted the dining couch, set out in threes with one side of the table open to receive visitors. Estimates have that three people could sit or recline on one couch, any more would have been considered vulgar. It was customary to have nine people at a dinner since it represented the nine muses. At the head of the table would be seated the host and his wife as well as the guest of honor. During dinner, it was not considered rude for the host or guest to transact business, receive other guests, or even write correspondences. At formal dinners there would have been some form of entertainment, but often it was the conversation among the guests. A proper dinner at the end of the Republic might include four to seven courses, all of which the host had indicated beforehand.

It was common for guests when they arrived for dinner to give a present to the host. Atticus, for example, would make a family tree of his host's family and their connection. So when he dined with Brutus he could make a family tree showing his roots back to Marcus Junius Brutus who drove out the last king. For the Romans it was important to show their rank and display it for their guests. This idea extended to other places in society. For example, a traveler on a ship who was high born would receive distinctions and benefits from the captain, including perhaps his own cabin. The captain or owner would clearly let everyone, especially the sailors, know that this individual was to be protected and treated with courtesy. The showing of rank was an important component; the individual would be addressed by his title or titles so as not to slight him.

What was important was not necessarily the character of the individual, which needed respect, but rather the office or position that he held. That said, it was still important to be polite to individuals on the street and call them by name for that would endear the individual to the other. It was also important to be dressed in the proper fashion so as not to cause notoriety or being too rustic or out of place.

Unlike the Greeks who would consider it improper etiquette for a man to visit a woman of his equal social rank without her husband or father present, in Rome it was allowed. Cicero, for example, visited the sister of his friend Cato or the wife of another friend, who was away on business. There is also evidence that as the Republic came to an end, women could attend the baths by themselves without fear of impugning their reputation. Of course, if a woman began to be involved openly in politics, such as Clodia, the sister of Cicero's enemy Clodius, she was subject to attack as being immoral.

Proper etiquette also demanded that one would call upon his guests and family members at important times and events. For example, while the actual birth of a child may not be announced with much fanfare, probably because the life expectancy of a child was so short; the anniversary of a child's birth was celebrated with much fanfare. The celebration of a friend or friend's family member betrothal or wedding was seen as an almost obligatory duty. The festival appears to have been at the bridegroom's family house and it was seen as a duty to attend. In asking for the women's hand in marriage, the groom or his parents were expected to ask the women's family. If Cicero and the new father-in-law could not be in town, one would ask his friends, in this case Atticus, to seek out suitable prospects in this case for Cicero's daughter Tullia. Like the birth of child, when a family member died, it was often noticed with only a brief comment, probably due not to a lack of sentiment but self-restraint.

An almost peculiar phenomenon of etiquette occurred with the asking of personal favors. Cicero showed no qualms at asking Atticus for favors. One might expect this since they were presumably such good friends. But it was also not uncommon to even ask only slight acquaintances, especially during the Republic when political favors were important. For example, one of the most common favors was seeking for a return from exile of a friend or family member, or perhaps securing a minor political post. In addition, it appears that asking for money was not out of the question. While requests were often not granted, it was important for proper etiquette to show respect.

Many of the ideas seen in etiquette and hospitality occur from the letter writings that have survived. It was not uncommon to entrust the letter to a passerby. The surviving letters in many ways show great detail but not a lot of personal information. This was to be expected since it was not always possible to ensure

their confidentiality. More important in the letters were those of introduction, for these allowed the individual to become in one quick movement a friend of the host.

Etiquette and hospitality were normally reserved for the upper class, but it should be remembered that this was so because their communications survive. Undoubtedly, though all levels of society engaged in these behaviors, their evidence has not survived.

See also: Economics and Work: Social Structure; Family and Gender: Household; Patronage; Food and Drink: Serving

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FESTIVALS, PRIVATE

Private holidays were known throughout the Roman period. These days were called *feriae privatae* and were observed by families and individuals. Known family festivals included the *feriae Claudiae*, *Aemiliae*, *Juliae*, and *Corneliae*. These were examples of the festivals of the great families of Rome. It is probable that all of the great families had their own festivals and religious holidays that they celebrated. These festivals were for birthdays and other great holidays creating family remembrances. The *feriae denicales* were the festivals to remember the day in which the family underwent a rite of purification. Most of what is known about the private festivals comes from those celebrations of the emperors; while it is true that in many ways they were public events, they nevertheless provide examples of how the great family festivals occurred.

Although the examples given below come from the imperial age, they nevertheless show what the wealthy families could expect to give. The birthday of the emperor was celebrated with solemn prayers of thanksgiving and hope as well as games and sacrifices. These sacrifices were to ensure that gods celebrated the family and protect the emperor. This was akin to the great families that also held

sacrifices to ensure that the family was protected by the gods and that they continued to be successful. The family then had games that allowed for the family to show their munificence and generosity.

One of the greatest private festivals was those for the first emperor Augustus. His birthday was called the *Augustalia*. These were festivals or games in honor of Augustus after the battle at Actium. The state decreed that sacrifices and libations should be made in honor of Augustus because of his great victories not only in public but in private as well. The festival was celebrated in Naples every four years according to Suetonius and Strabo. These festivals included gymnastic and musical contests in honor of the emperor. These festivals were also celebrated at Alexandria, natural since he successfully defeated Antony and Cleopatra in the Egyptian capital. After Augustus's death the festival became more of a commemoration of his reign and glories, which were the foundation of the Empire. Another celebration for Augustus was his return from his long wars. The celebration of this is seen in the Ara Pacis. While the Ara Pacis was a public monument and there were public celebrations, it nevertheless could be seen as a private festival since it portrayed the imperial family.

A more common private festival occurred in the rural settings. Here the farmer not only celebrated his own family but also celebrated the gods who provided him life. While again many of these were public, the festivals had their origins in the local festivals. For example, the *Robigalia* festival was on April 25 and the farmer sacrificed a dog to ensure a bountiful grain production and ward off grain rust. In other instances the state created its own festival, which mirrored the farmers' festivals.

One of the most important private festivals was the family's honor of a birthday. The family would honor the recipient with a religious festival. A turf altar in the house to *Genius*, if the recipient was a male, and to *Juno*, if a female, was decked out with garlands and had candles and incense. Since this was a happy occasion everyone would wear white signifying happiness and purity. There would be a dinner party for the family's friends and relatives and of course presents were given. Ovid in exile wrote sad poems of missing his own birthday party or that of his wife's. In addition to the birthday festivals there were commemorations of the dead from February 13–21. Here the family made offerings at the tomb of family members. On February 22 there was a party for the living on the *Cara Cognatio* where everyone dined together with each bringing a contribution. Offerings were made to the family *lares* and during the Empire to the emperor's health. An ancient mother's day occurred on March 1 or the beginning of the New Year. Women would receive presents, and it was strictly a family event. Like the Saturnalia where the master served the slaves, the mistress of the house would also serve the female slaves on this day but probably not with as much games or

horseplay as the men. During March 19–23, the Festival of Minerva, a family festival and if children were in school they were given a five-day break.

April 4 saw the festival when patricians entertained other patricians, while on April 12 a similar festival for the plebeians was held. Most likely, the origin of the feasts went back to the early Republic when the patricians held power and flaunted it. The first festival solely for the patricians had them entertaining each other probably in a fashion that made it clear that their position was being honored. When the struggle of the orders occurred it seems as if the plebeians decided to strike back with a festival of their own. It is not clear if the ceremonies had much meaning in the late Republic. A private festival was also held for slaves on August 13; although there does not seem to be an answer as to why this particular festival and why August 13. The greatest family festival was the Saturnalia on December 17. This was a time for the buying and giving of presents. It was this festival where social and legal customs were relaxed and individuals could legally play dice and gamble. The formal *toga* was discarded and a more relaxed dress was used; for example, men wore the *pilleus* or the hat given to freed slaves. The roles of master and slaves were also reversed. The *Compitalia* in early January was the feast celebrating the planting, and slaves were given extra rations. On the rural estates, it was a time for feasting and celebrating after the hard work. Also on January 1, the Romans celebrated the new calendar year by having parties and with everyone roaming the streets in a carnival atmosphere. Early Christians criticized this celebration more than the Saturnalia.

The private festivals allowed the Romans the necessary time for relaxation and rejuvenation. They were important since they allowed the people a release from the ordinary days of hardship and turmoil. These festivals could be enjoyed by everyone and their continued celebrations, albeit changed, still attest to the ideas of celebrating to relieve the day-to-day stress.

See also: *Arts*: Drama; Performing Arts; *Family and Gender*: Funerals; *Food and Drink*: Banquets; Dinner Party; *Recreation and Social Customs*: Public Festivals; *Religion and Beliefs*: Private Worship; Sacrifices

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GAMBLING

Throughout history, gambling has been common and practiced, even if not morally or legally accepted; and Rome was no different. It was common for both nobles and poor, even slaves, to engage in gambling. It is clear that the Romans bet on the gladiatorial games and the circus races. Until the Empire, gambling was not illegal and allowed. The Emperor Augustus enacted laws prohibiting gambling and imposed severe fines, while gambling was officially allowed only to occur during the feast of Saturnalia. This week-long festival had a feature in which slaves and masters switched places with the slaves being allowed to play dice at the master's table while the masters served them; masters also engaged in gambling as well. Morally, gambling was seen as a reckless pursuit and one that was addictive. The laws against gambling included possible fines usually based on the money bet with the maximum being four times the amount betted. To get around this it was possible that the number of gaming chips found probably represent an attempt to circumvent the rules. Given the number of gaming tables discovered, it is clear that although gambling was illegal it was not enforced.

The archaeological evidence indicates that gambling was pervasive throughout Rome, even during the imperial age. Gaming tables discovered often are inscribed with colorful phrases such as "get up and make way for a better player." Often associated with gambling was violence. A wall painting in Pompeii show two gamblers playing dice in a tavern and getting into a fight; the owner is then presented uttering the phrase and telling them to get out if they wanted to fight but not stopping the gambling.

The most common games in gambling were played with dice. Dice with six faces was called *tesserae* while those with four sides were called *tali*. The dice in antiquity had the numbers on the opposite sides adding up to seven. Vases showing players using dice and dated from around 550 BCE have been found in Italy. One scene shows Achilles and Ajax from Homer's Iliad bending over a game board calling out their numbers that have come up on their dice.

A common game for young and old was nuts. This game inducted children into the seduction of gambling. The passion for gambling was so strong that laws were passed even prohibiting the playing of this simple game except during the Saturnalia, which gave rise to the name *saturnaliciae* for the game of nuts. It was so popular that they were given as gifts or carried as part of travelers (Juvenal Epigram VII.91). A statue discovered shows a young boy having just thrown nuts and had a look of fear or uncertainties. Nuts were also used to promote fertility and prevent the evil eye. Graves have been found containing nuts, with one tomb having a string of nuts around the neck. The game could be played in several ways; one popular way was to have three nuts on the bottom and one on top forming a

pyramid and trying to knock it over with the fifth. Another was to draw a triangle with parallel lines to the base and throw the nuts into the triangle and gaining points based on where they fell and remained.

Another game was heads and tails, which they called *capita aut navia*, which means “heads or ships,” in which coins were thrown up and seeing which side landed up. The coin originally used was the bronze *as* with the head of Janus on one side and on the other the representation of a prow of a ship. Cheating of course could occur, such as a coin that was sawn in half and a piece of metal placed in between to cause the coin to always land on the same side. These simple games, which originally were played by children and others as pastimes, in fact gave rise to cheating and even more dangerously addiction, leading to violence.

Archaeological evidence indicates that gambling, although outlawed or at least legally curtailed, in fact was pervasive. A large number of gaming tables have been found; they are scratched on floors of porticoes, baths, basilicas, and other flat surfaces. These tables are seen on steps and even in the Temple of Vesta after paganism was outlawed. As expected, they were common in military barracks throughout the Roman world. Although he continued the ban on gambling, the emperor Augustus was known to be an avid dice player. He was said to be an honest and open gambler who seemed to enjoy the company that playing dice allowed. He played not only during the Saturnalia when it was legal but also on other feast days. He was known to be liberal in his giving gifts to all; in other words, Augustus did not really care to win the money but rather to have the fun. Of course, as emperor he could do this. Opposite to this view was Horace’s view that the young men no longer did hunting and riding but rather pursued gambling, which was forbidden by law. Roman authors, such as Cicero and Juvenal, report incidence after incidence when the gambler not only continues his vice but also goes back to it again even when fined. The early emperors were criticized for turning the palace into a gambling den, such as when Caligula did to raise needed money. Claudius reportedly had a special carriage made with a gambling table for him and his guests on their journeys; the list goes on. While they gambled, it is probably doubtful that they were to the debauchery written since most of the examples were of the so-called “bad emperors,” that is, these were individuals that were easy targets for authors to show how evil they were.

The rule against gambling appears mainly for dice and other games played by individuals. There seems to have been allowed or at least not as actively prohibited the ability to gamble at the circus. Like modern horse races, the ancient circus races allowed for several races during the day and the possibility of the laying bets on multiple races. The spectator bet on a faction, one of the four, and on the driver, not the horse(s).

For the average Roman gambling was a way of life. Whether the individual gambled, it was nevertheless a constant place. Instead, it was clear that the population had the ability to gamble and wage their luck.

See also: *Housing and Community*: Crime; Public Dangers; *Recreation and Social Customs*: Adolescent; Brothels; Circus Racing; Games; Leisure

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GAMES

This entry is concerned with games individuals might engage in and not the public games or circus races. Every society has some types of games to keep people, especially children amused, and the Romans were no different. The games ranged from outdoor physical types to games of chance and skill.

Ball games, usually played outside, were played in such places as the Campus Martius or even in the baths in a room called the *sphaeristerium* from the Greek word *sphaira* meaning ball, where even a professional, trained in sports, was available for instruction. The balls or *pilae* were made of pliable material such as feathers, hair, or seeds covered in leather. Some of the balls were like modern basketballs, filled with air, called *follis*. There were different size balls and different games. For example, a small ball was thrown where the rule was that the arm could not go above the shoulder. There were games in which two, three, four, or more players were involved. One game was called *urania*, meaning sky high, in which one player threw the ball up in the air as high as he/she could and either he or the others caught it. If they dropped it, then they would lose. This game is still played all the time by children either in groups or alone. A second game was called *aporraxis* or bounce ball in which one threw the ball at an angle on the ground and it bounced until the other person scooped it up with the score being the number of bounces.



Stadium of Domitian on Palatine Hill, Rome, Italy, 90 CE. The Romans enjoyed physical activities including games. In addition to ball games, physical activities, and exercises the Romans also played board games. The Stadium of Domitian, seen here, was a private exercise garden for the Emperor Domitian. (Ekaterinabelova/Dreamstime.com)

A favorite game was the *trigon* or three corners in which three individuals arranged themselves in a triangle and they threw three, four, or even six balls attempting to keep them going continuously. The point was to throw the balls as fast as possible and keep it up without dropping them. While they stand close together to keep the balls moving, it was more a form of juggling; it is probable that variations occurred as in all games. A game from Sparta was played in which a person was allowed to catch a ball between two lines, if they failed to catch the ball in between the lines they lost, a variation of the modern dodge ball. Another game, *harpastum* was also played by a large number of people. Again, like dodge ball the players would act as if they were going to send it to one but instead threw it to another. The *korykos* was more of exercise than a game. Here a large bag filled with sand or other material hung from the ceiling to about the waist and the individual had to keep the bag moving faster and faster with his hands and body like tether ball. While many of these games were played by children, they were also played by young adults and in some cases by older individuals, especially to maintain strength and pass the time.

To these ball games may be added the regular games of exercise such as tag or blind man's bluff. These games were familiar to all society and allowed children

to run and play about burning off excess energy and presumably keep occupied. Another type included a game called King, *Rex*. In this game an individual was chosen king and all had to do whatever he said. The idea being that the king would have them do all types of shenanigans. If the others did not do what the king said, the king would get to punish them. These games again allowed children to occupy some of their spare time.

There were games that could be used for gambling. Dice was the most common. To play one needed a dice box or *fritillus*, a board or *abacus*, *alveus*, or *alveolus*, and either knucklebones, *tali*, or dice *tesserae*. Knucklebones were four sided, two broad and two narrow with rounded ends. Each of the four sides was distinctive, plain, convex, concave, and twisted with corresponding names and a number, 1, 3, 4, and 6, respectively. They were not marked, however. When thrown the *tali* should land on one of the four sides, although occasionally, and causing much debate, the *tali* might land on the rounded end and roll over, which was supposed to be a non-throw. The player would throw his four *tali* and if each one showed a different side, then it was called a Venus or a Royal. In other words, scoring was not on the basis of the total points. The lowest throw, all ones, was called the Dogs or Four Vultures; a throw of six points was also bad. When gambling, the player who threw the Dogs would put a large sum in the pot and whoever threw a Venus would win the pot. Other games were also played using the *tali*. The ancient dice had six sides like the modern counterpart and was numbered one to six. It appears that the player never threw more than three dice at a time and the highest, the Venus, was three sixes. Usually in gambling the dice was used instead of the knucklebones when the stakes were high.

Another game with dice was called *duodecim scripta* meaning Twelve Lines. The game is assumed to have been played the following way. There were two rows of 12 squares, the bottom numbered 1 through 12, the top 13 through 24 with 1 and 24 opposite and 12 and 13 the same. The two players, each with different colored counters, moved their 15 pieces, one starting from 1 and moving to 24, the other from 24 to 1. The player would throw three dice and move the pieces with corresponding numbers. If the enemy had one piece on the square and the thrower landed on it, the enemy's piece would be sent back to their starting square. If the enemy had two pieces on a square, the thrower could not occupy it. This reconstruction is only hypothetical since there does not exist any rules that have survived. Another game, much more complicated, was *latrunculi* or robbers or soldiers. This game had a large number of pieces, one set of archaeological remains had 816 glass pieces and 16 bones, with the bones numbered and named. There was a board of unknown number of squares; and the pieces were used to move about as soldiers. There were three kinds of pieces, pawns who moved one square, forward or back, at a time; the rangers who could move freely in

any direction; and the home guard who could not move and defend the *mandra*. The object seems to have been to immobilize the *mandra* thereby capturing the enemy.

Depending on the economic and social background, the Romans played a variety of games from outdoor physical ball games to games of chance and luck, to games of skill. It is probable that most Romans played some kind of game and most likely they played all different kinds.

See also: Economics and Work: Public Works; *Family and Gender:* Childhood; *Recreation and Social Customs:* Baths; Circus Racing; Gambling; Hunts; Leisure; Sport

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GLADIATORIAL COMBAT

The gladiatorial contests became a regular part of Roman society. The origins are said to have come from the Etruscans and their funeral rites. According to Roman tradition, the Etruscans would have games and kill individuals at their funerals so that the slain would take care of the dead. This practice in turn gave rise to the gladiatorial contests held at funerals. The first recorded contest in Rome occurred in 264 BCE when two noblemen gave a contest with three pairs of gladiators in honor of their father. These were private games to honor private individuals held at a private funerals. Occasionally, the individual would leave in his will that gladiatorial contests be held at his funeral. From these origins the contests evolved into more public spectacles. At first they probably became more public in terms of funeral games in which a nobleman would stage them in honor of his father or other relative open to all. They then probably occurred as part of a festival in honor of some great victory or other deed. Finally, they began to be used for political means, to win favor with the crowd, for an election. This in turn gave rise to the requirement that certain magistrates, especially the *aediles*, provide and pay for gladiatorial combats. This office was often the first step for an individual as he climbed the magistrates' ladder. If he was successful

in giving games, he might be remembered and elected to that of *praetor* or even *consul* (although rarely).

The contests were originally held in the forum or the circus. The problem with both sites was that they did not provide the best view. The combats needed to be seen close up and in some way personal, which the large expanse of the forum or circus did not allow. The Romans then began to construct amphitheaters, or two theaters that were joined to create an oval arena with seating all around. These amphitheaters were at first constructed of wood. If the event was to be of great size with numerous pairs, then they might hold the contest in the circus. Ultimately, the Romans would build permanent stone amphitheaters throughout the Roman world. The most famous amphitheater was the Coliseum built by Vespasian and his son Titus. The Romans also exported their love for the gladiatorial contest throughout the west; it appears that the games were not as popular in the east.

The individuals who engaged in the gladiatorial combats could be from different ranks and status. There were occasional Roman citizens who fought in the arena. These individuals were not allowed to be condemned but could fight as



Gladiators on the Coliseum wall, Rome, Italy, ca. 80 CE. This scene shows the different types of gladiators that could compete in the arenas throughout the Roman world. The gladiatorial games were extremely popular and well attended. Many gladiators became popular heroes among all classes. (Pierre Jean Durieu/Dreamstime.com)

volunteers. They were called *auctorati*, which meant bound over and they received pay or *autoramentum*. These individuals often volunteered because their luck had run out and hoped to make out so that they could recover their fortune. If an individual was captured in times of war becoming a slave, he might become a gladiator as well. If his prowess was successful, he might be able to gain his freedom. Sometimes an individual would earn his freedom and continue to fight; this would allow the individual to earn money so that he could make enough to survive. Another way an individual became a gladiator, and usually one in which there was no freedom, was to be spared death and sent to the arena after being convicted. This was the most common means that one became a gladiator after the wars of conquest ended in the early Empire.

The gladiatorial combats were popular throughout the Roman world. It would be incorrect to assume that it was only an Italian event; even in the Greek world gladiators were continually sought after and praised. Throughout the Roman world, especially in conjunction with the military camps, but not exclusively, the amphitheaters were very popular. From the far north of Britain to the hot deserts of North Africa, the arenas were a common component. While the modern public may dismiss the arenas as cruel and barbaric, they would merely be hypocritical given the blood sports that exist today. The gladiators were often seen as heroes to the common people. Apuleius records how Rufinus was always present at the gladiatorial exercises and watched in fascination the training of the gladiators; he, with pride, knew their names and histories too. Rufinus could recount their victories and their wounds. Many women would throw themselves at the gladiators and it was fashionable for the upper-class women, many of whom were married, to make themselves available to the gladiators. Often this was done for show, for no modest Roman women would ever embarrass herself or risk criminal action; rather they would like their friends and perhaps husband to be jealous.

What attracted the Roman to the arena was the excitement of the combat. In the late Roman Empire, the philosopher Augustine discussed how his student Alypius was originally addicted to the circus games in his youth. Augustine was able to “cure” him of this addiction and bring him back to sanity. Alypius, however, then went to Rome and while he prided himself on avoiding the arena, he was one day “kidnapped” by his friends who took him to the arena. Alypius remarked that he could withstand the event by closing his eyes. What he could not do, however, was close his ears and when he heard the crowd, the cheering, the excitement he was once again under the influence of the arena. He said that when one of the gladiators was felled he heard the crowd scream and on opening his eyes “drank in the savagery and did not turn away.” From then on he was hooked with the arena and would constantly return even without his friends.

The gladiatorial contests were popular with the people since they allowed the masses to be distracted. As time went on, especially under the Empire, the games became a way for the populace to be pacified. The public was able to relieve their frustrations and not cause rebellion. In many ways the games operated as modern day sporting events to curb the passion of the crowds away from public violence toward cheering their favorite athletes.

See also: Economics and Work: Public Works; Family and Gender: Funerals; Food and Drink: Dinner Party; Housing and Community: Public Structures; Recreation and Social Customs: Games; Gladiatorial Training; Hunts; Public Festivals at Rome; Religion and Beliefs: Private Worship

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GLADIATORIAL TRAINING

Gladiators fell into several classes. At the lowest were those condemned to die in the arena, they entered unarmed and were executed. These individuals, not properly called gladiators, were there for easy execution. Then there were the prisoners of war or other criminals not condemned to die outright, who had to fight to save himself; if successful in these engagements and survived, he could be discharged from the arena after three years and set free after five. Slaves might be then sold to the gladiatorial schools for service. This seems to have been the case of Spartacus. These individuals might be able to secure their freedom by exceptional service

in the arena. Then there were the volunteers. These were free men who due to circumstances agreed to become a gladiator for a certain amount of time and were then able to leave the practice. This individual did this act for economic gain; often after he had incurred debts and instead of bankruptcy and the possible civil courts, he might sell himself into the school. While the individual could win his “freedom” or a friend might buy his option, if he continued he would not lose his citizenship but would become *infamis*.

The applicant was probably examined to ensure that he would be successful, and upon becoming a recruit, he would take an oath to die for the school. The troop of gladiators was called a *familia* and the school that trained was called a *ludus*. Wealthy individuals created gladiator schools, since they were viewed as a good investment. During the early first century BCE, several large schools in Rome and Campania came up. Often politicians would not only hire the gladiators to fight but also provide security and even promote violence for elections. Several large schools created problems for the Romans. It was a large school in Campania in 73 BCE where Spartacus rebelled; Julius Caesar also had a school near Capua with over 5000 arms when it was disbanded in 49 BCE when Caesar attacked Italy and there was fear of them aiding Caesar. Afterward, the schools became much smaller since the Romans had learned that there was danger from having too many gladiators housed in one area. These large private schools lasted only into the early Empire, when the emperors realized that they could be used against them. Private schools were also disbanded in Rome, for certain, by Domitian’s reign. The imperial schools were then created in Rome; outside of Rome, the schools were either imperial or supervised and regulated by the imperial bureaucracy to ensure no competitors. In Rome, one school was on the Caelian Hill to train the *bestiarii* or fighters of wild beasts; three schools were located around the Coliseum; the most famous being the *Ludus Magnus* with smaller ones called the *Ludus Dacicus* and *Ludus Gallicus*. The *lanista* was the director of training in the schools and under him were business negotiators and other trainers.

The recruit, or *tiro*, would learn to fight by going through a series of instructions using a variety of means and weapons. Using a wooden sword, the recruit would train learning the vulnerable points on the body and how to recover from the enemy thrust. The purpose here was for the trainer to determine what kind of gladiator the recruit would be trained as. There were at least 16 different types of fighting. Some required expert horsemanship and chariot driving, while others required the ability to fight on foot, the most common. Some were heavy fighters requiring stamina while others were light armed requiring speed. The agile *retarius* was one of the most favorite. He was armed with a net and three-prong trident but had no armor. Since he fought bare headed he was recognizable, something that the Romans disapproved but made him popular with the masses.

The second stage of training focused on the specific type of gladiator one was going to be. This often involved ex-gladiators who had been outstanding in the arena and were able to use their survival skills to teach the new recruits. At this stage, the recruit used actual weapons. The archaeological remains show that these schools had seating around the practice ring; it is probable that spectators, perhaps individuals either interested in hiring out some gladiators or general spectators, could watch the training. There are several instances in which authors report that young men would hang around the schools. The recruits who had never fought, the *tiro*, remained students until their first fight when they became veterans of the arena or *veterani*.

The individual's living conditions were not good. Excavations at Pompeii show that although the rooms were singles, they were small and cramped, only about 12 square feet. The food was probably simple fare, barley and beans, although they probably had enough to eat. Their training involved physical abuse and they were constantly beaten. In addition, most were criminals meaning that they suffered the same abuses as other criminals. These men were now trained for one thing, to fight and kill or be killed in the arena. And although they were now trained killers, the gladiators also had a certain type of camaraderie, one that allowed a *tiro* or *veterani* to be remembered by his colleagues.

From the remains at Pompeii it is clear that they officially worshipped Mars and Venus. Mars, since he was the god of war, and Venus, probably for hope and good luck. Indeed, the gladiators would often be followers of the cult of Fortune. The gladiators often viewed Nemesis, the frightening goddess, with respect; and shrines in and around the amphitheaters throughout the Roman world were dedicated to her.

When the gladiator had gone through their training and had fought in the arena, they appear to have been given some freedoms. For example, they do not appear to have been forced to stay in the barracks and had some freedom to move about. It is apparent that they were also allowed to marry; and some even had children. Inscriptions show that they had some semblance of a family life. Popular folklore had it that they were irresistible to women. From Pompeii there are inscriptions showing that they visited the brothels and inns; graffiti exist with some names with colorful attributes such as "Lord of the Dolls." Juvenal, perhaps reflecting on a real story, has mentioned a rich woman leaving her husband and children and eloping with a gladiator. In addition, some gladiators had children, probably since they were Roman citizens themselves who rose through the guards; one consul, Curtius Rufus, was said to be a son of gladiator.

The notices for the gladiatorial combat were posted with the day, time, types, and even names of those who were to fight. If some executions were to take place those details were posted as well. The night before the contest, the gladiators dined together but as Plutarch relates they had little interest in food and were more

concerned with making preparations for their death. This would include of course the taking care of family members, burial plans, dispositions of property. Some of course did not make it past the last dinner as in the late Empire when 20 Germans, instead of fighting in the arena for sport, strangled each other. The training of gladiators ended with the fight, an event seen by most Romans and eagerly anticipated. Most Romans had the knowledge of what it took to be a gladiator and desired only to watch, not be a participant.

See also: Politics and Warfare: Military Weapons; Soldiers' Training; Recreation and Social Customs: Games; Gladiatorial Combat

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HUNTS

Hunts can be described as both the pastoral setting and the gladiatorial combats. They were both feats of skill and strength. The pastoral hunts were ancient and practiced by all cultures. These hunts could be for pleasure or necessity. The necessary hunts often involved the killing of animals viewed dangerous for society. Typically, these animals would be wolves, bears, boars, or lions. Often the wolves (or other dogs) or lions (and other large cats) would kill domesticated animals such as sheep or goats. The rural inhabitants would then gather and embark on a hunt, usually accompanied by dogs, to track and kill the animal. These hunts were often dangerous since the animal could turn at any moment and attack the hunters. There were numerous legends of these hunts, such as Hercules and the Nemean Lion. The second type of pastoral hunt was the one undertaken by wealthy individuals as a sport. While the sport was dangerous, it allowed the Roman elites the thrill of the hunt. Armed with spears or javelins, the hunters, usually young, would often release a wild animal and then have their dogs track it. This is reminiscent of the modern fox hunt. More common were the wild boar hunts. These were vicious animals that if one missed could kill quite readily with their tusk. There were other types of pastoral hunts. It was common for the Romans to hunt deer and other animals for food. Mosaics show that the Romans hunted with hawks or falcons.

The common form of hunting was to drive the game, especially rabbits, into nets so that they could be captured and used for food.

Traditionally, it was thought that the Romans did not hunt for pleasure until their conquest of Greece. This came about during the 19th century CE when scholars viewed that hunting on horseback was the only type of hunting one could enjoy. They based their view that the Romans did not hunt previous to Scipio Aemilianus based upon Polybius' account of Scipio's hunting activities. This view has been discredited since Cato, Plautus, and Ennius who wrote before Polybius indicate that hunting was common and had been since antiquity. While again it was an aristocratic sport, it was also used to prepare the military and to obtain food. Young men would use their skills in hunting to hone their ability on stealth and accuracy.

By the late Republic, hunts were common for the elites and individuals in the imperial family and senators enjoyed them as a pastime. The true hunter, like the Emperor Trajan who was praised by Pliny, was one who did not hunt after transported animals who had been caged, and perhaps already wounded or even domesticated. Instead the true hunter would chase over the lands hunting for wild animals. Other authors indicated that the hunting parties of the wealthy were really shams. Here, the slaves did the hard work of tracking and pursuing the beasts and then cornering them so that the wealthy could then kill them. There was an interesting disconnect between different authors. Sallust viewed hunting as a slavish pursuit, not worthy of an individual. Centuries later, Symmachus wrote that hunting was actually a noble pursuit; the antlers and tusks were hung proudly on the walls rather than pursuing literary works, which bred soft living. He further stated that young men should not play dice or the ball but rather hunt.

All of these types of pastoral hunts were meant to provide the Romans, either through structured or ad-hoc experiences, the opportunity for food and pleasure. Many of the hunts were done by peasants trying to survive, either by eliminating threats or for food. Other hunts were done by elites trying to hone their skills or more likely for pleasure. Other hunts included the need for furs. Furs, especially in the north, were used for warmth and protection. The Romans continued to hunt animals for fur creating a lucrative trade and business.

The hunts in the games were probably the most common way a Roman would see many of the beasts. There were two different types. The first was the battle between two beasts, an elephant versus a bull or a tiger versus a bear. The second was a fight between man and beasts. The man or *bestiarii* (or *venatores*) was usually armed only with a knife or spear. The hunter, often a criminal, although one could be a professional gladiator, attempted to not only stay alive but show his prowess in the arena. The hunters were often organized in groups and hunted several animals. In one mosaic from North Africa, it is seen that 10 hunters are going after six leopards. Although they will probably be victorious, it is clear from the



Mosaic, hunting scene, Merida, Spain, third century CE. Roman culture glorified the hunt and numerous art pieces and literary examples attest to it. For the Romans it was viewed as a rite of passage from boyhood to manhood. Wealthy Romans would often stage hunts where caged animals were released and chased by dogs allowing the hunters to easily kill the prey. (Jarcosa/Dreamstime.com)

mosaic that some of the hunters will not survive. These hunts were not as glamorous as the gladiatorial combats; as such the hunters were rarely the freemen of the arena. The *bestiarii* were usually convicts who were trained in the *ludus bestiarius*. Like the gladiators, some of those trained became famous for the hunt and were successful like Carpophorus during Domitian's reign who once killed 20 animals in one contest; or when using a spear he killed a boar, bear, lion, and from a distance a leopard. On the other hand Seneca relates how a German committed suicide rather than to fight in the arena with a beast. The Emperor Commodus was known to be an excellent marksman who used the bow and arrow to shoot at a fast running ostrich, or used the spear to kill a leopard that had attacked and bitten another hunter. He was said to have killed 100 lions in one contest with 100 arrows. Whether the stories are true or not, it is clear that the hunts in the arena were popular.

While the hunts could be dangerous for the combatants, spectators were surprisingly safe. The *bestiarii* were usually trained well enough not to miss their mark in the arena. A more dangerous situation occurred when the animals fighting

against men created havoc. During the great games of Pompey the Great, 18 elephants were pitted in the arena and during the combat they charged at the iron railing separating the arena from the crowd and nearly caused a riot due to fear. Caesar prevented this from happening when he arranged for his games in 46 BCE by having a canal 10-feet deep and wide dug to separate the arena from the crowd.

While the circus races were popular, the hunts did come in close behind. In Syria, not Rome, the hunts were considered even more popular than the races. There were some such as Plutarch and Cicero, who protested against the hunts as they were cruel, but it is clear that most Romans enjoyed the hunts.

See also: Arts: Polybius; *Recreation and Social Customs:* Games; Gladiatorial Combat; Leisure; Sport

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LEISURE

The Roman concept of leisure, or *otium*, had different visions depending upon the class and social status of the individual(s). For the elite, leisure meant more than just the absence of work; it meant doing other constructive intellectual activities rather than indulging in political and legal matters. Whereas work for the elite meant dealing with the public, especially matters in the Senate, and commanding armies or governing provinces; leisure meant the time to pursue philosophy, writing, and tending the farms not just lying around doing nothing. Vacations were meant for traveling for educational, business, or family matters. They were not meant to be taking time off and just sitting around. Leisure, *otium*, is a rather ambiguous idea since it could mean retirement, not doing regular work but pursuing intellectual pursuit, or disreputable things. *Otium* could therefore have a positive connection of giving oneself over to intellectual work or it could be negative meaning licentious.

For the Romans, the idea of leisure required the individual to acknowledge and follow their class or social standing. Elites could have leisure provided it was not pursued in the scope of idleness. For the elite, leisure meant that the individual would not waste his time doing frivolous things or nothing. Of course, the crucial decision on what is frivolous and not, depended upon the time and individual. During the Republic, leisure allowed the individual to retreat from the

city and visit one's estates and enjoy life but always with a purpose. Here the individual would tend the estate, making sure that the farm was properly run. While they might become involved in some back-to-nature work, the individual would often more than not pour over the accounts to make sure his farm was productive. Hence, the wealthy senator might help his steward purchase, transport, and set up an olive press understanding how it worked. While the steward probably thought or wished his master would have stayed in Rome and left him to do the work in half the time, the senator truly wanted to get involved since it was something he did not do every day. Leisure would come from the fact that they were not doing their normal day-to-day activities in the city such as being involved in the courts or Senate house. What allowed this leisure to occur was the fact that the wealthy

could rely on a large supply of cheap labor that did their work to support them and create wealth. The idea of leisure ensured that the elites could enjoy the working labor of the lower class. The group that enjoyed leisure was the upper class.

The hallmark here was not to waste one's time in pursuits outside of their class, but rather to get back to the legendary life, even if it was unrealistic or had never existed. The story of Cincinnatus plowing his field and being approached by some senatorial colleagues to accept the Office of Dictator during a time of crisis was an example of this legendary pastoral idea. While a senator did not normally do manual labor, the myths of Rome tied them to the soil. Owning land was crucial and the senator needed to make



Roman fresco, Spring, Flora picking flowers, first century CE. The Romans viewed idyllic scenes of pastoral life as the fulfillment of rest or leisure. Here the representation of Spring, Flora, is picking flowers in a field presenting a calm and serene view. (Roman art: Spring, Flora picking flowers. Fresco from the villa of Varano in Stabiae, near Pompeii. 15 BC–60 AD. National Archaeological Museum, Naples, Italy)

sure that he could reconnect to his land. Cato would continue this philosophy by writing a manual on how to set up a farm and run it. Since he was a senator, this practice followed the idea of leisure or in this case a country gentleman. The leisure time had to be of short duration involving *tempermentia*, which meant that it was not to be the normal way of life. While the farm was noble, the actual manual labor was not. During the Republic, the elite was expected to undertake leisure but not at the expense of the public good, that is, the working of the state. Cicero argued that *otium* was to be safeguarded by the state to ensure that people were safe from war and to follow their own aims. Again, the idea here was for leisure to be a distraction from everyday life but that the state would still be enriched.

The elite never believed that the middle class or poor could enjoy leisure since these individuals did not have the capacity to understand what it meant to be free from the worries of everyday life. This paternalistic view of course did not really indicate the true visions of reality. Many of the middle-class and poor enjoyed leisure as well but not on the terms of the upper class. Instead, for them leisure might actually mean not working, and rather spending some time in an idle life. This might mean going to the circus to cheer for their favorite driver or team, or the gladiatorial games to witness a combat between gladiators or beasts, or the theater to see a comedy performance. While the wealthy may not have believed these activities were leisure, the lower and middle class viewed it as time away from their mundane life.

Leisure for all individuals comes in a variety of ways. For the poor leisure would often rise to the level of escaping the horrors of their harsh and mundane lives. In Rome, during the late Republic and into the Empire, this often meant the bread and circus. The literary evidence is bent in favor of the wealthy; leisure meant intellectual pursuits away from the political and business life of the city. For them leisure meant bettering their mind and pursuing new activities.

See also: Recreation and Social Customs: Pleasures; Retirement; Travel; Vacations

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MUSIC AND DANCE

One of the major differences between the Greek and Roman world was centered on the importance of music and dance. For the Greeks, music and dance were just as important as physical exercise. The Greeks believed that music and dance allowed the human spirit to be harmonious with the body; music and dance allowed the body and mind to be synchronized. The Romans on the other hand did not hold music and dance in such high regard. Traditionally, music and dance were not seen as one of the hallmarks of a youngster's education. Professional musicians were held in low esteem during the Roman Republic, since they were seen as entertainers and not artists.

During the second century BCE, when Roman generals returned home from Greece, they brought back the Greek ideas of music and dance. This does not mean that the Romans did not have music, they did, and it was originally based on the martial exercises or the rural settings. The Romans did not, however, create the patterns that the Greeks did. The traditional Roman, for example, Cato the Elder, did not approve of this Greek importation. Cato publically railed against Greek music and dance as effeminate and immoral, but the arrival of Greek culture was too strong to be stopped. Schools of dance were opened, but not all Romans who were philhellene, like Scipio Aemilianus, opposed the new schools. He viewed them as an improper display of the body. The singing and dancing were not what their ancestors believed in. Even in the late Empire, the philosopher Libanius was annoyed by the fact that his students were not interested in his lectures and works but rather in the latest songs.

These objections did not work. Within one generation, singing and dancing was popular and was commonplace. These then became essential skills for the young nobleman and woman. By the time of Empire, the philosophers were even saying that it was important for the youth to know how to sing and dance; so much had changed in only 200 years. The fulfillment of the music and dance could be seen in the Emperor Nero who was not unique. He had a passion for both and would continue to fancy himself an expert.

Music was usually used in military, theatrical, and religious events, and at public and private ceremonies being a crucial part of each event. A late Roman philosopher Boethius wrote a work that was merely a compilation of current and previous ideas called *De Institutione Musica*. He broke down the ideas of music into three components, Music of the Universe, Music of Human Beings, and Instrumental Music.

Music performances in the theater became more popular. A special theater for music was the Odeon, which was a roofed theater, usually of made up of wood, allowing for the event to be more acoustically pleasing. During the Empire, it

was common for the musicians to organize themselves into guilds to gain some respectability and security. It was not uncommon for these guilds to compete with one another for parties and theatrical events. Music allowed the masses to understand events since most Romans were illiterate. Putting words to music, especially in a harmonious way, allowed for the ideas to be received and remembered more easily. Music was a crucial part of the religious life of the Romans for it allowed the crowd to be called and quieted during the event and allowed for the pronouncement of the sacrifice. The music also allowed the priests to not be distracted by the crowd and create a soothing environment. At the arena, whether circus racing or gladiatorial events, the procession was often accompanied by music to allow an orderly fashion starting with the organizer and then the athletes.

To help accompany these events, the Romans used a variety of musical instruments. There were horns, trumpets, lyres, and even more complicated instruments such as a *hydraulis*. The Romans created the *hydraulis* or air hydraulic organ, a keyboard and pipe instrument. Air was pumped into the instrument and the keyboard allowed for the air to be channeled through the pipes creating sound. It was later replaced by bellows for more efficiency. In addition to musical instruments, the Romans had choirs, orchestras, and ensembles. Music became part of the wealthy family's banquets. Although there are samples of musical notations, they cannot be read.

Dancing was likewise seen as discreditable by the early Roman traditionalists. It was originally seen as part of exercise, which mimicked the human body. The early dances were also gymnastics and were often set to music. The Roman dance was often more in line with rhythmic movement. The Romans adopted the Greek dance known as the pyrrhic, which was probably invented by the Spartans and was used for training the military. Julius Caesar introduced the pyrrhic dance in the Roman games when boys and girls of the leading families of Asia and Bithynia performed the rites. The dances were admired by the Romans; and they were continued to be performed in Rome under the Empire. There were other dances besides the pyrrhic dance in which the participants danced with military arms. In addition to these martial dances there were more rhythmic dances in imitation to the Bacchanal processions. Many of these dances are represented on the wall paintings in Pompeii and Herculaneum. The Roman dances were mainly associated with the religious festivals and rites. The *Salii* dances from the patrician families who danced in celebration of Mars on March 1, during which they struck their shields with rods to keep proper time with voice and dance, again were viewed as religious and martial and therefore accepted. With the exception of these dances associated with religion and war, Roman citizens were originally not permitted to dance.

A more artistic dance was the pantomimes, which was more like a modern ballet. The actors did not speak on stage but rather conveyed all aspects through motion. The pantomimes became very popular during the late Republic and early Empire. The pantomimes mimicked aspects of life with great exaggeration that amused the audience. These dances became extremely popular under Augustus and they spread throughout the Roman world. The average Roman enjoyed seeing these events; and they became so popular that to keep the pretense of morals the Emperor Tiberius, Augustus's successor, forbade senators from visiting them and *equites* could only attend their performance at the theater. Most individuals were probably associated with dance and music, especially in the countryside where they remained popular and common.

See also: Arts: Drama; Performing Arts; *Economics and Work:* Public Works; *Recreation and Social Customs:* Musical Instruments; Theaters and Odeon

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MUSICAL INSTRUMENTS

The musical instruments that the Romans had and used were varied. While their use may not have been as extensive as in other ancient societies, namely, the Greeks, the Romans did have instruments for a variety of different settings. In addition, the Romans would contract with non-Romans for professional dancers and musicians for parties and entertainment. There are papyri that show the business arrangements where the contractor would specify the number of performers and the number and type of performances.

The Romans used brass instruments to signal people, especially in public areas such as military matters, public entertainment, games, and celebrations. These instruments came from the Etruscans. The names tend to be Latin indicating that for the most part these were native instruments and not adopted from the Greeks. One of the instruments was the *lituus*, which was a horn that had a straight piece and small curved bell. It did not have valves or keys and was probably similar to a bugle where the individual used his own body to vary the tone. One instrument found was about 5 feet long.

Another long instrument was the tuba, which had a detachable mouthpiece. The tuba was long and straight and came from the Etruscans. It was originally used for military signaling and dates from about 500 BCE. The *cornu* or horn was about 3 feet long and braced by a bar for support and curved in the shape of a large G, which could rest on the shoulder. It was probably used for military matters and was powerful for calling men to action such as troop assembly or fire brigades. It was also used for announcing the games and gladiatorial combats. In military matters the *cornu* was used to signal the troops through a series of coded blasts. The late Roman author Vegetius wrote that in the military actions, the trumpet, another brass instrument, was blown for attack or retreat in battle and when troops were to man or relieve outposts.

The Romans had wind instruments. The Greek *aulos*, Latin *tibia* was a V-shaped instrument. Where the two pipes joined was the mouthpiece. It could also exist as a single pipe. Some view it as a flute. This is inaccurate; it was more like a clarinet. There appears to be several versions of the *aulos*. These instruments had reeds, some even double reeds like an oboe. The different varieties allowed for different sounds from a shrill to a deep sound. The ancients had a flute, the *oblique tibia*. The *plagiaulos* (Greek), *oblique tibia* (Latin) was like the modern flute; it was a transverse flute. It was also probably Etruscan in origin. The *syrinx* (Greek), *fistula* (Latin) is more commonly referred to as the Pan pipes made famous from the mythological satyr. The *fistula* had a number of possible reeds or pipes joined together, four, six, nine, or ten with six being the most common. The musician would blow across the top producing the various sounds needed. While the Greek *syrinx* had pipes of equal length, the Roman *fistula*, taken from the Etruscans had pipes of various lengths. The Romans used it for indoor parties and banquets. Although known in the Roman west, the *askaules* was not readily adopted. The *askaules* was like a bagpipe; it had a pipe that was held to the mouth, but the air was produced by a bag held under the armpit.

String instruments were also used. An instrument probably not used in professional settings in the Odeon was the lute, or a guitar-like instrument. Although the term is from the Middle Ages it appears to have been used in nonformal settings. It had three strings and long neck. The other string instruments were like a harp. There was the large instrument, the *epigonion*, which had 40 strings of varying length that gave different tones. There are rough depictions on pottery and some authors give a brief description, but the actual picture of it does not survive. The instrument was introduced from Egypt and was played with both hands like a harp. The major string instruments were the lyre and kithara. The lyre is one of the most universal instruments seen throughout the world. It may be seen as a portable harp, which had various numbers of strings. There could be four, seven, nine, or more strings. The lyre was plucked with a pick or plectrum. It appears that the lyre was



Statue of Muse, Roman era. The Romans celebrated festivals with music and held the muse Aoide or later Erato in high regard. As this statue shows, one of the major musical instruments was the string lyre. The Romans also had wind and percussion instruments. (Asier Villafranca/Dreamstime.com)

then smack or pound the skin producing sound. For deeper and louder sounds, one would create a drum. Drums were made by stretching a hide or leather over a bowl or hollowed out vessel. The bowl could be covered at one end or both, which allowed it to produce various sounds. A smaller and popular percussion instrument was the castanets. These are small metal concave disks that make a sound when clapped them together.

While the Romans may not have made music one of their highest art forms, they nevertheless used it in public and private settings. The use of music extended from private parties to public affairs. It was an important part of the dinner party and the state religion.

See also: Arts: Performing Arts; *Recreation and Social Customs:* Music and Dance

used more in personal and not professional settings. It was often used at dinner parties. A more professional harp was the kithara, which was larger than the lyre and appears to have had only seven strings. It was used in entertainment such as dances, plays, dinner parties, and appears to have been used by professionals. It was especially used during the public recitation of poems and speeches. A harp that was used sparingly by the Greeks but more so by the Romans, was the *barbiton*, which was at the lower range having long strings. It was used at parties and performances.

The Romans also had percussion instruments such as drums. One common instrument was the tympani, or tambourine. This was created by stretching leather tightly over a frame, usually round. The individual would

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PLEASURES

Pleasures or pastimes in ancient Rome took a variety of forms depending upon the social class and the setting. These forms could be seen in noble pursuits and activities suiting ones heightened political position or background; while others might see it as mere survival. For example, the wealthy would view the pleasure of the hunt to be crucial for their social development and education. The poor viewed it as a way to obtain extra food. Hunting was a favorite pastime of the wealthy nobles, especially the youth and allowed it to take place due to their leisure time. Hunting was seen as a noble sport; it was recorded, like in modern times, with the antlers, tusks, and heads mounted on the walls. Many authors viewed hunting as a nonsport since most of the work was done by the slaves who accompanied the hunter with the hunter actually doing very little. But others argued it was a pleasure that was important for the wealthy nobleman or even soldiers. Unlike the common man, who needed to hunt for food and survival, the wealthy did it for fun and pleasure.

Fishing was also a pleasure pursued by the wealthy. Like hunting, the rural poor undertook it for survival; fishing was done as a living by the poor and middle class. Like today, fishing was done for pleasure, giving someone time to relax and yet procure own food. The adventure for fishing was again the thrill of the challenge. Martial talked about the luxurious pleasure of fishing when he described the villa at Formiae where one could fish not only from their bedroom but even from the bed. Pliny the Younger had a villa on Lake Como and was said to enjoy the same amenities. Of course, fishing led some to expend great amounts of money for nothing. Cicero told the story of the Roman *equites*, Canius, who was enamored with a piece of property near Syracuse owned by a banker named Pythius; Canius was invited to dinner by Pythius who showed him his stretch of land near the bay

full of fishermen with one presenting a large fish for them. Canius bought the land and the next day was amazed to see no one fishing, when he asked his new neighbor why there were no fisherman, the man laughed saying no one fished there since it was a waste of time with no real chances for catching anything; in fact, he was surprised by all the boats the day before. Like modern fishermen, some will do anything and spend anything for the best spot, even if it does not exist.

Another form of pleasure reserved for the wealthy was sailing or boating. There was the possibility of taking a cruise down or up river instead of using the roads. This was seen as a more leisurely way to travel and one avoided the unpleasant and dangerous roads in a relaxed setting. During the first century CE, in Egypt a papyrus mentions how a party of travelers sailed the Nile and local canals for nine days from Alexandria upstream to Oxyrhynchus. Since the journey took more time than usual and since they stopped at places on both sides of the Nile and took baths on at least five of the days, it seems to have been connected with a vacation. In the late Empire, Ausonius describes a journey on the Moselle where he remarked how beautiful the scenery was and how he enjoyed swimming after taking a hot bath. Opposed to these seemingly enjoyable acts was the experience related by Horace when Maecenas, Virgil, himself, and others were supposed to take a pleasure cruise to relax in 37 BCE. At one point they went to Feronia to take in the hot baths but unfortunately went through the Pomptine Marshes at night and were attacked by mosquitoes and other bugs as well as noise from frogs and the bargemen; he later had to apply ointment to his eyes due to the inflammation suffered on the boat trip; it was clearly not a pleasurable trip.

Other authors describe sailing on yachts as well as watching boating races, both at sea and inland. The most famous of the pleasure cruises involved the wealthy and powerful. Cleopatra supposedly seduced Antony on one of these cruises in the Mediterranean and authors relate how they sailed on the Nile instead of dealing with affairs of the state. Caligula built immense ships to sail on Lake Nemi. These ships were outfitted with mosaics, baths, heated floors, and technology that rivaled any modern cruise ship. They seem to have been constructed to celebrate Isis. The ships were floating palaces and had all aspects of the opulent lifestyle of the emperor. The ships allowed Caligula to move his palace away from Rome without losing the amenities. These ships were large; the largest was 350 feet long by 70 feet wide while the next was 179 by 26. The ships were sunk after Caligula's assassination to wipe out his memory. Lake Nemi was known for its clear air and water and became a favorite retreat for the wealthy. Nero was known to travel down the Tiber to Ostia or around the Bay of Naples where he would enjoy himself with dinners and other pleasures.

Hunting, fishing, and sailing can be seen as pastimes or pleasure activities for the wealthy. While the poor did undertake hunting and fishing for survival; the

pleasure activity was confined for the wealthy. Needing either large amounts of territory for hunting or boats or ideal coastal spots for fishing and cruising, these pastimes required not only wealth but also time. What made pleasures or pastimes feasible was the freedom from the mundane life of existence. The poor urban inhabitants did not have the time and energy to engage in these pastimes. Pleasure was therefore for the rich and idle in Rome.

See also: *Food and Drink*: Banquets; Delicacies; Dinner Party; Rural Elite Diet; State Banquets; Urban Elite Diet; *Recreation and Social Customs*: Adolescent; Hunts; Music and Dance

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PUBLIC FESTIVALS AT ROME

The public festivals in Rome during the Republic had their roots in religion. Beginning from small celebrations they would ultimately grow by the end of the Empire to comprise a plethora of events and spectacles. Originally, the festivals, *feriae*, were held in honor of select divinities. Festivals were only held on odd days and with the exception of March 1 and July 5 none earlier than the *nones* of the month (either the 5th on short months and 9th on the long months). While on the day of festival, the *nefastus*, no legal business could be conducted, it is hard to assume that the daily life of the city stopped. Rather the local businesses continued, and life moved on in normal ways. True the political world may have halted, but most of Rome did not engage in politics. Originally, these festivals were clearly connected with the agricultural life of the Romans. By the time of late Republic, however, this connection had been reduced. There were 58 such festivals by the time of Pompey's victory in the east, nearly two months.

Often associated with festivals were the games or *ludi*. These days were originally associated with generals and their vow to win a battle or conquer some other disaster. For example, the *ludi Apollinaris* in 212 BCE was held to

stop Hannibal; and four years later it was held for protection over pestilence; the games were then celebrated each year on July 13. The games were then extended to three days and ultimately by the end of the Republic to eight, lasting from July 6–13.

By the end of the Republic, games were played for 57, one less than the festivals. The month of April was almost completely given over to games. The *ludi Megalenses* or *Megalensia* in honor of the Great Mother or Cybele lasted seven days from April 4–10. A day break separated these from the celebrations to Ceres, the *ludi Cerialis* or *Cerialia*, which occurred from April 12–19, eight days. There was then a break for eight days followed by the *ludi Florales* from the April 28–May 3. This was a month in which rest followed the hardships of winter and after the spring planting. The *ludi Apollinaris* were in July (6–13); and then in September the first of the great festivals, the *ludi Romani* from 5 to 19, which was instituted in 366 BCE. These games were held in honor of Jupiter. November saw the second of the great festivals the *ludi Plebei* or the Plebeian Games. They were held from 4 to 17, which were probably instituted in 216 BCE. These six sets of games clearly gave the Romans enough time for relaxation. During the chaos of the civil wars, more games and festivals were added. Sulla who defeated the followers of Marius instituted the *ludi Victoriae Sullae* for seven days from October 26 to November 1, just three days before the Plebeian Games. Although detested and spurned after his death, the games in honor of Sulla continued. Marius' nephew, Julius Caesar defeated his enemies, and the Senate to curry favor, instituted the *ludi Victoriae Caesari* for 11 days (no doubt to outdo Sulla) from July 20 to 30. The *ludi Romani* were even extended upon the death Caesar in his honor.

With the arrival of the Caesars and their empire, a whole new set of festivals and games were added. Most of these events were celebrated for the new emperor. These events were celebrations of birthdays, accession of the emperor, and the like. Unlike the Republic, where games were not celebrated on the day of festivals, under the Empire, new games were often celebrated on these festivals. For example, in 11 BCE the *ludi Augustales* were celebrated. His successor and stepson Tiberius increased them to 11 days from October 3 to 12. By the late Empire, the number of games days went from 57 to 177 days. Often during the Empire, some of the emperors tried to reduce the number of games, but usually this was to make room for their additions.

In modern views of the Roman festivals and games, it is often popularly associated with gladiator games and chariot races. During the Roman Republic, there were no public gladiator games during the festival or game periods. Rather these events appear to have been for the private consumption for the family and friends given in honor of the deceased. Rather the games during

the Republic had theatrical representations and circus racing. Most of the time, however, was given over to the theater. Usually, during the public games the theatrical presentations lasted for three days and the circus racing was there only on the last day of the games; the exceptions to this were during the *ludi Romani*, which lasted the final five days (of the 15) of the games. The *ludi Plebei* had the final three days (of the 14 days) and Caesar's Victory for the final four. Clearly, the idea that games had endless chariot racing was wrong. Chariot races were very expensive and hence it was not possible for the state, even during the times of the emperors to constantly be put on. Therefore, of the 77 days of games given under Augustus, 56 were for theatrical performances; by the late third century, of the 177 days given over to games, 101 were for the theater; during Augustus' reign there were 17 days of chariot races and by the third century 66 days.

The gladiatorial and hunts were not *ludi* but *munera* or shows. As seen, the gladiatorial contests had their origins in the religious life of the Etruscans. Originally, with the death of the Etruscan chief or king, the family would have individuals fight to the death. The Roman elites introduced them, either from Etruria or Campania, to honor their dead first at the funerals and then later after the funerals. The first occurrence was in 264 BCE in the Forum Boarium. Over time the number of shows increased, but usually in reference to honoring the dead. Julius Caesar put on shows in 65 BCE in honor of his father with 320 pairs of gladiators. The gladiatorial contests and hunts, however, were not common but rather given on special days by the emperor and not at the regular games or *ludi*. Augustus was known to give gladiatorial games eight times, nearly 10,000 gladiators fought. Titus, when he commemorated the opening of the Coliseum in honor of his father, gave 100 days of gladiatorial contests; Trajan with his conquest of Dacia celebrated 117 days of contests with 11,000 beasts and 10,000 gladiators fought. These shows were not associated with the games but probably were completely separate.

For the Roman populace, the festivals and games represent a connection with gods and the past. The Romans were able to celebrate both the religious and the secular celebrations with games and festivals. The public loved the festivals for like modern society they provided a break from the mundane existence.

See also: *Arts:* Drama; Performing Arts; *Economics and Work:* Public Works; *Family and Gender:* Funerals; *Food and Drink:* State Banquets; *Housing and Community:* Public Architecture; Public Structures; Town Planning; *Recreation and Social Customs:* Festivals Private; Games; Theaters and Odeon; *Religion and Beliefs:* Emperor Worship; Lupercalia; Private Worship; Sacrifices; State Religion; Temples

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RETIREMENT

The concept of retirement is as old as work. People long for a time in their life when they can relax from the constant toils of work. It is, however, usually just a dream. For the average worker the idea of retirement occurred only in the 20th century CE. Before that, retirement was either not possible or only possible for the wealthy and elites. Ancient Rome was no different. The average worker retired only when he died or had someone else to take care of him. Thus, majority of Romans did not retire. The elites had their own concept of retirement, which many today would not view as retirement.

Retirement meant that the individual was no longer active in his former career. For the Romans, at age 46 the man went from being a junior to a senior, in terms of voting. The man at this age also did not usually have to be called up for military service, although in times of crisis he was liable until the age of 50. It was at the age of 60 that one entered into a different life. He was exempt from jury service and during the time of Augustus a senator did not have to attend the regular meetings. It was often at that age that the lawyer realized that he was not in the best of shape to continually plead before the juries. The wise man would quietly “retire” from the public life and move to the private life. Instead of working in public, he would work in private, as a teacher or consultant. For the politician, he might be more interested in writing in areas such as philosophy, history, or polishing up his speeches for publication. The whole purpose of retirement was to move from the active hustle and bustle to the time of *quies* and *tranquillitas* or quiet and peace. It meant not being as engaged as previously. For politicians it was to be the time when they could relax. One politician who never saw this type of retirement was Cicero. He had achieved political heights by saving of the state in the conspiracy of Cataline only to be forced into exile for the execution of some of the conspirators in 58 BCE. He returned the next year and spent his time now under the First Triumvirate trying not to cause offence. By the time he was 60, he was not able to enjoy retirement, one in which he would be revered, to talk at the Senate house first, to be asked for advice. Shortly after turning 60, the state once again was put into chaos with Julius Caesar’s assassination and he withdrew or retired; although he would return like a lion to attack

Antony, it was short lived; the new triumvirs, Antony, Lepidus, and Octavian agreed to his murder.

Many of the emperors would state that they wanted to retire. Augustus would often complain about the amount of work and crises and would wish he could retire. Tiberius upon his accession indicated that he planned to retire; he had already spent five years in self-imposed retirement much to the consternation of his mother Livia and her husband Augustus. When Tiberius did become emperor, he was already past 60, and he spent the last 10 years on Capri in a self-imposed retirement to the disaster of the government. When Claudius became emperor he was asked to consider retirement by the governor of Dalmatia who wanted to rule; Claudius asked his council if he should do so, they said no. Nerva, fearing the army, adopted Trajan and in essence retired, even saying so much; he died before he could put his plan into action. While most emperors may have talked about retiring, only one emperor did so voluntarily: Diocletian in 305 CE.

Another type of retirement was exile. Originally, it was not a penalty for any kind of crime. Rather, exile was the term used when a Roman or Latin moved from their home city to another city. Since the Roman or Latin could not have two cities of residence, he would give up his home city and acquire the new city's residence. During the Republic, this movement was for business and personal reasons. During the third and second centuries BCE, the Roman might move to another city to avoid some kind of penalty. If he was threatened or proceedings had already started, he



Bronze statuette, *Larva convivialis: momento mori* or "Remember you must die," Rome, Italy, Roman. This rare memento shows a bronze skeleton given as a party favorite at a Roman feast. The Romans viewed retirement as the chance to move to a less hectic lifestyle. Many Romans, however, viewed retirement as the beginning of death; most individuals never had the chance to retire due to an absence of retirement funds. (Science Museum, London, Wellcome Images)

could leave Rome and go to another city ceasing to be Roman and therefore outside of the law. Hence, he could not be touched. The only thing that Rome could do was to prevent him from coming back to Rome and its territories. After the Social War in 90 BCE when all of Italy south of the Po River became Roman, it meant that if someone needed to escape the Roman law he would need to flee further afield, such as Milo went to southern France to Marseilles to avoid conviction.

Again, this type of retirement was only for the elites. One could not expect a commoner to flee the city, there was no need. For the elite who went into exile he either needed to have saved and salted away money perhaps in a distant land, such as what Cicero had done when he was governor of Cilicia, have friends who were willing to help him, or live on a smaller amount of money. The flight into exile was not only to leave the city with its political, social, and economic vitalities, it may also mean leaving behind one's family including wife and children. Although family members might accompany them into exile, they did not have to. During the Empire, exile took on a different meaning as this was a form of punishment, one that the emperor controlled and determined who could accompany him. For example, Ovid was exiled to the Black Sea and did not or could not take his wife with him.

During the Republic, there was no system of retirement that was regularized. Instead, the conquering generals would promise land and money to their soldiers. These gifts of lands would allow the state to set up colonies. During the Empire, retirement from public service, especially from the military could lead to a substantial bonus. The Praetorian Guard retired after 16 years duty, the legionnaire after 20, and the auxiliary served 25 years. The legionnaire whose salary was 900 *sesterces* received a bonus of 12,000 *sesterces*, 13 years' worth of salary. For the Imperial Guard it was even higher. Some soldiers, who knew nothing, would continue to serve for 30 or even 40 years.

For the Romans, retirement meant different things. By the late Republic, when one was growing too old to serve in the Senate and politics, he would often retire to his estate and pursue writing and relaxation. For the normal citizen retirement never came. It would have been impossible for them to retire since they did not have any kind of social security or expectations of saving.

See also: Recreation and Social Customs: Leisure; Pleasures; Travel

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SPORT

For the Roman youth, sports were a common part of life. From the beginning of their youth they would build toy houses, harness mice to carts, and ride a long stick like a horse (Horace). In other words, it was common for the Roman youth to behave like any other youth of any other time. While the youth might grow up, he did not abandon sports, rather, he became more sophisticated and perhaps dangerous, again like other times. The young were fond of horses and dogs (hunts) and general sports. Horace makes it clear that the Roman youths like to play sports and games in the Campus Martius along the Tiber River. Since the area was broad, flat, and large, the Roman youths could horse race, chariot drive, run, jump and play gymnastics, wrestle, box, and perform other manly arts.

The traditional Roman sports that were honored were hunting, riding, and competing in military arms. These sports, however, were viewed as the purview of the aristocracy since one needed to have money so that they could pay for the horses and dogs necessary for the hunts. The second category of sports was derived from the Greek east, namely the Olympic Sports. There were weights, ball games, and other exercises.

The riding of horses was viewed as an honorable pastime for the Roman. While a father might criticize his son for having too many expensive tastes with the horses, they nevertheless were seen as acceptable and tolerated. Horses below three years old were usually not raced, although some authors stated it was best to wait until they are five years old. During the Empire, the horses came from best places such as Spain and North Africa. In surviving lists of horse victors of known places, out of 71, 57 were from North Africa. Italy was also known for raising horses. Even today in Rome it is not uncommon for the mounted police to run their horses on the ancient circus tracks. Chariot driving was also a popular, albeit dangerous sport. The real chariot racers were professionals, while the Roman youth would often ride chariots as sport. One or two horses were used to ride the chariots; it was done in a noncompetitive fashion.

The Greek sports included a wide variety. A common sport was the typical running. Youths would hold race competitions probably to impress others, as today. In the great games, traditionally held in Greece, the race was originally held in the nude, but later it was required to have some clothing for modesty since women were spectators. The traditional races in the Pan-Olympic games were the *stadion* where they would race for 1 *stade* or 192 meters, about the length of running up and back on a football stadium. Then there was the 2 *stade*, and a longer distance run between 7 and 24 *stade*. These races would become common throughout the Ancient world. Another Olympic sport was the jump that the Romans practice. Jumping could either be the standing or the running jump. The athlete would often

use artificial means to jump; through the use of lead-weights-shaped dumbbell or an old fashioned telephone receiver, the athlete would run carrying one in each hand and jump. The weights would help him gain height and he would then push them to his back and drop them allowing him to go even further. The gymnastics were also played where the youths would engage in horseplay.

A favorite pastime was wrestling. While as a sport it was not as grueling as the Olympic event, it was still done the same way. The two players would attempt to throw each other to the ground landing on the hip, shoulder, or back. If one could pin his opponent three times, he would win. In competition it was forbidden to bite or grab his opponent's genitals; although it was permitted to break their fingers. Associated with wrestling was boxing. This was a harsh, grueling and dangerous sport. There were no rounds and one continued until the other was knocked out or capitulated. One could hit his opponent if he was down; the youths playing were probably not as vicious. There were no gloves, instead the boxer wrapped his hands and wrists with leather straps and kept the fingers free. A more peculiar dangerous and grueling sport that combined boxing and wrestling was *pankration*. Here, one was allowed to punch and did not have their hands wrapped like in boxing. Although no biting or gouging was allowed, kicking was permitted.

The young man was therefore trained to fight, since during the Republic, it was expected that the youth would fight in the army. Most of these sports were meant to ensure that the young men were prepared for battle. Another type of sport was the throwing of the javelin. The javelin was about 5 feet long and had a leather thong at the center of gravity for the fingers to increase its distance and accuracy. Associated with the javelin was archery. Young men would shoot the bow and arrow for accuracy and sport.

In addition to these martial sports there were others such as playing ball. After their exercise the young men would then go swimming in the Tiber River. Part of this was not only to engage in swimming contests but also to remove the oil, sweat, and dirt that had accumulated on the body after exercising.

During the early Empire, Augustus attempted to reestablish the idea of martial quality. He created the *Iuventus* or Youth Movement to ensure that the young aristocrats were trained in the military arts. He revived the *Lusus Troiae* or mock battle, which involved ceremonial riding, mock battles, and reforming the lines. The youths would be trained at school. In addition to regular academic pursuits, the youths would learn the sword. The *Iuventus* not only had public parade ceremonies, but they also competed in organized games such as ball sports. They might also play like gladiators, but they used only dummy weapons and of course did not kill.

These pastimes were actually confined to the elites. For the average Roman youth, they might engage in some sports such as running, wrestling, and ball

sports, but they were for the most part only casual. They were more apt to see the elites doing their sports, and perhaps, mocking them.

See also: Economics and Work: Public Works; Recreation and Social Customs: Circus Racing; Games; Gladiatorial Combat; Hunts

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SUMPTUARY LAWS

The Roman elites, in particular, the conservative branch of the Senate, attempted to control the ostentatious display of wealth and consumption among its citizens. These were most commonly enacted through the sumptuary laws of the mid-Republic and aimed particularly at women. In the period of the monarchy, laws were said to have been passed controlling these displays of wealth. When the Republic was established, the office of censor became responsible for maintaining these previous rules. As the Roman state expanded, its citizens came into contact with other societies, which allowed for more trade. As is common, the wealthy wanted to compete with one another; one way was by having the rarest or latest fashion fad. This in turn led to a more lucrative trade in rare objects that could be displayed. During the period before the Second Punic War, it was common for the censors to attempt to root out this abuse. Clearly, they had little success, since the Romans began to enact laws outlawing the display of ostentatious behavior. Given that the Romans had to enact laws, it is clear that the censors could not handle it case-by-case probably given the volume, and so other magistrates would be needed to be involved.

The first law was enacted during the Second Punic War. In 215 BCE, the tribune C. Oppius proposed; and the law was enacted that no women could have more than half ounce of gold. A woman could not wear clothes of different colors nor ride in a carriage in the city or nearby. The law was probably enacted during the war to prevent public opinion from being angered; if the common people had to endure hardships and deprivation, why should the wealthy be allowed to have wealth and treasures and show them publicly. After the war, the ban continued for a few years until women began to clamor for changes. It is conceivable that this pressure may have been due to the victories and the triumphs occurring.

After the law was repealed, the Roman conservative party attempted to reimpose the sumptuary laws. In 182 BCE, the tribune C. Orchius proposed the *Lex Orchia*, which limited the number of guests that an individual could have at a party. This law was supported by Cato who argued against the repeal of the law the following year. The idea here was to limit the number of guests so as to not create envy among those who could not participate. It was also a good political move to curtail the influence of the Phil-Hellenic group, which returned to Rome new ideas from the east that went against the old conservative ideas, such as lavish parties.

The Romans probably could not and even did not effectively enforce the new law since they seemingly attempted to impose new laws to curtail even more examples of ostentatious behavior. In 161 BCE, the Consul C. Fannius enacted a law that limited the sums that could be spent on entertainment. The law that followed a Senate decree limited the amount to 120 *asses* on certain festival days and 30 *asses* on 10 other days and 10 *asses* for the remainder. The law also said that only one hen could be served for dinner and it was not to be fattened up for the feast. The law also indicated that the number of guests could not exceed five for the stated festivals and three for the other days. When the price of food skyrocketed due to the foreign conquest and the inflation ensued, the prices stipulated ceased to be followed. Often the host would substitute fish for fowl in attempts to circumvent the law. In 143 BCE, the *Lex Didia* was passed, which extended the *Lex Fannia* to all of Italy. The law then made the guest also liable to the fines instead of just the host. It is unknown what the penalties were. Other extensions included the law by the consul M. Aemilius Scaurus in 115 BCE, which prohibited dormice, shellfish, or imported birds since they were all considered delicacies.

It is clear that the *Lex Fannia* was not being followed, in part due to the low prices set on entertaining, which effectively meant that no one could entertain for these sums. The praetor of 103 BCE, P. Licinius Crassus, brought forward a new law, the *Lex Licinia*, which doubled the amount for food for feast days such as wedding feasts; for other days, the amount of food should not exceed three pounds of fresh meat or one pound of salted. His law also probably fixed the price of certain wines. The dictator Sulla imposed the *Lex Cornelia* in 81 BCE because the previous laws again were not being followed. The laws again prohibited the ostentatious behavior at feasts and reinforced the ancient rules at funerals. His law also enacted a maximum price on certain delicacies. Of course, like the previous rules prohibiting or charging high prices on certain foods were outside the grasp of everyday Romans. From Cicero it appears that the law also attempted to limit the amount that individuals could spend on monuments. Clearly, these laws had little impact, and a new tact needed to be tried.

In 78 BCE, the Consul Aemilius Lepidus enacted the *Lex Aemilia*, which did not try to limit the prices or expenses but rather limited the type and quantity of

food that could be served. In other words, the Romans now attempted to limit what and how much was eaten and not their value. It again is clear that this law also did little to stop the displays at feasts. Antius Resto proposed the *Lex Antia*, which attempted to curtail the impact on magistrates. The law forbade any magistrate or magistrate-elect to dine in houses abroad except with certain people. Again, the law was not observed, except by Antius who did not want to violate his own law. The dictator Caesar enacted the *Lex Julia* in 46 BCE in an attempt to curb the behavior, but again to no avail although he sent his agents and lictors to banquets to seize illegal goods. The law forbade the sale of certain expensive foods and placed a limit on the expenses, which apparently was not too onerous. Finally, Augustus or Tiberius emended the *Lex Julia* in 22 BCE to increase the amount that could be spent on feast days. Finally, in 22 CE before the Senate that was again considering whether to take up yet another law limiting items, the Emperor Tiberius said that the Senate could pass the laws and send the enforcers in, but it would not work, that history had shown that these laws were ineffective, a true commentary on the matter. This effectively ended the sumptuary laws.

While it was easy to pass the laws, it was almost impossible to enforce them. The rules were an attempt to curb society from the perceived negative influence of the large amount of money pouring into the state. The affected banquets were for the wealthy and not for the common person. While the laws may have helped curb public opinion, they did little to actually curb public consumption.

See also: *Economics and Work:* Social Structure; *Family and Gender:* *Paterfamilias*; *Fashion and Appearance:* Jewelry, Women; Public Appearances; Women's Clothing; *Food and Drink:* Banquets; Delicacies

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THEATERS AND ODEON

The physical structures of the theater will be discussed here. The history of Roman theater dates back to the early Republic with the arrival of Greek literary works in southern Italy. While the Romans had always celebrated theatrical performances,

the introduction of the theater provided the works to be performed to larger audiences in a more permanent structured facility. The earliest plays were put on at Rome in wooden structures in the Forum or the nearby Circus Maximus. Before this time, the plays were probably acted out by street performers, a trend that continued throughout Roman history, in small openings, reminiscent of the rural settings where many of the early drama and comedies had their roots, or even in private homes. The introduction of structures occurred with the influence of the Hellenization that was sweeping the Mediterranean after the fall of Athens and the especially during and after Alexander the Great.

The Roman Senate had determined that no permanent theatrical structure could be built. While they based this ostensibly on the religious laws that only temples and consecrated spaces could be permanent, clearly it was in opposition to the Greek influence that had swept the peninsula after the Second Punic War. Originally, theaters in Rome were temporary. They were constructed of wood, which could and were then torn down. Part of this reason was that the conservative Roman leadership did not want to have permanent structures since they viewed the theater to be non-Roman. In 154 BCE, the censors gave a contract for a permanent stone theater only to have the conservative senator P. Scipio Nasica Corculum convince the Senate to tear it down and forbid a permanent structure. The reason probably was because he did not want the Romans to emulate the Greeks who allowed their assemblies to meet in the theaters and sit down; the Romans believed that the assembly should meet and vote standing, perhaps to avoid endless debates. A century later, the General Pompey decided to build a stone theater and once again criticism existed; Pompey was able to deflect the criticism by building a temple to Venus Victric above the auditorium. The first permanent theater was built by Pompey, and it took seven years to complete and was dedicated in 55 BCE. Pompey built the theater after seeing the great Greek theater at Mytilene during his overseas wars in the 60s BCE. This was a large complex that included the theater proper, a temple, which allowed its construction by averting the ban since a sacred structure was attached, and a quadriporticus extending behind the stage. The theater had the largest crypt that allowed for the selling of refreshments, exercise, and seeks cover from the elements. The theater had long covered porticos that contained artwork, meeting halls, and fountains. This theater was built in the city of Rome. With its accessory buildings, it is markedly different from the Greek structures. It was said to have had enough seats for 27,000 patrons. Traditionally, Greek theaters were built into a hillside, which had distinct practical purposes. First, they did not have to build a foundation or a superstructure, and second, the natural rise of the hill made it easier to locate seats and the stage. The drawback was that the right hill that allowed for the structure to be built and for the correct orientation had to be found. Rome's theater had a concrete superstructure allowing other buildings in

the theater complex. The theater had to be situated so that the sun did not shine into the eyes of the actors or patrons; with concrete this could be managed.

The Romans instead used their knowledge of concrete and engineering to build standalone theaters. The Romans used concrete and vaults to support the curved and sloping auditorium, or *cavea*, and the semicircular orchestra. The vaults allowed for access to the seats that could be covered and protected by an awning or *velum*, which were rigged by ropes and masts. The stage was usually long and narrow, about 120 by 24 feet. The stage was only about 3 feet before the orchestra, which was used for dancing and other activities. The stage, or *scaenae frons*, fronted a building that was as high as the *cavea*. This produced a dramatic background for the patrons. It was often painted, which could represent a palace, woodlands, or other scene. Greek theaters in contrast had an unobstructed view of the area outside the theater and stage. The stage had either three or five doors that were flanked by columns with niches for statues and allowed access to the back rooms or *crypta*. Small curtains could hide different parts of the stage as required. Above the stage was a covered wooden roof. This roof had two functions, first to provide some protection for the actors and second to create a sounding board so that the speech could be reflected out to the theater audience.

The area before the stage was a trough or trench for the curtain or *aulaeum*, which was lowered into it at the start of the performance. In other words, unlike modern theaters where the curtain rises at the beginning and falls at the end, the Roman system worked in the opposite way. The small flat area before the stage in front of the rising seats was reserved for honored guests, magistrates, and priests who were given the choicest seats. The magistrate would occupy the *curule* seats in order of his rank. There would have been other seats for senators and *equites*. These special seats were free, but behind these seats were those that were sold. Often the managers or box officers would buy up these seats and then scalp them for a handsome profit. These seats that rose above were only about 16 inches wide, much smaller than modern seats and were used by the wealthy. Further up were the benches that the peasant, urban poor, or slaves used. This area was known to be rowdy with shouts, eating, and carrying on.

A particular type of theater was the *odeum*, which was used more for musical performances. They were also used for performances that were seen as more refined or intimate. The common type was the roofed theater or *theatrum tectum* although occasionally an *odeum* could be unroofed; these, however, were usually called theaters. Under Augustus, the Theatres of Balbus and Marcellus (still standing) were constructed; together with the Theatre of Pompey, these three stone theaters gave the people of Rome their place for distractions. Since many of these theaters could hold a large number of patrons, it is clear that the popularity of the theater was still strong.

Most Romans were able to attend the theater and with their creations being permanent allowed for more productions and more Romans seeing works.

See also: Arts: Drama; Performing Arts; *Economics and Work:* Public Works; *Housing and Community:* Public Architecture; Public Structures; Town Planning; *Recreation and Social Customs:* Actors

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TRAVEL

Most individuals, especially those living in cities, rarely traveled beyond a day's journey. This meant that most of the travelers were politicians (or government officials), merchants, and soldiers. During the Republic, the majority of travel was within Italy. The Romans would travel to Rome for political reasons such as voting and as such it was clear that citizens originally needed to live within easy travel to the city to conduct their political obligations and business. After the war with Hannibal, it was common for Romans to have estates or farms further than the one day travel from Rome. As Rome established an empire after the Second Punic War, its soldiers would travel to Spain, North Africa, Greece, and Asia Minor. For the merchants, the area of travel tended to be on the coastline around southern France, eastern Spain, northern Africa, Greece, and the coast of Asia Minor. The government officials during the second century BCE went to Sicily, Sardinia, Corsica, Spain, and northern Greece. The areas of travel then tended to be constricted to areas near Italy. After the expansion, during the first century BCE, the field enlarged to include France (Gaul), Asia Minor, the Levant, North Africa, and later the Danube, Germany, and Egypt. Travel meant that the journeys were more complicated and extended.

Travel by land required careful planning. Stations would occur allowing for the government official to have a change of horses, provisions, and even lodging. While the stations existed during the Empire, travel during the Republic was a bit more complicated. The traveler had to make arrangements for lodging himself, which usually meant staying with friends or as a guest of a fellow official. The amount the individual could travel was also limited by his mode of transportation.

For commoners, slaves, or soldiers who had to walk, the amount they could cover was probably no more than 25 miles per day, if lucky; more likely 10–15 miles at most. If in a carriage, they might travel 40 miles a day while on horseback, probably 60 miles without fresh mounts, it would be much faster if they could make a change of horses. This meant that the traveler had to determine his route to ensure he could find the necessary lodging. A traveler, Aristides, in the second century CE related how he was traveling through Asia Minor and the first two inns he stopped at were too disgusting and the third one was closed without an answer. The traveler could be affected by the cold, potential polluted water, or brigands. The inns were not known for being paragons of safety and cleanliness. The traveler would also be subjected to constant dangers including theft and bodily harm. The inns could offer food and drink and the occasional venial pleasures. The traveler under the Empire had more options. If he had special documents, *diploma*, he could get fresh horses and provisions; these documents were valid only for certain dates and were automatically cancelled on the death of the emperor who issued them. If the papers were found to be forged, the traveler had to continue his journey by foot. The traveler also had the excellent roads, which were well kept and ran throughout the Empire.

Travel could also be made by sea. The times for sea travel were limited to certain seasons, spring to fall. Generally, one traveled from March 10 to November 11; if not, the traveler stood a good chance of danger at other times. Even during this time, the traveler did not have guarantees that sailing would be easy or safe. After November 11, it was the prudent traveler who decided not to sail and instead hold up in port for the winter or seek to travel by land, but traveling by sea was quicker. If the winds were with the traveler they could go 120 sea-miles a day or even faster. From Rome (Ostia) to Cadiz Spain, it took only seven days, from Marseilles only three. Traveling to Rome from North Africa could take as few as two days, while from Corinth (eastern Greece) to Puteoli (Naples), it took five days. Typically, traveling to the east meant that the traveler disembarked at Lechaeum and their boats conveyed overland to Corinth instead of sailing around the Peloponnese and Cape Malea, which was dangerous; one brave merchant recorded that he safely sailed around Malea 72 times.

Travel by sea was fairly simple. The traveler simply went down to the port or harbor and discovered if any ships were heading toward his destination. If he discovered a ship, then he went to the captain or owner and inquired if he would take on passengers. Most ships would accept passengers since it was in essence free money, the traveler was not given any special treatment and the ship was bound for the port anyway. The traveler then negotiated the price and became a passenger. The traveler was expected to bring his own food, drink, and bedding. The traveler had very little rights when aboard ship. While he was supposed to be safe, he could not demand that the ship be put into another harbor or special arrangements be made just for him. Nevertheless, if speed was needed, sea voyages were usually the quickest.

Travel during the late Republic and into the Empire could also be for study. Many of the elites sent their sons to Athens to study philosophy and the arts. Athens was the jewel of the east, and any Roman who wanted to show his culture would travel there. In addition to Athens, the young would make a tour around Greece, to Olympia and Delphi to see the treasures. He would of course also try to travel to the coast of Asia Minor and the islands to see Chios, Lesbos, Samos, and most importantly Rhodes with its great Colossus, even in ruins. When Egypt was

TRAVELING THE VIA APPIA

Overland travel in Roman times was greatly facilitated by the expansive network of paved highways that the Romans constructed. Perhaps the most famous of these roads was the *Via Appia*, or Appian Way. Built beginning in 312 BCE, it eventually extended from Rome to the southern Italian port city of Brundisium, about 360 miles distant. Travel on the roads could be carried out on foot, on the back of a four-footed animal, in a wagon, or in a litter. However, in the following passage from his fifth *Satire*, the poet Horace (65–8 BCE) describes a less than pleasant trip down the *Via Appia*.

Leaving mighty Rome, I found shelter in a modest inn at Aricia, having for a companion Heliodorus the rhetorician, far the most learned of all Greeks. Next came Appii Forum, crammed with boatmen and stingy tavern keepers. This stretch we lazily cut in two, though smarter travelers make it in a single day; the Appian Way is less tiring if taken slowly. Here, owing to the water, for it was villainous, I declare war against my stomach, and wait impatiently while my companions dine.

Already night was beginning to draw her curtain over the earth and to sprinkle the sky with stars. Then slaves loudly rail at the boatmen, boatmen at slaves. . . . What with collecting fares and harnessing the mule [to pull the boat from shore], a whole hour slips away. Cursed gnats and frogs of the fen drive off sleep, the boatman, soaked in sour wine, singing the while of the girl he left behind. . . . Day was now dawning when we find that our craft was not under way, until one hot-headed fellow jumps out, and with a willow cudgel bangs mule and boatman on the back and head.

(Horace, 1926, *Satires*, Book II)

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conquered by Octavian, it opened up a new area for travelers. Individuals would go to Alexandria and see the libraries and Museum, really a university, and then travel upstream to Memphis and the sacred bull Apis and then to Thebes with the temples to Amon as well as the great sites at Karnak and Luxor. Travel to Egypt, however, required special permission of the emperor for senators and *equites* since Egypt could be defended easily without many troops and they wanted to ensure the survival of Rome. If someone wanted to cut off the grain supply to the east and Rome, it would be almost impossible to dislodge someone from Egypt who had an army. Augustus therefore could not risk another Antony.

For most Romans, travel was not a common event. Indeed, travel was usually reserved in addition to the wealthy, for government officials, soldiers, and merchants.

See also: Economics and Work: Trade; *Fashion and Appearance:* Rural Fashion; Seasonal Clothing; *Food and Drink:* Dining while Traveling; Trade Routes; Transport; *Housing and Community:* City Traffic; Crime; *Science and Technology:* Carts; Ships; Wagons

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TRIUMPHS

During the Republic, one of the greatest military honors was the triumph. If a general was successful in battle, there was a possibility that he could achieve a triumph, a religious and civil event, which only the Senate could decree. According to the history and law a general's army normally could not enter the city without the approval of the Senate. A way for this to occur was for the Senate to decree a triumph, which in turn allowed the general to move his army from outside the walls into the city. The Senate would receive the general and his report outside the city, usually at the Temple of Bellona, and determine if a triumph was to be granted.

Its origin lay with the Etruscans and was governed by religious rules to ensure the state did not suffer from the gods. The general had to hold a magistrate with

the power of *imperium*, that is, the right to command an army. Later this rule was dropped, but during the early-mid Republic, this was in force. The magistrates who held this power were dictator, consul, and praetor; the offices of *proconsul* and *propraetor* were later included. The general had to have a victory over an army of at least 5,000. It could not be gained against citizens, that is, in a civil war. Between 220 and 70 BCE, there were about 100 triumphs. The general was called *triumphator* and he could maintain his *imperium* for the day he was inside the city. This was because as soon as a general entered the city, he lost his *imperium*. He would then be allowed to be called *triumphator* for the rest of his life. The general rode in a chariot drawn by four horses.

The procession started outside the city, originally in the Campus Martius and proceeded through the *Porta Triumphalis* into the *circus Flaminius* and then entered the city proper at the *Porta Carmentalis*. Here the army then marched into the Circus Maximus. From here the army moved to the *Via Sacra* and then through the Roman Forum up to the Capitoline Hill to the Capital and the Temple of Jupiter.



Arch of Constantine, Rome, Italy, ca. 315 CE. The highest honor awarded to a conquering general was a triumph, often enhanced with a pictorial description in the triumphal arch, as seen here with Constantine's arch celebrating his victory over Maxentius in 313 CE. The triumph during the Republic was the only time a general could enter the city of Rome with his men. (Totophotos/Dreamstime.com)

The procession started with the magistrates, senators, and then followed by trumpeters, and then came the spoils of war. The triumph then had representations of the conquered region perhaps with models of forts, ships, or other examples of the conquered army; the general's honors from the other cities were then carried and followed by the white bulls, which were to be sacrificed. The procession then had more gifts and the prisoners of war. The first of these were the most distinguished captives who had been spared for the triumph and who upon the end usually were taken away to prison and executed. Occasionally, the prisoners were spared, but usually not during the Republic. The prisoners were followed by the general's lictors with their *fascēs* and then the musicians and priests. The general then arrived in his chariot drawn by four white horses. He wore a wreath of bay leaves and wore the cloth of Capitoline Jupiter from the temple on the Capitoline. The *tunic* was purple with gold palm shoots, a *toga* with golden stars on a purple background; he also carried an ivory scepter in his left hand with an eagle on top while in his right he carried a branch of bay. Over his head a golden crown of Jupiter was held by a slave who would remind the general that he was only a man. The general's sons then rode behind the chariot on horseback. The soldiers then followed the general marching up the rear. The general then arrived at the Temple of Jupiter on the Capitoline and offered a sacrifice of thanksgiving. Throughout the city the people would assemble and shout praises to the conquering general and his army. The festival and procession were to be only for a day, but ultimately they were increased to several days as time went on.

If a general had his official triumph refused by the Senate, he could undertake his own by going to the temple of Jupiter Latiaris on the Alban Hill. Often a general might be refused a triumph but given an ovation, a sort of mini-triumph. Here the general either entered on foot or horse with a wreath of myrtle. One aspect of the triumph was the dispensing of gifts by the general. These gifts were made first to the state in the form of booty and then to his soldiers and finally to the people. When Pompey returned from the east and marched through the streets of Rome, he carried in carts bullion and over 75,000,000 *drachmae* of silver coin, which was enough to keep the city of Rome alive for an entire year, more than the annual tax returns. Included in his triumph were Mithradates' gold throne and other gold objects including statues and goblets. While Mithradates was dead and his ally Tigranes had escaped, their images were displayed along with other captives. Sometimes a general might not be able to be present for his own triumph; in 118 CE, Trajan celebrated a triumph for his victories over the Parthians in the east. Instead of the emperor, a mannequin was substituted since he had died the previous year.

The triumphs and ovations were reserved for the conquering general during the Republic. In the early Empire, Augustus allowed his relatives to celebrate

triumphs, but when M. Licinius Crassus (grandson of the triumvir) won a victory over the Scythians in 29 BCE and killed the enemy leader himself thus being entitled to not only a triumph but also the *spolia opima* which was an ancient religious and military honor then the general stripped the enemy leader of his arms and deposited them in the temple. Augustus denied Crassus this honor reserving the honor of triumphs for the imperial family.

An additional aspect different from triumphs and ovations were the supplications or *Feriae Imperativae*. The supplications were originally decreed by the Senate for either intercession during times of crises or for days of thanksgiving for a victory. Unlike the triumphs and ovations that had set days and were rigidly enforced, the supplications had grown from just one day to occasionally a few. Nevertheless, by the time of the late Republic their use had grown considerably. After Caesar's campaign season in 57 BCE in Gaul, 15 days were voted, and two years later 20 were decreed. Cicero proposed 50 days after the battle of Mutina in 43 BCE, while Augustus celebrated 55 different supplications for a total of 890 days or roughly 16 each time. These days were celebrated so that the populace could be treated to a spectacle and celebration.

The permanent commemoration of a triumph was often an arch. Several survive in the Roman world. In Rome the arches of Titus celebrating his victories over the Jews, Septimius Severus over the Parthians, and Constantine over Maxentius still stand. In the southern part of Italy, in Brindisi, the arch of Trajan still stands. In addition to arches there are two monumental columns still standing in Rome; one commemorates Trajan's victory over the Dacians and the other by Antoninus Pius probably over the Sarmatians. All these monuments date from the Empire. Triumphs allowed the public to see the great general after his victories and share his celebrations. The average individual was able to be part of the victories without fighting.

See also: *Fashion and Appearance*: Military Dress; *Politics and Warfare*: Military Command; Roman View of War

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VACATIONS

Vacations or holidays are not recent concepts. Throughout time individuals needed to be able to spend time away from work and the daily routines. While festivals provided some of this relief, it was also important for individuals to have longer breaks or time to themselves. Evidence from Egypt for apprentices indicates that they were to be given time off ranging from 18 to 36 days per year. Sometimes the break had to be during festivals, but for others it could be in addition to these “official” lines. This time off would work out to two to three days per month. If these days were added to the public festivals, then a person could conceivably have a significant amount of time off. The idea though that a typical Roman day worker could travel throughout the Roman world was not a reality. Most of the day workers probably spent their off time at the circus, games, perhaps gambling, or just doing the chores around the house.

While most Romans probably could not afford many days of vacation, they undoubtedly had some time to relax. For the wealthy Roman vacations meant time away from the city and the business they engaged in there. Many of these Romans went to their country estates. The period of time away from Rome was generally spread out. For example, the Senate was not in session in spring from April 5 to May 15. Cicero relates that at this time he usually went to his villa by the sea. Since elections during the Republic were held in July, the candidates must have been in Rome to campaign, hence probably from mid-May to early July. It appears that during the summer, the Senate and law courts could be in session. Since the *Ludi Romani* occurred from September 5 to 19, the senator could leave Rome for two weeks if they wished. Also during the Empire, it appears that July and August were also busy times for the law courts, even though it was hot. Come September, the courts usually died down since no new litigation could begin after September 1, although previous cases could continue. For the wealthy, September and October were times when they could possibly be away, September for the games while in October the harvest, especially when the grapes were collected. Of course, for the individual not involved in politics, the summer was an ideal time to get away from the hot and dusty city of Rome.

During his times in the countryside the wealthy man did not just stay at his villa relaxing. He of course had to check on the progress of the estate, for even though the villa might be a place of relaxation, it was still expected to be a money-making endeavor. In addition, he was expected to call upon his friends and neighbors. The evidence from Cicero and a century later Pliny the Younger shows that it was common for friends to visit one another and then switch. Of course, when a visitor

was expected the owner may be happy but not the slaves. The slaves were expected to make the home ready, polish the silverware, buy special provisions, clean the guest quarters, and be on call.

The time away from Rome, even if it involved keeping an eye on the estate, visiting and entertaining guests, and being engaged in writing, was still not as harried as life in the city when they were called upon to a structured and busy life. As Pliny would write, he could read, write, and exercise at will; he does not have to worry about what he says or who is being criticized; he does not have to worry about rumors, he only has to enjoy himself. Depending upon their age and physique, vacationers might engage in vigorous exercise such as horseback riding, or if they were older, they usually enjoyed walking in their porticoes and gardens. He, of course, would go and take a bath every day before dinner so as to have a full relaxation.

Pliny gives an idea of what his typical day might entail. Pliny says he wakes when he wants, at around seven, and after some contemplation sends for a secretary who opens the shutters letting light in; he then dictates to him. Afterward around 10 or 11, he takes a walk if the weather permits, if not, he sits in the porticos and does some more dictation. He then relates how he then goes for a ride in his carriage to further decide on what he was concentrating on in bed earlier in the morning. Pliny then indicates that he took an afternoon siesta and then he read aloud one of his speeches in Greek or Latin, not for his voice but for his digestion. The remainder of the afternoon is given over to another walk, exercising and oiling himself, and finally having a bath. At dinner, if there are guests he has a book read aloud with an after-dinner recitation or music. He finally goes for a walk with his friends, and then turns in. While he says that every day is not the same, the same pattern is observed, one of exercising the mind and body. The time that the Roman spent on vacation was a crucial part of his life.

Another group that was able to take a vacation was the military. Soldiers were able to leave to visit home or elsewhere. During the late Republic, a young tribune, that is, a young senator was entitled to two months leave. Some of the officers probably visited tourist sites such as Germanicus who visited Egypt when he was in Syria. Most probably he used the time to visit his home. For the rank and file during the Republic, they would have probably returned home to do the planting and other duties. During the Empire, with the establishment of the professional army the troops would often just leave the camp and travel about to get away from dull and boring life of the camp. To do so, they needed the permission of their centurion. This caused trouble since the centurions realized that they could extort money from the troops. The fee or *vacatio* was hated by the rank and file, but until the civil wars of 69 CE when the centurions' pay was increased to supplant the fee, the fee was required. Once the fee was paid, they

could loaf about in camp or leave. Soldiers were often criticized for stealing, robbing, or even extorting to pay the fee. The soldier could leave camp and try to earn a living in the towns he visited, but usually he just wanted to get away. Since soldiers in the early Empire were not permitted to marry, they often had women in the camp towns nearby; if so, when they got leave they probably used the time to be with them and their children. The men probably viewed his time away, where he probably squandered his pay, as a means of surviving the doldrums of the day.

Vacations away from Rome did not mean that the individual was away from all the worries of society. He had to make sure that he could stay connected with the city in case some emergency arose.

See also: *Food and Drink*: Dining while Traveling; Transport; *Recreation and Social Customs*: Leisure; Pleasures; Travel

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WORK VERSUS LEISURE DAYS

The Romans, and indeed, for most people, work and leisure were always in a tug-of-war. It is a common myth to see the Romans as waiting for their free bread before they attended the circus, since the total number of days for races was not that many during the Republic. Also the concept of free bread was not accurate; before the late Empire, the state initially did provide inexpensive grain or rather grain at a set price, but it was only later did the emperors provide free bread. The respectable Roman would devote himself to work. The type of work depended upon his social and economic class. For the elite, the type of work varied, but it was typically a political life that in his youth began as a lawyer arguing in the law courts, perhaps followed by a military career, which then gave him more prestige. These events were followed by a career in politics, rising through the magistrates from *quaestor*, *aedile*, *praetor*, and ultimately *consul*. This life also led him into the Senate where he was expected to be an active member. All of these occupations were done without official remuneration; this was viewed as public service. To accomplish the time to do these works the elite (senator) needed to have

income and by law this was reserved to land and not trade. For the Romans, the work needed to accomplish these tasks was done outside in public. This meant that the individual was expected to work in an open setting.

The next social class was the *equites*. They were from the upper class, but their work was done in the area of commerce. Like the senators, they were expected to do their work in public. The *equites* made transactions with businessmen and again they frequented the great warehouses, wharfs, and shipyards. The *equites* either made the amphorae or would contract out with the owners. For the Romans, these individuals were always busy overseeing their vast commercial enterprises but contributing to the welfare of the state by their communal acts.

Below the *equites* was the plebeian class, which was further subdivided by economic conditions; there were the plebeian elites who like the patricians could become senators or *equites* and have higher business/political life, or they could be from the middle class. There were different middle-class professions such as tavern owners, shop owners, transporters, which made up the lower business class. These individuals did not have extensive capital but were able to make a living, which gave them some security, more than day laborers. Again these individuals were involved in a public arena. Their profession required them to constantly work with their colleagues and do business with the public. There were other businessmen who were viewed as not as reputable but nevertheless were crucial to the social and economic world, such as money changers, brothel owners, and other entertainers.

At the bottom layer were the day laborers, whether slave or free, who were responsible for the daily work done throughout the Roman world. These individuals could be working on the farm, doing construction, hauling materials, and other manual tasks. They typically were hired day to day without any guarantee of job security. Since their working conditions were tenuous, they had no chance for saving for the future. While they may be looked down upon by the elites, their work nevertheless was crucial and was seen as necessary.

Opposite to the workers who toiled every day to ensure their future were those who worked in the shade or who did not work. While there were the slackers who attempted to get by doing nothing, many individuals worked in private, away from the public. For the Roman who equated the public life as honorable, these others were seen as dishonorable. One such individual was the banker, especially one who charged interest. In the plays of Plautus these individuals are mocked. As opposed to the orator who gave his speeches in public and was therefore judged by such, the one who shied away from the public speeches and instead taught in the schools or gave advice was again seen as not using his talents to his full extent; he was seen as wasting his talents. While for some who had to pursue this life style due to health reasons, those who volunteer to live outside of the public view were

seen as weak. Of course, under the Empire it was often prudent to not be in the public and instead retire to the private world. If one was too successful, he might draw undue attention and envy.

But the work versus leisure was also seen in two of the major philosophies of the day, Stoicism and Epicureanism. The Stoic was duty bound to be a public servant, he was to serve the community. The Epicurean on the other hand believed that the individual should not be engaged in public affairs. It was virtue versus pleasure, at least in the eyes of the elites. During the Republic, the individual who retreated from work and lived in leisure was seen as abandoning society and the public. During the Empire, it was common for individuals to retreat from the public life and concentrate on rural estates away from trouble.

A common subject of one who lived a life of leisure was the writer, especially, the poet. Cicero, for example, could console himself when effectively removed from politics by writing history, philosophy, and working on his speeches. While his output was tremendous during the period of political absence (52–50, 46–44 BCE), it was nevertheless for him a period of retirement or leisure. For the Roman elite, it was important for him to be seen as providing work for society. Philosophy was acceptable, since it gave the individual the opportunity to better themselves, but being an academic was not useful, especially in the areas of literature and history. These were subjects that did not better society, unlike philosophy and science.

The Roman in particular wanted to make sure he was not seen as luxurious or self-indulgent and idle. These two “vices” were leveled against people like Sallust and Atticus who had left public service. Idleness was the opposite of industrious or hard work. The Romans, as seen in the constant attacks on the plebs who went to the games, viewed idleness as morally weak. Cicero and others attacked L. Lucullus who retired from politics after his eastern campaigns and built a luxurious villa on the sea side and entertained lavishly. An inscription from North Africa (translated) has “Hunt, bathe, gamble, laugh-have a good life”; this was the opposite of what a Roman wanted to hear, wasting one’s life is not the goal.

See also: *Arts:* Cicero, Marcus Tullius; *Economics and Work:* Economic Policy; Laborers; Slavery; *Food and Drink:* Banquets; Dinner Party; Festivals; *Recreation and Social Customs:* Adolescent; Gambling; Games; Leisure; Vacations

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RELIGION AND BELIEFS



INTRODUCTION

Roman religion was a complex system that navigated between the public and private. The Romans did not have a single religion; rather they had a mixture of different philosophies. The Romans had a variety of beliefs and most were not incompatible with each other. The traditional Roman belief held that there was an afterlife. This belief was similar to the Greek idea that Hades or Pluto decided the fate of the individual and their place in the underworld. As part of the Olympian religion a set of proscribed formula was important. While private worship always existed and was revered, especially for the family, public sacrifices by the various Roman priests were needed to ensure that gods were appeased. This practice and belief is what created the state religion; ideas handed down through the roman myths that not only highlighted the different gods but also gave the Romans a sense of community or their moral codes. The earliest temples were heavily influenced by the Etruscans who had ruled Rome during the monarchy. One of the chief gods was Vesta because she was the goddess of the hearth, which gave heat and allowed cooking. Another important early religious festival was the Lupercalia, which celebrated fertility, an important function for all growing societies.

As the Romans came into contact with other societies, their beliefs were often challenged. For example, what happened after one died? This question became important since the state religion was not about the individual but society. The future of one's life after death gave rise to the mystery religions. These religions argued that there was life after death if one understood the special mysteries. The celebrations of Ceres and Persephone came from the Greeks, which showed that death and rebirth took place naturally. From Egypt Isis and Osiris, likewise, showed how the gods could provide rebirth through their help. From Syria the worship of Cybelene, although making the Romans nervous due to mutilation,

was also accepted, albeit under certain conditions, as was the worship of Bacchus. An important late arrival was Mithras and the Mithraic Mysteries, which became a favorite of the military.

The Romans viewed other beliefs and religions with suspicion. While Judaism had been tolerated by the Romans, they did not understand it. How could you only worship one god? For the Romans, this idea ran counter to their psyche. Likewise, the Romans did not embrace the Punic religion, especially since it seemed to advocate human sacrifice, even if it did not. While the Romans were accepting sacred groves and animism, they did not embrace magic. This was viewed as a dangerous form of religion and together with astrology had to be respected and feared. The Romans viewed Christianity with even greater suspicion since they saw it as a form of atheism. It would be this religion that would ultimately supplant the traditional Roman religion but only after 300 years of persecutions.

AFTERLIFE

Roman ideology followed that of the Greek world concerning the nebulous idea of the afterlife. Most Romans viewed the soul as immortal but did not necessarily see the afterlife as a happy eternity. Romans belief had the underworld or Hades divided into three parts. Most people went to the “Plains of Asphodel,” which was an endless area full of the gray-leaved asphodel plant, which had yellow flowers eaten by the dead. The flower was often planted on graves and its roots were eaten by the poor thus making the connection with the underworld more plausible. The Roman concept of the afterlife varied according to the individual’s view of his or her own life and time period. Views varied from the total end of one’s existence—in other words, there was no afterlife—to more sophisticated views including various places of afterlife existence. These ranged from Tartaros or Hell as the worst to the Elysium Fields as the best. Those sentenced to Tartaros were ravaged and punished by the Furies until their time or debt to society had been paid and they were released to Asphodel. This early concept of the underworld was one in which there was no happy ending; in fact, death was usually seen as something evil. But these views were often discussed by the philosophers in their literary works, which detailed the sentiments of the elites. The view of the common masses is seen in tombstones and can only be guessed. The literary works cannot necessarily be viewed as what the masses believed, while tombstones were often chosen according to price, artistic prejudice, or family views, and not the beliefs of the deceased.

Traditionally, the Romans, like the Greeks, had the view that upon dying most people would go to the underworld. In Greek and Roman ideologies, an individual might be lucky and avoid the underworld by being blest by the gods and sent to Elysium, a wonderful place on the edge of civilization. The Greeks, followed by the Romans, also began to believe in the concept of Hades and the ability of Persephone to punish evil doers in the underworld. The earliest belief held that the dead continued to live on in their tombs, thus giving rise to the importance of not desecrating tombs. The Romans originally thought of the dead as the “kindly ones” or the *manes*, an idea probably coming from the Latin word *manus* meaning good. They were then called the *di manes* or the divine dead and worshipped at several festivals. It seems that originally the Romans viewed the underworld and *manes* synonymously and then associated the *di manes* with the gods Dis, Hecate, and, especially, Persephone. These associations were similar to the Greek idea that the gods had some influence on one’s afterlife. The Romans then began to view the *di manes* as part of the family dead and internally the Romans began to associate them with their ancestors. This was further strengthened by the individual tomb, which allowed the association between the *manes*, afterlife, and tomb all as one. The *manes* were different from the *lemures*, which were spirits of the dead who haunted the house. The Romans were terrified that such spirits would carry off healthy members of the household. Especially terrifying were the ghosts of children who had been taken too soon and might wish to revisit the family with an account to settle. The Roman father would arise on midnight on May 9, 11, and 13, the feast of Lemuria, and walk barefoot through the house spitting out nine black beans to give to the gods to eat instead of taking family members. Opposite the Lemuria was the feast of Parentalia, which was held on February 13–21 and was viewed as a way to honor and ask the departed to look after the family.

During the Classical Greek period, which heavily influenced Rome, ideas about the afterlife began to change. Instead of all individuals, except for the few gods like Hercules, going to the underworld forever, beliefs began to arise about individuals who had been good achieving happiness and those who had done evil being punished. There also arose the ideas of reincarnation and transmigration of the soul, which allowed an individual to live on.

The afterlife also developed in philosophical terms during the Hellenistic Age. Plato held that the soul was immortal. As such, the aspect of death meant the severing of the body from the soul, which may have been a good thing if the individual was suffering a bodily disease. For philosophers, how individuals lived their lives often determined their fate in the afterlife. But if the soul continued, which most have believed, then what happened to it? Ovid believed that the soul continued to pursue its previous life without a break. Others took the view that

the afterlife could either be pleasant or torturous. Lucan believed in the “Isle of the Blest,” which was reserved for the good and which the living hoped to attain. For many of the living, especially the poor, there was hope that the afterlife would be more pleasurable and rich than their lives. All these ideas were constantly at odds with one another because there was no single religious idea or belief about the afterlife in the ancient world; a single view would not occur until well into the Middle Ages. For those who did not believe in the traditional view of Hades, the mystery cults offered the concept of renewal, or even the idea that the soul became a celestial body, such as a star. Finally, the deceased could be remembered through the inscriptions and tombstones that could be seen by all.

Christianity and the other mystery religions changed the idea of the afterlife from an evil place to a hoped-for place. This change allowed an individual to see the afterlife as a possibly better place without torment.

See also: Arts: Ovid; *Family and Gender:* Cemeteries; Death and Dying; Funerals; *Housing and Community:* Town Planning; *Religion and Beliefs:* Christianity; Hades; Isis and Osiris; Judaism; Mithraic Mysteries; Mystery Religions; Persephone

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ASTROLOGY

Astrology is the study of future events through the reading of the cosmos. For the Romans, astrology was wrapped up in one’s exact day and time, for the locations of the heavenly bodies at this time would determine future events. While astronomy concerned the study of heavenly bodies, especially to determine their future location, astrology concerned the study of the cosmos and how it would influence a person’s life. For nearly everyone there was a belief that the universe

was all connected and was interconnected intimately in their life. For example, a comet passing in front of Mars might have a negative influence on the person born that day, marking him as a troublemaker. Astrologers would attempt to discern what the future course would hold, and since they were often receiving rewards by the client asking for a horoscope, they would attempt to discern exactly the course of the heavens on exactly that time. Conveniently one might remember that they were actually born at noon instead of 11:00 a.m., which in turn would give a completely different reading. Often astrology was used to justify, honor, or condemn someone after he had died by casting his horoscope, a sort of cosmological biography, of course from the safety of knowing that the individual was gone.

The Greek world did not have much contact with astrology before Alexander the Great conquered the east. It was probably at this time that the Babylonian influence made its way to the Greek world. The Babylonians had been experts in astronomy and therefore its offshoot astrology. Their observations and calculation of movements by planets and star positions allowed them to create a sophisticated system of predictions of future planetary and astronomical events; for example, Halley's Comet flying past Earth every 76 years. The Romans received an influx of astrologers after the Second Punic War and the Greek wars. The Romans, from the beginning had a distrust of astrology. This was probably because it was viewed as a foreign, especially eastern influence, which the Romans always were wary of. While Cato the Elder and the satirist Ennius opposed it, astrology gained a strong following with people



Roman Zodiac Wheel displaying the 12 signs of the celestial zodiac. Each sign corresponded to a constellation that was thought to control or influence one's actions. Astrology, although legally outlawed at certain times, was popular among all classes as individuals sought to know their future. Many believed that the celestial bodies directly determined the outcomes of events on earth. (Araldo de Luca/Corbis)

in the first century BCE like Sulla and Varro espousing it. The Emperor Augustus (Octavian) even had his horoscope published and his successor Tiberius was known to have favored astrologers. Yet, at the same time Tiberius expelled them from Rome when it was politically expedient due to a competitor consulting an astrologer to determine if he would become emperor (he did not). Astrology was common throughout the Mediterranean as witnessed by the story of the Magi in the New Testament. While Judaism did not condone or propose it, the story clearly shows that it was accepted in the Near East. The Magi were accepted by Herod and his advisors without any suggestion that they were viewed as crackpots or evil. Whether the story related an actual event or not, it nevertheless clearly shows that astrologers were commonplace and accepted as part of everyday life.

Astrology was important in the foundation of the Empire. After Julius Caesar was assassinated and during his mourning a comet was observed. Traditionally, comets were seen as evil omens, such as wars, pestilence, or impending disasters; this time, however, many viewed the comet as a sign that Caesar had been taken up into the heavens. His adopted son Octavian (his nephew) seized upon the event and public sentiment and pushed for Caesar to be deified. This helped Octavian in his war against the conspirators, Brutus and Cassius, as he now claimed to be not only the son of Julius Caesar (through his will) but as such the son of the deified Julius; in fact, his full name included *divi filius* or “son of the divine one.” Octavian is also said to have had his horoscope made after Caesar’s assassination and it showed him destined for greatness. Suetonius related a story of this event with Octavian publishing his horoscope and striking a coin with Capricorn. But Octavian was born under Libra, his Sun sign, so Capricorn has been viewed as his Moon sign and symbol of rising sign. Many of these ideas were also presented by the poet Manilius who wrote his work *Astronomica* concerning the influence of the heavens as seen with Octavian (Augustus).

Astrology was popular because of its simple idea, the cosmos determined all. It was seen as both religion and science by the ancients. This combination meant that the two ideas were connected; the science of the stars determined the beliefs of the individual. Everyone could justify their dreams and failures if they showed how the heavens were either in favor or against them. There had to be something more powerful than our own lives or determination; in other words, they needed an outside influence to determine their fate. Astrology became an explanation for the events, which gave it semireligious status. More importantly, the movements of the heavens, especially the locations of the planets, usually coincided with disasters. It was therefore important to have the right reading lest evil times fall upon the recipient. This view often made the Roman leaders fear that astrologers would cause public mayhem with predictions; and so they often expelled them from the city of Rome. While astrology was reserved for the elites in Babylon and Egypt,

it ultimately became open to all. Commoners could have their horoscope created and read for a nominal fee. There exist numerous papyri with horoscopes found throughout Egypt showing this. Astrology was common for all classes and continued into the modern times.

See also: Religion and Beliefs: Atheism; Magic

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ATHEISM

Atheism is the belief that there is no supreme being(s). Traditionally, the ancients believed in polytheism, the belief in many gods. In addition, individual city-states and kingdoms would hold a particular deity or deities in higher regard than others. Often when rival states fought one another, it was pitched as one god being favored over another. A common theme in antiquity was when one state defeated another, the victors would "carry off" the defeated gods. This action was due in part to the idea that the gods often resided in the official cult statue and any harm to the statue would harm the state. This theme is seen in the acts of destroying a city's temples as well. This view then of a patron god or goddess meant that each state had their own idea of what constituted belief in the traditional gods and by extension atheism. If citizens did not believe in their own city's god(s), then they were viewed as atheist, even if they held other god(s) as supreme.

In the ancient world, atheism meant not believing in any kind of divinity or gods, but more importantly it meant challenging the traditional gods of the city, state or region. Therefore, the concept of atheism was not clearly defined. In the early Greek philosophy, the pre-Socratics, there was an attempt to explain the world devoid of mythology. The philosophers, for example, explained that earthquakes were caused by the heating and cooling of the earth, which caused "cracking"; or that the sun was a large (larger than southern Greece) ball of fire. As time passed, more philosophers began to openly dismiss the idea of the gods. During

fifth-century Athens, many of the playwrights such as Euripides and Aristophanes openly made fun of the concepts of the gods. Some philosophers stated that they could not definitely declare if there were gods or not; technically not atheists, they nevertheless left themselves open to charges. The later philosophers, the Epicureans, attempted to show how the belief in the divine was irrational and had no basis. Some Epicureans stated that the gods existed, ensuring they were not declared atheists but argued that religion was not necessary.

Normally, the ancients did not impose a penalty or persecute someone for being an atheist unless the state viewed itself under threat. In antiquity, there were two major instances when being an atheist caused the state to react. The first was in fifth-century BCE Athens when the sophists arose and often questioned people's beliefs in traditional ideas. These questions often led to charges against the individual. The most famous case was Socrates, who although scrupulous in his observance of religious rites and had a strong moral philosophy of not doing harm, was charged with atheism because he challenged the traditional views of his fellow citizens. Christians were charged with atheism then. The charge of atheism against the Christians stemmed from their peculiar position in the ancient world religion.

The poet/philosopher Lucretius wrote his work *On the Nature of Things* as a commentary on the idea that religion was not in keeping with the natural laws. He argued that religion was harmful and should be abolished. Since he did not believe in the gods, he argued that death was the end of all things and that there was no concept of the afterlife. His theory was philosophical, rather than theological. Since Lucretius lived during the chaotic last century of the first century BCE, he probably was able to avoid official sanction. The other ancient writer who argued for atheism was Sextus Empiricus who wrote at the end of the second century BCE, when he stated that since nothing could be known for sure, one should not deny nor confirm anything. In many ways he did not argue for atheism as much as agnosticism or skepticism.

An example of an ancient idea of atheism can be seen in following tombstone inscription:

Do not pass by my epitaph, traveler.
 But having stopped, listen and learn, then go your way.
 There is no boat in Hades, no ferryman Charon,
 No caretaker Aiakos, no dog Cerberus.
 All we who are dead below
 Have become bones and ashes, but nothing else.
 I have spoken to you honestly, go on, traveler,
 Lest even while dead I seem talkative to you." (Martin, 109)

The Romans were able to help overcome this political issue by incorporating conquered gods and goddesses in their state religion. While never elevating the new deities above their own, they tolerated their inclusion. In addition, it was common for a conquered people's chief deity's name to be augmented with Jupiter, Rome's chief deity. For example, when Rome conquered northern Gaul they augmented the Celtic god Taranis renaming it Jupiter Taranis. Taranis, like Jupiter, was the god of thunder.

The Christians fell into a distinct position since the Romans originally held Christianity as a Jewish sect, while the Jews and Christians argued they were not part of Judaism. This forced the Romans to view the Christians in a different light than other religions leading them to classify the Christians as atheist. The problem the Christians faced was a catch-22. Since Christianity separated from Judaism, they were in a precarious situation. The Romans never trusted the Jewish concept of monotheism, for them it did not make sense, but since it was known to be ancient and since the Romans had given the Maccabeus state official protection, later Romans were obliged to accept it. The Christians originally were a Jewish sect, but when the Christians separated from Judaism by accepting Gentiles without first becoming a Jew, they were placed in a precarious situation. The Romans did not know of any other monotheistic group so when the Christians declared they were monotheistic, the Romans said they must be Jewish, which Christians rejected. Since the Christians rejected Judaism, they were not outside of any religion, hence they were atheists.

The average Roman probably did not understand the discussion concerning atheism since for them religion and the impact of the gods were real. Given that most individuals had a strong belief in magic, superstition, and nature, the concept of the gods being involved in everyone's life was strong.

See also: Religion and Beliefs: Astrology; Christianity; Magic

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BACCHUS

Bacchus or the Greek god Dionysius was also associated with the original Roman god Liber. Bacchus was different than the other traditional Olympian gods. Unlike

the brooding and vindictive interference of the Olympians, Bacchus was seen as jovial and ecstatic. This has given rise to theories that Bacchus was not an early Greek god but rather a later import. This theory argues that his cult came exclusively from Asia Minor, with one of the primary arguments being that he is rarely mentioned in Homer in the eighth century BCE. Other arguments counter this with evidence that his festival of wine, the Anthesteria, began before Homer and the colonization by the Greeks of Asia Minor, and his name, in connection with wine, has been found in Greece at around 1800 BCE. Most likely, he was not mentioned since his worship had to do with parties, jovial times, and ecstatic worship, not the material of the warrior laden Iliad. Another theory is that his cult arrived from northern Greece, Thrace. He was said to have the gift of prophecy, and later stories had him descending into Hades to bring back his mother.

Bacchus was the son of Zeus (Jupiter) and the mortal Semele, daughter of the king of Thebes. Hera, Zeus's wife, jealous of her husband's philandering convinced Semele to urge Zeus to visit her in his godly form which then consumed her in fire. Zeus saved the fetus from the ashes and implanted it into his own thigh and upon Bacchus's birth was given to Semele's sister. Hera continued to harass the family, driving them mad, and forcing Bacchus to be raised by nymphs from Mt. Nysa, hence his Greek name Dio (Zeus) Nysius (Mt. Nysa) or Dionysius. Bacchus was the god of wine, and he is credited with its introduction throughout the known world. While not universally accepted and often persecuted, his cult grew in part due to the consumption of wine and the ecstatic behavior that often followed. His enemies suffered horrible defeats and torments such as Pentheus, king of Thebes who was also the subject of the *Bacchae* in Euripides. In these legends the victims were torn apart by their relatives, usually female, who had been made mad by the god. While most festivals surrounded the cultivation of the grape, some engaged in ecstatic worship. During this worship they would seize a wild animal, rip it apart, and eat the meat raw (*sparagmos*) believing that they obtained the power of the god Bacchus.

Bacchus was usually portrayed as slightly portly, effeminate, with thick hair and normally drunk. He also normally held a bunch of grapes, or a cup of wine, or the thyrsus (a rod with ivy at the top); Bacchus became the symbol of the partier. His companions, Satyrs, Sileni, Maenads, and Bassarids, would follow him dancing about either drunk or possessed. They were called the Bacchi. A corollary to this view was Bacchus's connection with drama. The cult of Bacchus was often known for its masks, one that could hide or transform one's identity. This was often displayed as a mask on a column with a piece of cloth draped over it. He was also involved with music, poetry, and drama.

In Roman mythology Bacchus was associated with the god Liber, one of the plebeian triad. Representations show his triumph procession similar to the

Bacchus triumph; this in turn was called the triumph of Liber. This association with Liber made Bacchus popular with Rome's most disadvantaged and most populous group. Bacchus was said to be able to change his shape. He could at one time be the handsome young youth, which he was most famously represented with radiant garments and jewels; and at other times he was seen as a wild animal with claws and sharp teeth. When captured by pirates he used his magic to break loose and have wines from the sea hold the ship captive and he then turned into a lion and all but one of the pirates killed. The one saved had begged his fellow pirates to set Bacchus free, which they did not.

The most famous incident involving Bacchus during the Republic was the Bacchanalia in 186 BCE. The cult was seen as a secretly growing religion after the Second Punic War. A hostile late source, Livy, indicated that supposedly the cult was introduced by a lowly Greek, probably one from the peasantry class, who offered profane sacrifices. The cult was not officially sanctioned and Livy said it spread secretly among the poor, plebeian class, women, weak, or effeminate men who had fickle minds. Livy indicated that the upper class was also affected. Livy's account further stated that the priestesses of Bacchus urged their followers to break social customs including sexual rites. He indicated that the followers were to engage in ritual murder of those opposed to the cult or their followers. Livy's dramatization has a servant betraying the group and reports the incident to the Senate whose quick thinking saves the day. Livy's account, however, has the urgency of excitement, which may not quite fit the facts. The cult had been practiced in Italy for decades and it was known to have been practiced openly. The Senate passed a decree that did not ban the religion since that might incur the wrath of the god. Rather, the religion was put under tight control and during the investigation Livy reports that over 6,000 people were executed, probably exaggerated, but nevertheless, showed the intensity of the Senate's action. The Senate's reformed cult eliminated the orgiastic ceremonies and limited initiates to only five and only with the permission of the praetor. The reformed religion was nothing like the previous one, but it still represented the ideas of the plebeian class.

Bacchus was a favorite of the Romans, especially the youth since they would often emulate him. The god was presented on many pieces of art and became a favorite of artists since he could be presented as a youth, an animal, engaged in orgiastic rites, and as inebriated youth.

See also: Food and Drink: Wine; Religion and Beliefs: Mystery Religions

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CERES

The worship of ancient fertility gods was an important rite for all societies. These rites were crucial for the maintenance of society and its connection with the running of the farm. The need to appease the gods of agriculture and the soil was paramount for ancient societies since so many individuals were involved with farming. Ceres was an ancient Italian goddess associated with Tellus, the earth goddess. In fact, her reference was the earliest of gods discovered in Italy through an inscription commemorating her and the grain spelt (similar to wheat) by a group near Rome.

Ceres was the daughter of Saturn and Ops. Jupiter fell in love with the beautiful goddess and they had a daughter Prosperine. She was credited with introducing farming and helping humans cultivate and harvest grain. As such Ceres was seen as the only god connected with the daily lives of humans and involved in their care and prosperity. She was seen as the only god to directly help humans in their day-to-day life in exchange for their continual benefit. Her worship and celebration in Rome dated from the early Italian settlers in Rome and under the monarchy the *flamen cerialis* or priest of Ceres organized her feast, the Cerialia, on April 19. When the Sibylline books were consulted during the great famine of 496 BCE, the Greek gods Demeter, Kore, and Iacchus were introduced and identified as Ceres, Liber, and Libera with a temple on the Aventine completed in 493 BCE under a strong plebeian guidance and protection. In addition to her festival, games were introduced during the Cerialia in her honor. The origin of the cults is not clear. It appears not to have been Etruscan since Ceres does not have any references in Etruria, homeland of the Etruscans. Most likely, the cult came from the Greek colonies from southern Italy. It is clear that it was not directly absorbed from the Greeks; since it has Italian aspects it was assimilated into the celebrations and the formation of the Aventine Triad.

Ceres and by extension the Greek goddess Demeter became important to the Romans as protectors of agriculture and the family. Demeter is the better known, and was a daughter of Cronus and Rhea, and sister of Zeus (Jupiter). Like Ceres she was the goddess of agriculture, in particular wheat, and became the patron of the Eleusinian mysteries. She and Zeus had a daughter Persephone, or Proserpina (Prosperine) in Rome. Demeter and Ceres were also identified with Isis and Cybele. Demeter's daughter Persephone was kidnapped and raped by Hades; Demeter searched the world and in the process did not care for the earth which now suffered and became barren. Zeus ordered Hades to free Persephone for part of the year to return to the earth. The story is an allegory on agriculture. Persephone's descent into the underworld and Demeter's search represented the earth being fallow, while her return to her mother portrayed growth and harvest. The Roman myth had the same idea with Pluto (Hades) kidnapping Ceres's daughter in Sicily at Mount Etna. The myth of Ceres/Demeter was meant to show the cycle of nature, every year there was a period of growth and death. The festival held in April to Ceres may represent the time of year when planting could begin with Ceres's daughter returning from Hades. Her direct association with Demeter is first seen during the war against Hannibal with his attack on Italy when Livy indicated that the yearly celebration of the married women in Rome had to be suspended due to the disaster at Cannae in 216 BCE. Another source indicated that this celebration was imported from Greece, meaning either Greece proper or southern Italian colonies.

The connection of Ceres/Demeter with the Eleusinian mysteries was also important. Demeter arrived at Eleusis disguised as an old woman who was welcomed by the king and his wife. She in return tended their newborn son Triptolemus. After making him immortal by holding him in fire, destroying his mortality, she revealed herself and ordered them to celebrate rites, the Eleusinian mysteries, in her honor. Triptolemus was then sent throughout the world to teach agriculture. At Eleusis Persephone returned to her mother, so the Eleusinian mysteries became a celebration of renewal, and Eleusis a site, where the concept of rebirth appears. Ceres was presented as a tall statuesque figure crowned with poppies or grains of wheat. A bust dated to 300 BCE has her wearing a diadem with a crown of grain stalks. When presented in a chariot she was usually drawn by lions.

Ceres as noted was associated with agricultural activities. She taught humans how to cultivate crops including plowing and sowing. She then taught them to reap and harvest the grain followed by threshing creating flour and making bread. These were the crucial parts of society that provided all with sustenance of life. This connection is seen in the Twelve Tables as Pliny the Elder relates if an individual harms the harvest they are to be put to death to appease Ceres. She was also

associated later with the distribution of grain to the urban poor, the *frumentationes* and later the imperial *annona*. Since these were given to the plebs it again strengthened her connection with the poor plebs. She was also important in another aspect of agriculture, and by extension the plebeian struggle, since Ceres was the goddess who protected property rights, specifically the boundary markers.

The cult was important for not only the plebeians but also for women. The cult had an important role where women were officials. The official was to be a Roman citizen who performed the sacrifices on behalf of the citizens of Rome. Cicero made clear that the women priestesses were to make their cause for the Romans and that the Senate made them Roman citizens to do so. The importance of the worship of Ceres was in the protection of the plebs and the influence of women.

See also: Food and Drink: Cereals; Religion and Beliefs: Hades; Mystery Religions; Persephone

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CHRISTIANITY

Christianity began as a Jewish sect that worshipped Joshua Bar Joseph (Joshua son of Joseph), better known as Jesus, who had been executed by the Romans around 30 CE in Judea. The original followers of Jesus were Jews who viewed him as the Messiah or Anointed One. The first 20 years of the sect centered mainly in Judea with the conversion of others to the view that Jesus was the long awaited Jewish Messiah. Around 50 CE a convert, Saul of Tarsus, better known as Paul, began to teach that one did not have to be a Jew to follow the teachings of Jesus. This new message put Paul at odds with the original followers of Jesus and a council at Jerusalem was held. The theological issue was whether Jesus, called the Christ or Savior, was the Messiah. For the followers of Jesus, he was not only the Messiah but God. The issue had practical as well as theological implications. For non-Jews, Gentiles, to have to convert to Judaism would require the males to be circumcised, a painful operation that many did not desire. In addition, there were other nontheological issues, such as dietary, fasting, and ritual rules that may not have been welcomed by the Gentiles. Some of the results included lifting the ban on pork, traveling on the Sabbath, and no longer needing to travel to Jerusalem and the

Temple. As the new sect grew, it began to develop its own tenets and rules, which altered its relationship with Judaism. One of the key changes was that Jesus was seen as God and not just a prophet.

Christianity was soon placed into a precarious situation. As long as it was viewed as a Jewish sect its followers were bound by the rules of Judaism. This gave them certain protection; specifically Jews were historically tolerated by the Romans and were not seen as atheists. The Romans traditionally promoted toleration of other religions as long as they in return were tolerant of Rome's gods. Since Jews worshipped only one god to the exclusion of others, it potentially put them in conflict with Rome. But Rome had granted the Jews favored status in their early contacts, the time of the Maccabees 170 BCE, and this allowed the Jews to worship their own god but not the Roman's. Christianity then could rely upon this protection until the 50s CE. Christian and Jews came into conflict and both desired to prove to Rome that the other group was no longer associated with them. For the Jews this was easier since Judaism was already established; for Christians, the Romans indicated that if they were not Jewish then they could worship the gods of Rome. In response, the Christians indicated that they worshipped only one god, to which the Romans said that they were Jewish. The Christians said they were not, so the Romans again said that they could worship their gods, thus going round and round. The Emperor Nero, perhaps influenced by his wife Poppaea whom Josephus indicates may have been a secret Jewish proselyte, blamed the Christians for



Arch of Constantine, Rome, Italy, near Coliseum, ca. 315 CE. Constantine attributed his victory to a dream in which his men were to mark their shields with chi-rho, the first two Greek letters of Christ. The soldiers of Constantine on the right with their marked shields defeat Maxentius's army on the left. Christianity, originally a persecuted cult, became the official religion of Rome by 330 CE. (William Perry/Dreamstime.com)

the great fire in Rome. The Christians were now viewed as non-Jewish atheists and liable for persecution.

What set the Christians apart from other religions were their views of the afterlife and the concept of personal salvation. Christianity set itself apart from other religions in that the afterlife was based on how well one lived their life on earth in addition to believing in Christ. It was a moral philosophy and not based on wealth and power. Christians could point to Jesus's view that it was difficult for a wealthy man to enter heaven. Throughout the New Testament Gospels, the impression one receives is that the poor are destined to succeed, not the rich. This concept was in direct opposition to most other religions that based their afterlife on how important, powerful, or wealthy one was. Christianity indicated that this road to eternal happiness could not be bought such as in the mystery religions but rather could only be achieved through personal actions. Salvation was not a collective concept but rather individualistic. This was again in opposition to the ideas of the state religion seen in other societies.

The final aspect of early Christianity was the impending end of the world. This view was common in all religions, but in Christianity it took on a more pressing demand or outlook due to the historical nature of Jesus. Unlike most of the traditional polytheistic state religions that had their foundation in mythology, Christianity could point to a historical figure. During the first century CE after Jesus's disappearance (according to Christians his ascension into heaven), many Christians believed that he would physically return, which would herald the end of the world. For many of the early Christians, there was an expectation that this end would occur in their lifetime. In the Jewish rebellion during the late 60s CE many believed that the time had come, especially since there were sayings purported to have come from Jesus talking about the destruction of the Jewish Temple. When the world did not end and the Jewish rebellion was suppressed, Christians had to alter their concept of the end of the world. Some still continued to believe that it would come soon, while others began to explain that the end of the world had two meanings: the physical end of the world and the spiritual end of the individual.

While Christians continued (and still continue) to assert that the end of the physical world will occur and bring about a universal accounting of humanity, it is unknown. To back this view up Christians pointed to the purported sayings of Jesus that only the supreme god (His Father) knew and it was not revealed. This concept had the luxury that the end would not be revealed. The second end was the personal, which allowed individuals to concentrate on their end and how it personally affected them. In this concept, the end was about how one lived their life and if it was judged by god to be acceptable to earn the rewards of life in Heaven. This idea was new so much so that the individual was not only in control of their own fate but that it was not dependent upon other outside factors such as wealth or

power. For the normal individuals, this idea had a positive influence. They would no longer need to worry whether they were successful or not, rather how morally they led their life was crucial. This concept allowed anyone, even the poorest of individuals to find comfort in knowing that they could have eternal salvation. It was this view of the afterlife that allowed Christianity to flourish and ultimately overtake paganism.

See also: Arts: Jewish Literature; *Politics and Warfare:* Roman Provincial Treatment; *Religion and Beliefs:* Judaism; Magic; Mystery Religions; Sacrifices

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CYBELE

Cybele was a Phrygian mother-goddess of fertility associated with her young male consort Attis. She was originally worshipped as Magna Mater or the "great mother." Legend had her coming to Mount Dindymus at Pessinus where she was known as Agdistis. She was probably the supreme goddess/god of the Phrygian state given her uniqueness as the only goddess. Stories have King Midas worshipping her and building a temple to her in Phrygia. Some stories have Cybele as Midas's mother. Even after the goddess' cult stone was taken to Rome her site was still held as sacred to the goddess. The priests ran the palace and received rewards from the region. In Rome she was originally identified with Rhea. According to stories her stone image fell to earth there and a cult was established. Like Demeter/Ceres, she was the goddess of agriculture, fertility, and nature. She often had lions as attendants, which represented nature. One of her most important attributes was her ability to cure diseases (and opposite, send them), which made her site a destination for those ill.

Her consort Attis was conceived through the blossom of an almond tree that had grown from the severed male organs of Cybele who was born both male and female. Attis wished to marry Sangarius and Cybele, jealous, drove him mad

whereupon he castrated himself and died. In later cults Attis is viewed as the god of vegetation and his life and death were seen as the constant cycle of life and death that occurs in planting and harvesting. The priests of Cybele, the Corybantes or Galli, were eunuchs who seemingly castrated themselves in imitation of Attis; they were named in reference to the Gallus River that flowed near the temple and supposedly anyone who drank from its waters went mad. This was an obvious reference to the madness of Attis. The goddess was associated with Rhea by the Greeks. Both of the goddesses were associated with the ground. Rhea was often known as Cretan Rhea, which early on was associated with Cybele and worshipped in Lydia, Mysia, and Phrygia. She was also regarded as the founder of towns and cities due to her association with fertility and procreation, especially due to agriculture and viticulture. Her symbol was a diadem crowned with towers.

The Romans during the Second Punic War were instructed by the Sibylline Books and the oracle from Delphi to travel to Pessinus where her cult was located and negotiated the bringing of her sacred stone to Rome. Rome had been suffering from war, famine, and other natural disasters and the prophecies indicated that if the Romans embraced the Great Idaean Mother Goddess, they would be victorious over their arch enemy, Carthage. The envoys were sent to the ally, the King of Pergamum, to negotiate the transfer and were successful, although one wonders if they got the entire image or just a piece of the black meteorite, and built a temple on the Palatine. The cult was officially begun with the first festival, the Megalesia on April 12, 210 BCE, and a temple was built on the Palatine in 194 BCE. It was dedicated to Magna Mater. There were new games and festivals inaugurated to herald the arrival of a new deity in Rome. The Romans were never very comfortable with the cult, especially the idea of the castrated priests, and in fact the Romans were forbidden to be priests, although they could participate in the festival, the Megalesia. This festival was held from April 4 to 9. While Attis was not generally worshipped in the Greek world, in Rome he was accepted with Cybele. Catullus would write a poem on Attis (#63) in which he describes his frenzy and self-mutilation only to regret it upon regaining his sanity. He then contemptuously calls himself a girl.

In addition, the priests, called Corybantes, accompanied the goddess through the wilds with torches and wild dancing. These individuals would engage in wild ecstasies. In addition to these priests were the so-called begging priests called *Metragyrtae* and *Cybebi* who traveled about “begging” and professing the virtues of the goddess. These priests attempted to spread the news of the great goddess. They were successful in spreading the cult. The popularity of Cybele rose quickly during the Republic. Her connection with fertility and rebirth became popular. This was probably due to her connection to the food supply, in her celebration as *Demeter* and her ability to promote the Roman victories. As a goddess of fertility, she was associated with abundance. The rural population would have found her

to be associated with agricultural produce. She was also able to control animals, especially lions. Her cult was similar to the orgiastic and masochistic rights of the goddess of war, Bellona. Cybele became one of the favorites of the Roman military, like the cult of Mithras. One aspect of the cult was the *taurobolium* and *Criobolia*, which were the ritual killing of the bull and ram to honor her and Venus. The festival would proceed to the temple of Magna Mater or Cybele where the bull was led onto a platform over a trench. The bull was killed over a grate. The blood dripped into a grate below where the initiate stood and a shower of blood poured over the initiate. The object was to cleanse the initiate and allow him to be reborn. Inscriptions point to the worship of Magna Mater and Cybele. These inscriptions are from a later date; the earliest ones were from 160 CE.

A temple complex in Ostia was in the form of a triangle, perhaps in connection to Venus, the goddess of rebirth. The complex had among other items a temple to Cybele, a shrine to Attis, a temple to Bellona. This complex clearly brings the central ideas of Cybele together. Her worship was universal and embraced by many as one of the central mystery religions offering hope. Many individuals were drawn to her cult because it offered an afterlife more pleasant than the present world.

See also: Religion and Beliefs: Mystery Religion; Punic Religion; Sacrifices

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EMPEROR WORSHIP

The concept of worshipping the emperor, a human, is often difficult for some modern Western societies to understand. During the Hellenistic period, worship of the ruler, usually a king came into practice in the Greek world but mainly in the east. This was due to the fact that worshipping the king of Persia or the Pharaoh of Egypt was already well established for centuries and even millennia. For the Hellenistic rulers, notably the Seleucids and Ptolemies, they were merely continuing the previous practice in the areas they had conquered. Alexander the Great had started the trend. Whether he viewed himself as a god is unclear. However, within a generation, it was common in Syria and Egypt for their kings to be viewed as

gods by the populace. The Macedonian monarchs did not attempt to create the idea of worshipping their king as most Greeks on the mainland considered it anathema.

The Romans traditionally also viewed this idea with disdain and contempt. After driving out their kings and establishing the Republic, the idea of worshipping the ruler was akin to believing in the reestablishment of the monarchy. The Romans were even concerned during the Republic with the idea of congratulating their conquering generals when strict rules and procedures were created for the triumph. The end of the Republic saw the greatest change when Julius Caesar attempted to create some new policies. Julius Caesar had declared himself dictator for life and had hoped to be hailed as king. His view, probably influenced from the eastern monarchs, especially Egypt, perhaps made him desirous for the next step, which would be to be declared a god. With his assassination this in fact occurred, and Julius Caesar was declared a Roman god. Julius Caesar attempted to view himself as a living god in the style of Alexander and his successors.

Octavian (later Augustus) used Caesar's divinity to his advantage. As the adopted son of Julius Caesar he became the son of a god. Coins and inscriptions declare his official parentage as *divi filius* or son of the divine (Caesar). While Augustus did not openly declare himself a god, there was the divinity by extension. During his reign, he did not allow temples to be built for him outright, but he did allow temples to be built to "Rome and Augustus" and so by extension through this combination to be dedicated to him as if a god, a subtle difference that most did not follow. His religious piety did not allow him to be viewed openly as a god, but it is clear that he did not mind the adulation and by the end of his life most inhabitants viewed him as a god. One of the complaints made against Julius Caesar was that he was beginning to act like a Hellenistic ruler; for example, he did not stand when other senators entered the Senate house. While the majority of the inhabitants did not recognize any difference between Julius Caesar's actions and those of the other Senate nobles, the elites did and resented it. This in turn became one of the reasons for his assassination. Augustus was careful not to follow this practice; in fact, he refused any offer of dictator or king and instead took the title of princeps or leading citizen. While the populace did not understand the difference, it was important for the nobles.

Augustus upon his death became a god-like Julius Caesar. His successor Tiberius did not promote any of the ideas of imperial divinity other than to make Augustus a god and establish a religious cult and priesthood for his sacrifices. Since Tiberius began the cult of Augustus, he made by extension the importance of the connection of his rule to that of the divine Augustus. This connection allowed Tiberius to be further associated with the divinity of the emperor and so by extension made the office of the emperor appear divine. Caligula marks a very different tone. While it is probable that he was mentally unbalanced, he

continued the ideas of Julius Caesar and saw himself as a Hellenistic monarch, one above reproach. He viewed himself, as well as his sister, as gods; in fact, he claimed to be Jupiter incarnate. While his antics and beliefs were probably viewed humorously by his fellow Romans, his attempt to put a statue of himself as Jupiter in the Jewish Temple nearly led to a total war. Fortunately, his death and the deliberate slowness by the governor of Syria to carry out his order prevented it from happening. Was his view one of insanity or an attempt to distract the populace from other issues? Traditionally, he has been viewed as insane, but some scholars now see his actions as possible attempts to install a new power group in place of the one he inherited. Augustus and Tiberius's rules covering nearly 60 years had allowed individuals to develop power and entrench themselves in their positions. Caligula's antics may have hid his real attempt to create a new system loyal to him and not that of the previous bureaucrats and military leaders.

Caligula was followed by his uncle Claudius who attempted to restore the balance between the emperor and the ruling elites. He was said to have revered the ancient rites but was made a god in England by the natives after his conquest of the island. The importance of Claudius was that while he did not view himself as a god, he did not attempt to prevent the nonclassical regions from following their own views and customs, a step slightly beyond Augustus's concept but nowhere near Caligula's. His restoration of personal divinity continued for most of the Empire with the occasional exception. What became more important was the attempt by new dynasties to ensure their power by having their predecessors declared a god. When Vespasian successfully came to power, he created the new Flavian dynasty. With his death his son Titus had Vespasian declared a god. While this act may have been expected and perhaps routine, it did establish Titus in power; and with the premature death of Titus, his brother Domitian had Titus declared a god, again helping him in his transition into power.

For everyday individuals, the worship of the emperor as a god, whether living or dead, probably did not alter their view of the emperor or the institution. Most individuals did not interact with the supreme ruler of the Empire and as such perhaps viewed them as modern individuals view their political leaders. Some would have praised them openly and meant it, while others praised them openly and despised them privately, and probably rejoiced in their death but not too openly.

See also: *Food and Drink:* State Banquets; *Religion and Beliefs:* Roman Myths; State Religion

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HADES

Hades was the god of the underworld, known to the Romans as Pluto or Dis Pater. Hades was the son of Cronus and Rhea and his name meant "the invisible." He was the brother of Hera, Hestia, Demeter, Zeus (Jupiter), and Poseidon. When the world was divided between the three brothers, he received the underworld. While the underworld is commonly known as Hades as well, it really was meant to be the House of the god Hades. Unlike his brothers' realms that could be seen, Hades's realm was invisible, hence his name. His attribute was the helmet, which made the wearer invisible. The helmet was given to him by the Cyclops to battle the Giants. He was not the god of death, a common misconception, which belonged to Thanatos, rather he ruled the underworld. The Latin name Pluto came from the Greek Plouton meaning "wealth giver" and was associated with the earth's metals such as gold and silver, while Dis comes from the Latin "dives" meaning rich. The idea for both of these concepts was that as lord of the underworld, Hades controlled all materials under the earth, which meant precious metals, giving rise to riches. He was said to have driven a golden chariot drawn by four black immortal horses. He seized the daughter of his sister Demeter, Persephone, by abduction and took her to the underworld where he tricked her into eating pomegranate seeds which meant that she could not return to the earth during the entire year.

While Hades kingdom may refer to the underworld it was more common in Greek myth to lie in the west, specifically the entrance lay beyond the Pillars of Hercules and the Ocean stream, which surrounded the known Greek world. More importantly, the entrance was through rifts or valleys leading to the underground rivers, which flowed into Hades's kingdom. The most famous was the River Styx, "the abhorrent" or Acheron. The Greeks held that the river was in Arcadia and its waters were poisonous. Styx was the daughter of Oceanus and Tethys and with her sisters aided Zeus against the Titans. The Greeks believed that an oath undertaken in the name Styx was inviolable. If an individual was properly buried then the ferryman, Charon, would take the body; in this case a ghost, across the river to Hades's kingdom where the ghost was judged and allotted its position. The three-headed dog Cerberus guarded the entrance. Some legends hold that he had 50 heads and that his tail was made of snakes. Cerberus prevented the dead, and presumably the living, from leaving or entering Hades. The kingdom contained the realm of Tartarus where the evil ones were punished. Next in position was the

Plain of Asphodel where the dead merely existed. It was possible that a few souls could migrate to Elysium where the existence was seen as better than on earth and one's life was full of content and happiness.

Hades and his wife Persephone ruled the kingdom of the underworld. Although death, and therefore by extension Hades, was undesirable, the god was not viewed negatively as someone who hated mortals. Rather, he was viewed as the keeper of the souls of the departed and the one who ensured that the harmony of the spirits and nature was observed. Sacrifices were in the form of black sheep; those offering the sacrifice averted their face. Hades could only hear oaths and curses from mortals when he was in his kingdom. Since his role as lord of the underworld was not popular, there were few statues and temples erected for him. He had a temple at Elis that was opened only once a year. The few statues that exist show him like his brothers Zeus and Poseidon with hair falling onto his forehead and a general disposition of gloomy. The ancients debated as to whether Hades could have children. In some legends his offspring were the *furies*, while others indicated that he was not capable of having children and that the children born from Persephone were really by Zeus in the disguise of Hades.

His attributes included his helmet which made him invisible. It was used by Hades in the battle against the Titans and used by Perseus. His staff could open the ground so as to allow a passage to the underworld. His golden palace held a golden throne where he dispensed justice. While he did not pity the departed he was nevertheless seen as just and not capricious.

When someone died, they were believed to be carried by the ferryman Charon who led the soul to the underworld. To arrive in Hades's kingdom, the individual had to pay Charon; to do so, the departed needed a coin, which was placed on their lips; failure to do so would result in their soul being trapped between the two worlds. The Romans believed that the dead had to be cared for lest they wander the world and haunt the living. While he was not usually invoked for help, Hades was nevertheless viewed as the keeper of the balance between the living and the dead, as the judger of souls. In Roman thought, Hades (Dis) was not the god of death; he did not decide who lived or died, though he did send forth the god of death, Mors or Thanatos, to bring death as decreed by the three Fates. In Roman mythology, the entrance to the underworld was at Avernus, a cave near Cumae, and was where Aeneas entered the kingdom of Pluto.

The Romans introduced the worship of Dis Pater (Pluto) early in the Republic at the command of the Sibylline Book. He had a chapel or small shrine near the altar of Saturnus. Dis, together with Persephone, also had a subterranean altar in the Campus Martius, which was only opened during the Secular Games held every 100 years. Black animals were offered to both in sacrifices. In Gaul, the god Dis was seen as the supreme god, whether the connection with the Roman god was direct or merely a Roman interpretation is difficult to determine.

See also: Family and Gender: Death and Dying; Religion and Beliefs: Ceres; Mystery Religions; Olympian Gods; Persephone

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ISIS AND OSIRIS

The worship of Egyptian goddess Isis and god Osiris, sister–brother/wife–husband increased in popularity during the late Republic and early Empire, as a mystery religion. Isis, seen as the perfect wife and mother, was viewed as the goddess of nature and magic and was worshipped as a friend to women and slaves. She was also the goddess of life and death. The myth that directly connected her to the mystery religions was the interactions between Isis, Osiris, and Set. There were various versions to the stories, but the central theme was that Set killed Osiris and then chopped up his body so that his wife Isis could not reassemble it. Isis was able to reassemble Osiris, except for his phallus, but she made a new one using magic; then the two mated so that Isis gave birth to their son Horus.

The Greek Historian Herodotus connected Isis with Demeter as the Egyptian equivalent of the goddess of rebirth. After Egypt's conquest by Alexander the Great, his general Ptolemy ruled the region and elevated Isis as “Queen of Heaven” to promote his connection with the ancient Egyptians. This promotion of Isis allowed the religion to grow even more and other goddesses such as Demeter, Aphrodite, and Astarte were now seen as Isis. During the next three centuries, Isis became a crucial religion in the new mystery cults. Like other religions that promoted rebirth, Isis and Osiris were deeply involved in agriculture. Osiris was the god of the Nile and brought to humans the knowledge of the plough; his wife Isis taught people to cultivate and harvest especially wheat and barley, which became gifts to her during her festival. Osiris as the river fertilized the soil or Isis. As the Egyptian goddess of the soil or earth she and Osiris were worshipped by all Egyptians. Osiris and Isis later became the gods of the sun and the moon.

The mystery cults believed in the concept of rebirth or the afterlife. This concept gave individuals something to hope for and provided for comfort in a world in which they were often abused or downtrodden. The mystery cults, however, promoted the idea of exclusivity, that is, their cult was the only one that could

lead you to enlightenment. While most cults did not require their followers to be exclusive, that is, believing and practicing only their cult, they did require commitment of time and money to their god/goddess. Usually the cults held that to gain full knowledge of the mystery there were steps required where the adherent was expected to provide gifts to the gods. These gifts, given to the priest and priestesses, were used for the clergies' own use and not always for the temple or the cult. Many of the cults and their priest/priestesses grew wealthy over time. In addition to gaining wealth many of the cults became favorites of politically powerful individuals. The Emperor Gaius (Caligula) favored Isis and celebrated her festival.

Isis was favored by Cleopatra, mistress of Julius Caesar and Queen of Egypt. With his assassination a temple to Isis was decreed by the people, but when Augustus achieved his victory over Cleopatra and Egypt, he cancelled the temple as part of his movement to restore the traditional Roman religion. The temples to Isis, the Iseum grew in importance during the early Empire and spread throughout the Roman world. It was Augustus's victory over Cleopatra and the incorporation of Egypt into the Empire that allowed the religion to grow. While Sulla had introduced the cult of Isis when he returned from Greece, her success was challenged by the conservative nature of the Senate. Her cult was banned in 58 BCE by the Senate, but the people and the consuls refused to carry out the order. This refusal probably shows the powerful sentiment of the cult in the city of Rome. Five years later her private worship was forbade probably indicating that the Senate's decree was carried out. The subsequent persecution included the destruction of her private sanctuaries. In 50 BCE, the Consul L. Aemilius Paulus carried out the first attack on the temples; these attacks were only partially successful since another decree occurred in 47 BCE ordering more attacks. When the cult was restored, after the assassination of Julius Caesar by the triumvirs in 43 BCE, her shrines were found only outside the ancient walls. Augustus in fact tried to prevent temples from being established in the city; but by the time of Vespasian her cult was not only well established but also flourishing in Rome.

During the Roman period, the Latin author Apuleius wrote his book *Metamorphoses* (*Golden Ass*) on how Isis was viewed as a universal god. In a revelation to Apuleius, she states that she is known by many names, she is the Universal god, nature, the primordial god; she is queen of the dead and queen of the immortal, worshipped by all and known as Isis.

The importance of Isis was her connection with Osiris and the evolution of the cult under the Ptolemies. Under the Greeks, Osiris was identified with Apis and the Ptolemies joined the two attributes together, which ultimately led to the cult of Serapis replacing Osiris. This god too became one of the favorites of the Roman Empire. The cult of Serapis was created to join the Egyptian and Greek religion together to strengthen the Ptolemies's position with the local natives

by having a new religion familiar with the ancient Egyptian culture, yet glorifying the Greeks. The god appeared as a Greek hero/god, thus appealing to the Greek population in the garb of the Egyptians to appeal to the native population. His cult signified the idea of resurrection. His temple called the *serapeum* was spread throughout Egypt by the Greeks and throughout the Mediterranean by the Romans. During the later antiquity, Serapis replaced Osiris as the spouse of Isis.

Isis became popular with the Roman population after Octavian defeated Cleopatra and incorporated Egypt into the Roman state. The new land allowed for the

VISION OF ISIS

In the following passage from his Latin novel *The Metamorphoses* (also known as *The Golden Ass*), the second-century CE Roman author Lucius Apuleius (ca. 124–ca. 170 CE) describes a dream in which a vision of the Egyptian goddess Isis appeared to him.

First, she had a great abundance of hair, flowing and curling, dispersed and scattered about her divine neck. On the crown of her head, she bore many garlands interlaced with flowers, and in the middle of her forehead was a plain circlet in the fashion of a mirror, or rather resembling the moon by the light that it gave forth. And this was borne up on either side by serpents that seemed to rise from the furrows of the earth, and above it were blades of corn set out. Her vestment was of the finest linen, yielding diverse colors, somewhere white and shining, somewhere yellow like the crocus flower, somewhere rosy red, somewhere flaming. And (which very much troubled my sight and spirit) her cloak was utterly dark and obscure, covered with shining black, and being wrapped around her from under her left arm to her right shoulder in the manner of a shield. Part of it fell down, pleated in most subtle fashion, to the skirts of her garment, so that the welts appeared attractive. Here and there upon its edge and throughout its surface, the stars glittered, and in the middle of them was placed the moon in mid-month, which shone like a flame of fire. And round about the whole length of the border of that fine robe was a crown or garland with an unbroken wreath, made with all flowers and all fruits.

(Apuleius, 1915, Book XI: 1–4)

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importation of Egyptian ideas, which became popular due to being new and exotic. The importation of Isis was similar and it became popular due to the ideas of the mystery religions. Isis became one of the most popular religions among the local urban population, including women, and spread quickly. Remains from Pompeii show that it was widespread. The priest wore linen garments, while those who were initiated wore masks of dog's heads in their procession. In representations, her long *tunic* is of linen fastened by a knot at the breasts, while she wears a lotus crown and carries a sistrum. The worship of Isis was popular in all components of Roman society.

See also: Religion and Beliefs: Magic; Mystery Religions

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JUDAISM

Judaism refers to the religion of the Jews, an ancient Semitic people that ultimately inhabited the region known as Palestine, a small strip of land between Syria in the north and Egypt in the south. Unique amongst ancient peoples, Jews practiced monotheism worshipping only one god they called Yahweh. While in their earliest times, pre-Abraham practiced polytheism, it was with Abraham that the idea of monotheism began to come to forefront for this tribe. Throughout its history, elements in Judaism did practice polytheism, condemned in the Jewish Bible, but its central core of monotheism ultimately won out. What also differentiated Judaism with other religions was the idea that the Jewish God was not in competition with other gods as in the other ancient Near Eastern religions, but rather, was seen as the driver of humanity and earth. The Bible originally had the determination of Judaism through the father's line; this was altered during the Roman period for mixed marriages to follow that of the mother's line, perhaps to mirror Roman policy of when an offspring's legality could not be determined exactly, it followed the mother. Males who converted were circumcised as a sign of their acceptance of Judaism.

The Jewish religion, however, is also wrapped up in the evolution of the Jewish political life and its interaction with other societies. After Moses led the Jewish people out of Egypt, according to their history, probably referring to a series of migrations rather than one movement, the Jewish people settled in the region of Palestine. After dominating this territory and becoming a monarchy under Saul and David, the Jewish people reached their heights under Solomon and the establishment of the First Temple. The kingdom would last until 570 BCE, when the southern kingdom with Jerusalem was taken and the Temple destroyed. After a 70-year period, the Exiles returned from Babylon and a new Second Temple was built; the Jews were given some autonomy. This autonomy lasted until the time of Alexander the Great when the area fell under the Seleucids and Ptolemies. A national uprising under the Maccabees from 175 to 134 BCE not only achieved the Jews a return to independence but also brought them into contact with Rome who helped them. The development of the Hasmonean kingdom did bring independence but ultimately led to internecine war, which destroyed the state and allowed the political power to pass first to the family of Herod and then Rome.



Menorah from Jewish Temple in Jerusalem on Arch of Titus, Rome, Italy, 80 CE. The Romans recognized the monotheistic religion of Judaism beginning in the second century BCE. After the Jewish client kingdom rebelled in 66 CE, the Romans destroyed Jerusalem and the Jewish Temple with its treasures returned to Rome as seen in this scene. (Jon Arnold/JAI/Corbis)

During this same time, religious developments began to occur centered on the two main factions, the Pharisees and Sadducees. The Pharisees believed that all Jews had to follow the purity laws both inside the Temple and outside. They continually laid out the rules that Jews had to follow lest they be assimilated into Hellenization. The Sadducees were the traditional priesthood of the Temple and controlled the high priesthood; unfortunately, it was during this time that they developed a reputation for corruption. The Pharisees held themselves up as the group restoring Judaism back to its purity. The Sadducees also came from the elites, while many of the Pharisees came from the middle class. The Sadducees believed that there was no fate, individuals have free will, there is no afterlife and therefore there are no punishments or rewards after death. Unlike the Pharisees, the Sadducees did not believe in the resurrection of the dead. The Sadducees viewed only the Torah as the law and unlike the Pharisees did not accept the oral traditions that were followed as law. Another group that grew up after the establishment of the Second Temple was the Essenes. This group was smaller than the other two but held an idea that their other brethren were not pure. They believed in asceticism and removing themselves from the sinful society of Jerusalem. While there is debate as to whether the Essenes wrote the Dead Sea Scrolls, it is apparent that they were known by many and were seen as depriving themselves of worldly goods. They believed in charity, communal prayer, observance of the Sabbath, and ritual bathing. The current scholarly view is that they lived in the area of Qumran and were probably responsible for the Dead Sea Scrolls. This view has been challenged; however, neither side has definitive proof. Another major group was the Zealots. The Zealots arose within the occupation of Judea by the Romans under the Emperor Augustus beginning in 6 CE. They were opposed to foreign domination and occupation. While they were a nationalistic group, they still had a religious bent of observing the rites and laws of ancient Judaism.

Another sect was the Nazarenes who ultimately became the Christians. Led by the followers of John the Baptist and Jesus, the group initially converted fellow Jews. Ultimately, the group began to convert Gentiles believing that the followers did not have to become a Jew first. It was this concept of not becoming a Jew that led them to calling themselves followers of Christ or Christians.

The average Roman did not understand the Jews. As a polytheistic religious believer, the Roman could not understand how one could have only a single god. In addition, the Jews did not have a cult statue to worship. Under Julius Caesar and Augustus, the Roman government treated the Jews with toleration. This policy was not based upon any understanding of or sympathy for Judaism, but upon respect for the antiquity of Judaism, a long-standing tradition being regarded by the Romans as a foundation for political and social stability. During the late Republic and early Empire, the Romans granted the Jews various privileges and exemptions, but these were given largely as patronage grants from individual Roman

leaders to Jewish leaders who had supported them as clients. The Romans thus saw Judaism in terms of their own social and cultural norms. During the rule of Caligula and Claudius, there were riots between the Jews in Alexandria with native Greek and Egyptians. While the Romans favored the Jews because of the personal connection with the family of Herod, they made it clear that the Romans did not appreciate violence between the groups. It was not a clear victory for the Jews. With the attempt to introduce imperial worship and the Jewish rebellion under Nero, which resulted in the destruction of Jerusalem and the enslavement of the population of Judea, the Roman populace continued to view them with disdain. The Jews were required to pay a Jewish tax well into the next century. Ultimately, the Jews were allowed some relief, but they never achieved their former importance or independence.

See also: Arts: Jewish Literature; *Politics and Warfare:* Roman Provincial Treatment; *Religion and Beliefs:* Christianity; Mystery Religions; Sacrifices

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LUPERCALIA

The Romans believed that a central part of a young person's coming of age was the public festivals. The most famous was the Lupercalia. This feast probably replaced and assimilated an earlier festival of purification to *Februa*. This was an ancient festival probably dating before the time of Rome. It was connected with the Arcadians in Greece and the worship of Pan. The festival was held on February 15 and was originally in honor of Faunus (the Roman Pan) and was revered by the shepherds. The name Lupercalia was associated with *lupus* or wolf and presumably was in reference to the shepherd driving the wolves away from their flocks. Due to its connection with the flocks and their protection, it was a festival of fertility not only for the animals but also for the fields and people. The festival was supervised by two priests, the Luperci, originally drawn from two families, the gens Quinctilia (or Quinctia) and Fabia, and a third, the Julii, was added during the Empire. The leaders of the college of priests or *magister* would touch the

forehead of the boys with a sword dipped in blood, while the other priest wiped the spots off with wool dipped in milk; afterward, the boys were to break out in laughter. The festival had its starting point on the Palatine Hill at the Lupercal or cave where Romulus and Remus were supposedly suckled by the she-wolf. Here the priest sacrificed goats and a dog, probably in reference to the wolf, both of which were known for their strong sexual instinct and then smeared the blood on two naked boys; this was in part a segment of the purification rites that shepherds went through. The youths were then clad in the skins of goats; with the remainder of the skins cut into strips, they then ran through old city striking people with the strips as a symbol of fertility. They especially hit women as this was considered a sign of good luck and women often eagerly made themselves prominent in hopes of being struck so as to become fertile. The running through the streets was symbolic of the running through the fields, which made the land fertile, while the strips, *februa*, or “means of purification” made the month that the festival took place, *februarius*, the time of purification. The feast, however, is filled with ambiguity but nevertheless probably is associated with the general rites of passage for both boys and girls.

Ovid explored the myth of the Lupercalia but in a different vein than other stories. He describes it as part of the Hercules myth, when the hero was enslaved to the barbarian queen Omphale. But Ovid has him not as a proud warrior but rather as a young boy and Omphale is not a queen but a young maiden. For Ovid, the story is about two young people moving into adulthood. The idea is further enhanced with each cross-dressing, Hercules wearing Omphale’s dress and she wearing his lion skin. The idea here is that both are changing from their previous life into something different. Ovid then explains that the youths are naked and then clothed in goat skins in remembrance of Pan and his Greek myth with his attempted rape of Omphale. Pan required his worshipers to be naked so as to make it easier for him to overcome Omphale. Romulus and Remus are then recalled to have participated in the worship of Pan and hence being naked. In another story they were running naked chasing bulls when Remus was captured by the enemy; Romulus learns his true nature and proceeds to engage in combat with the enemy and regain his brother. The festival then commemorated the two boys running naked and their subsequent transformation into adulthood.

The youths purify the city walls or lustration by running either around the walls or through the city. Since the city wall or boundary was sacred, it was crucial to remind the people of the importance of this barrier in history. The youths then reminded all that the wall was sacred and that their passage through it commemorated all of their transformations from youth to adult; this ceremony would be repeated yearly showing the importance of the wall and the transformation of

youth into adults. The youths ended their run in the *comitium* where adults met to pass laws, in other words, the place where an adult citizen determined Rome's future.

The whipping of women again finds their roots in the Romulus story. After the Sabine, women had been kidnapped; Romulus was disturbed that none of them became pregnant. Upon consulting Juno he was informed that the sacred goat had to enter the Italian women; an old Etruscan woman indicated that the Sabine women needed to be whipped by the goat skin so as to enter them. The rite was to allow these young women to enter into adulthood; to allow the newly married to become fertile and become mothers. In later generations, this was transformed into young women being whipped so as to promote fertility and reduce the pains of labor. For the young man chosen to be a *lupercus* it was a defining moment, one of pride and honor. The recipients were not just from Rome but throughout Italy and even southern Gaul.

Since the festival was associated with fertility, it had an important role in the lives of everyone. Roman society believed that the transformation from youth to adulthood involved not only private events but public ones as well. These public events were needed to show that society was moving forward and that individuals now stood ready to assume the role of leaders. In the Republic, this also meant the movement of an individual from playing to assuming the role of soldier, husband, and father. For women it meant the movement from living in one's parents' home to the home of her husband and being not only a wife but also a mother.

See also: Recreation and Social Customs: Public Festivals at Rome; Religion and Beliefs: Roman Myths; State Religion

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MAGIC

Magic in antiquity was different than religion. Whereas religion was based on certain beliefs or ideas, magic was based on formulas to create an effect. These formulas could be in the form of incantations, recipes, symbols, or even dress. What

was important in magic was the structure, not the content. Many of the practices in magic were related to astrology and superstition. While astrology followed the ideas that the heavenly bodies influenced humans on earth, magic was an attempt to alter earthly substances, or influence humans through interaction. In both the instances superstition became an important component.

References to magic existed in the Homeric period when Odysseus was injured by a boar and his bleeding was stopped by a song. Circe, whom Odysseus spent several years with, was called a witch and turned his men into pigs and entrapped Odysseus with her spells. Odysseus was even taught by Circe how to summon ghosts or necromancy, to help mortals. Cicero indicated that necromancy was practiced in his day and the Emperor Nero used it as well. The magician who could do this, a necromancer, was often in high demand and could charge for his services quite well.

There were different types of magic, with each having their own influence. Magic did not have to be evil; it could be used for good. For example, in Greek mythology, Orpheus uses magic to descend into the underworld to bring back his wife Eurydice. Using his music Orpheus was also said to be able to charm anything, again magic that was not necessarily evil. In the myth, he was able to change Hades and Persephone's will by his music and allow Eurydice to return to the mortal world. Another type of magic was spells. There were extensive magical texts in the ancient world on how to make spells. A body of evidence in the form of papyri exist that give insight into how these spells were written: the Greek Magical Papyri dated from the second century BCE to the fifth century CE. They contain spells to ward off evil or inflict harm upon one's enemy. They had formulaic prayers to prevent injury, and recipes to make one well or sick. The spells might also have prayers to make an amulet work.

Many associated magic with Judaism and Christianity. In the New Testament there are several references to magic and its practice. Jesus was said to have been a magician since he was able to drive demons out of possessed people. Although his acts were not as spectacular as those of Moses and Aaron in Egypt from the Old Testament, he nevertheless was seen as a magician, even by his enemies. He did not, however, practice necromancy or communication with the dead, either by summoning their spirit or raising them bodily, not as reborn, but as still dead. It was said, however, that he was able to restore the life of someone; this would not be seen as necromancy. The apostles after Jesus were confronted with magicians. For example, in the Acts of the Apostles, one Simon (not to be confused with Simon or Peter who followed Jesus) was called a wizard who could perform magic. Peter was approached by an individual named Simon who asked if he would sell him the powers of healing. Although rejected by Peter, Simon continued to practice his magic and even seemed to borrow from Christianity declaring

a trinity of himself, his partner Helen, and Jesus. Simon practiced the traditional occult sciences. For example, he practiced necromancy and was said to have created a human. In the end, Simon and Peter “fought” with Simon “flying” and Peter banishing his demons, which caused Simon to fall and die. Many Romans viewed Jews and Christians with suspicion since both were often seen as witches and wizards who engaged in magic; the worst being the revival of the dead. Paul urged the inhabitants of Ephesus to burn their magical books to allow them to be free from their wicked ways. Public use of magic was viewed as acceptable, but private use of magic was seen as evil since the good of the public was not being followed. The early Romans, as seen in their early law codes the Twelve Tables, forbade the use of incantations if they were used to harm someone. There exist many papyri that have magical spells. These include spells to have someone fall in love with another or spells to cure someone.

One area where magic and politics intersected was in alchemy. There were many magicians who followed the path of trying to turn base metals into gold. This was a get-rich-quick scheme. Although the acts did not succeed, they were constantly attempted. The emperors continually banished those magicians who attempted to engage in this dangerous activity. It was dangerous since it potentially could upset the currency and undermine the economy. Since the individuals could not change lead to silver, the emperors decided to ensure that their fake knowledge was not to be passed down since this would continually create an illusion. The Roman emperors continually sought out those texts that might undermine their economy and society and destroy them.

Most individuals probably believed in some sort of magic. Even the early Christians probably viewed Jesus as a powerful magician who superseded all others. The concept of magic allowed most Romans to have a hope for a better life. Jews and Egyptians were often viewed as experts in magic. Many of the spells dealt with areas such as driving out demons. Many of the texts were curse tablets meant to cause harm and pain. These texts called upon the gods to help the writer cause the pain toward his enemies. Documents have been found in Egypt and Britain. One in Britain found in a late Roman temple on a lead tablet was meant to cause harm to at least a dozen people. In this text, some of the names were written backward or upside down. At the city of Bath England, over 100 tablets have been found indicating that curses and black magic were at least common enough to elicit responses from all types of people. Most of the texts related to theft. Common individuals viewed magic as a reality and most probably would fear it as well.

See also: Religion and Beliefs: Astrology; Atheism; Christianity; Judaism; Moral Codes

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MITHRAIC MYSTERIES

The Mithraic Mysteries refer to the cult of worship of the ancient god Mithra (the Greek form). The name comes from the Persian word Mithra meaning an angel of truth denoting covenant. The early theory had that the original Mithra was the Persian Zoroastrian god and that during the late Roman Republic, it was introduced into the Roman world as Mithras (the Roman form). The difference between the two cults lay in the killing of the bull, something only occurring in the Roman representation and not in the Persian mythology. More recent ideas have it that Mithras was a complete Roman invention in the first century BCE. The theory postulates that there was probably a connection with the Iranian god Ahura Mazda although by the time it arrived in Rome, it had undergone substantial change. It was probably during the first century CE that the cult was finalized into the more familiar Roman imperial format when the earliest archaeological material can be dated. The mysteries celebrated the birth, death, and renewal of Mithras. For many Romans, this celebration of the mysteries allowed them to think of their possible future, especially after death. Mithras was said to have been born from a rock already in his youth holding his sacred dagger and a torch. The literary and archaeological materials probably show a delay in the material culture and its original occurrence.

Traditionally, the central part of the mystery was the tauroctony or the ritual slaying of the bull. However, as some early scholars believed, the cult of Mithras probably does not associate itself with the *taurobolium*, which was the ritual killing of the bull and letting the blood to be poured into a grill below. The scene shows Mithras slaying the bull either as a relief, sculpture, or painting. Mithras holds the bull's nostrils in the left hand while stabbing it with the right. He wore a Phrygian cap and Anatolian cape while looking back at the god Sol. The bull's tail is a sheaf of wheat. The scene then has a dog and snake licking the blood, while a scorpion grabs the bull's testicles. Many of the scenes have torch bearers, often with one holding a torch pointing up, while another bearer pointing it down. Since the scene



Mithraic altar, Circus Maximus, Rome, Italy, imperial age. The worship of Mithra, a god from the east was common among the Roman soldiers. Their place of worship, the Mithraeum was usually underground such as shown here, or in a cave. The cult was one of the mystery religions which promised rebirth. (Araldo de Luca/Corbis)

takes place in a cave where Mithras has carried the bull, many of the Mithraeum or gathering places for the worshippers of Mithras were located underground. Some of the reliefs show different scenes from Mithras life, his birth from a rock, riding the bull, meeting the god Sol, and ascending into heaven on a chariot.

The central worship area for Mithras was the Mithraeum, which is a modern term; it may have been called a temple, cave, crypt, or something else in antiquity. Probably, the Mithraeum was originally a cave representing the myth where Mithras carried the bull and slayed it; it was then adapted to urban life where it was often constructed in a basement. In cities, the Mithraea were underground, often vaulted, and windowless with stone vaulting. If stone was not available, then wood and plaster were used to simulate a cave. As time went on the cult probably became less secretive and this in turn allowed the feasts to be more public. These were not elaborate temples but rather a place where an intimate setting could take

place for the meetings and meal. The site was usually located near a spring or stream since water was used in the rituals. Unlike classical temples built on hills or raised platforms so that the public could see and the gods look out over the city, the Mithraeum was exactly the opposite, hidden in a cave.

After the scene of the killing of the bull, the next important scene was of the banquet. Some of the reliefs were double sided; they turned so that the scene on the back portrayed the feast or banquet on parts of the just-slayed bull by Mithras and Sol, while the departed souls of humans are released into the heavens. This idea is strengthened since some of the scenes have a torchbearer pointing the caduceus, a symbol of the god Mercury, toward the ground eliciting flames, which was a symbol of releasing souls.

Part of the cult involved the initiation of new members. There are no ancient Mithraic texts; there were only later texts that referred to the earlier ones. The Byzantine work known as the *suda* has mentioned that no one could be initiated into the mysteries of Mithras without undergoing several gradations. Another author stated that there were tests for the mysteries. St. Jerome indicated that there were seven gradations. There were five scenes from a mosaic that possibly show the gradations. The seven grades and their symbols were the raven (caduceus of Mercury), bridegroom (lamp), soldier (helmet, lance), lion (fire shovel, sign of Jupiter), Persian (Persian dagger), sun-runner (torch), and father (libation bowl, symbol of Saturn). This gradation showed that the mysteries had a series of initiations.

Most of what we know about the cult comes from the archaeological material. Although the early belief had the Roman Mithras from the east, only a few Mithraeum have been discovered in Syria, while over 400 are in the west. This does not mean that the cult was favored in the west and not the east; rather it may be due to the fact that archaeological remains were more prominent in the west. For the Romans the idea that there was a series of gradations would allow one to receive the mysteries of salvation through a process of opening. The cult became a favorite of the soldiers.

See also: *Religion and Beliefs*: Christianity; Cybele; Mystery Religions; Temples

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MORAL CODES

The Roman concept of moral codes was *mos maiorum* meaning ancient customs. This was the idea of the unwritten codes that needed to be practiced for the good of society as opposed to the written laws of the Twelve Tables and later laws to regulate society. These were the ideas that promoted Rome through social actions, private and public behaviors, and military and political actions as a way to educate. The first and foremost center of the moral codes was the family. It was expected that the *Paterfamilias* teach his family the correct moral behavior. The ancient customs held that the male members of the family were the dominant political and private power source. The *Paterfamilias*, for example, held complete power over his family, even death. The moral codes then branched out to the next level, the patron and client relationship. Here it was expected that the client show respect to his patron and the patron in turn take care of his client. This unwritten rule became the basis for the Roman political system in which the clients would support their patron politically. It was the basis of this idea that prompted the conservative politicians of the late Republic, as witnessed with Cicero and Cato the Younger, to declare that the ancient moral customs were being abandoned by the plebs who supported the popular politicians, especially Julius Caesar. This abandonment of the *mos maiorum* led to the rise of the Empire; ironically, it was Augustus who declared that he was restoring the *mos maiorum* to secure peace.

The idea of morality was associated with the philosophy of the society. For the Romans this was to keep the state under control and at peace. To achieve this control, the Romans believed that the state must not change radically, but rather ancient customs must continue. One of the ideas was that women were to be chaste and honored. The Romans related in the past how the Republic was established because of the outrages of Tarquinius, the son of Tarquinius the Proud who raped Lucretia. Lucretia related how the young Tarquinius attempted to seduce her and when she refused his advances he raped her; humiliated she related the story to her husband and kinsmen and then committed suicide in front of them. Her family was so disgusted and distraught that they drove the king out and established the Republic. The foundation of the Republic was therefore established due to the violation of a woman's virtue. Women of course were expected to maintain higher levels of morality than men. It was permitted for men to drink and party, while under the Republic, it was expected that women do not drink; and it was permitted for a male relative to kiss his kinswomen to determine if she had drunk any wine. While men could engage in relationships with women outside of marriage, as long as it was discrete, women who engaged in relationships outside of marriage were considered prostitutes or having committed adultery. They were subjected to severe penalties. On the other hand, compared to Greek women who were cloistered,

Roman women had more freedom and could move about publicly. Roman women received their influence from Etruscan women who had the ability to hold land and display their wealth, even more so than at Rome.

The Romans viewed morality as not coming from the gods, but rather from the laws of the Roman people. The Roman elites believed that it was crucial for them to constantly wage war in support of their traditional views. For example, Seneca expressed the view that Cato the Elder was waging war against Roman immorality, one that he saw accentuated by the rise of luxury resulting from Roman victories over the Carthaginians and Greeks. Cato believed that the heights of the Roman moral values was during the early Republic when conservative views of austerity prevailed. The Roman concept of morality was usually seen as a reaction to a particular situation that they then transferred to other ideas. For example, one of the most important reactions concerned the vice of adultery. The Romans believed that adultery was not only a vice but also an event that attacked the fabric of society. Adultery meant not only the violation of the Roman wedding contract but also a violation of one's property. For the Romans, the concept of adultery was tied closely to the woman, that is, the wife was the one who would commit the crime (although her partner was also liable). The Roman moralist constantly showed that the weakness of one's wife also reflected on the weakness of her husband.

Another vice was effeminacy that the Romans viewed as martial weakness, the opposite of *virtus* or Roman marital valor. For the Roman moralist, a man's valor was crucial to his moral upbringing. If one was not seen as a man, he was a failure in Roman politics, the crucial arena for society. One of the most effective attacks on a political enemy was to call him effeminate since that caused him to be seen as a coward.

Another vice that the Roman moralist constantly attacked was pleasure such as licentious and luxurious behavior; the two were often viewed as complementary. An individual who was greedy was also usually sexually immoral. The Roman moralist viewed that giving in to these vices undermined the moral fiber of society, which in turn led to military weakness and corruption.

Roman virtues were seen as the opposites of these vices, which were praised to promote the Roman ideal and ensure the political and social success of society. For the average individual, these were not so crucial since they did not engage in politics. On the other hand, the numerous laws enacted against these vices could lead to criminal or civil actions for anyone, even the poor. The general populace was often forced to navigate through these ideas to ensure a happy medium.

See also: *Arts:* Seneca; *Family and Gender:* Education; *Paterfamilias;* *Religion and Beliefs:* Christianity; State Religion

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MYSTERY RELIGIONS

Unlike the state or public religions, the mystery religions were meant to be private and individualistic. The state religion was to provide protection for the state and in this arena individuals were not important. The mystery religions, however, were established for the good of the individual, not the state. Whereas the state religions were held in a public arena with sacrifices in full view of the populace and for the people, the mystery religions were secret and only open to those who had been initiated to a specific cult. Those who were initiated were therefore given the secrets of the mystery; that is, mystery religions held the view that only their religious cult could lead an individual to full understanding of the afterlife accomplished by receiving the mysteries.

The contrast between the state religion and the mystery religions lay in their purpose and development. The state religion was meant to serve the public good. The emphasis was on duty and strict observance to the form. Although there were no written texts or bible, the traditional Roman religion did stress formulaic prayers. These prayers were meant for the good of the people or state, not for the individuals and their personal salvation. The mystery religions on the other hand transcended the political state and in fact were not meant to be organized for the state. The mystery religions had at their root what was beneficial for the individual. The initiate would learn the secrets of the cults leading to their full revelation in the cults. The full revelation in the gods would allow the initiate to achieve a happy afterlife. The mystery religions held the view that an individual could enjoy the fruits of the afterlife, if they knew the secrets, hence the mysteries. This positive afterlife was only available to those who knew the full secrets in this life; in other words, if one died without knowing the mysteries, he could not achieve it in the next life; it would be lost and he would not be saved. To know the mysteries one had to be initiated, a process during which the secrets were revealed. This was usually seen as an ongoing process. The mystery religions were open to all, including women and noncitizens, unlike the original state religions, which were reserved for citizens.

Another difference between the state religion and the mystery cults was exclusiveness. The state or public religions were meant only for that city or state. Noncitizens by their political status were banned from receiving the benefits of the gods. Mystery religions, however, not only allowed noncitizens, they also allowed an individual to believe in other mystery cults. It was possible for the individual to belong to other mystery cults provided they were willing to pay the initiation fee. The mystery cults, as did other organizations, required their followers to provide a yearly allowance to the cult priests and priestesses to ensure the cults could continue and practice. Often these payments were graduated based upon wealth and in turn allowed for a gradation of “secrets” to be revealed. In other words, while everyone had their secrets revealed, some received more or better information.

Throughout the ancient world there were different mystery religions. One of the earliest was the worship of Demeter and the Elysian Mysteries. The cult dated back to the early Greek period during the Mycenaean period. The mysteries that probably represented the local desire for rebirth and a continuation of one’s life in the after world became popular. Held outside of Athens, the festival was celebrated each year with a major festival held every five years. Ultimately, when the city of Athens took over sponsorship, the number of initiates increased and it was open to anyone who was not guilty of murder and/or a barbarian, that is, not speaking Greek. As with all the mystery religions, the initiates took a vow of secrecy.



Fresco, Villa of Mysteries, Pompeii, Italy, ca. 70 CE. The Mystery religions celebrated the concept of revelation or unraveling the mysteries so that one could be reborn. The mystery religions were often related to Dionysus often with the old rustic or wine god, Silenos, as represented here in this fresco. (Danilo Ascione/Dreamstime.com)

Another mystery religion centered on Isis and Osiris, the Egyptian gods. The Isis cult, like Demeter, proposed the notion of rebirth. The story of Isis centered on how the goddess could renew the follower so that in the afterlife they enjoyed a happy life. Like other mystery religions it was open to both sexes and even slaves.

A mystery religion from Asia Minor was the worship of Cybele. Cybele, the Magna Mater goddess, was popular in Rome. The worship was introduced in the Second Punic War when Rome was in dire straits and suffering from a famine. With the introduction of the cult, the famine ended and Rome defeated Hannibal. Cybele, now Magna Mater, was officially accepted into the Roman state. This acceptance allowed mystery religion to gain a foothold.

Another popular religion was the worship of Bacchus or Dionysius. This cult was known for its orgiastic aspect, which many Roman politicians believed was dangerous for the Roman state after the Second Punic War. The cult was accused of promoting immorality, sedition, and murder. The Senate outlawed it and allowed it to return only after it was placed under direct state control. A later mystery religion was the cult of Mithras. The cult descended from the Persian cult of Mithras and was popular with the military. Like the other mystery cults, it was secretive with gradations among the initiates.

It was not uncommon for Roman elites to hedge their bets and belong to several cults simultaneously. These cults did not forbid this practice, unlike Christianity, which was exclusive. The mystery cults allowed for accommodation as long as individuals could pay each initiation fee. The mystery religions promised individuals the opportunity for a happy afterlife, if the individual was willing to go through a series of initiations. These religions differed from Christianity, which did not have the series of gradations and did not require secrecy. In addition, these cults required payments to proceed through the cult, while Christianity did not require it. For the population as a whole, the mystery religions offered a choice between the ancient state religions that did not promote a happy afterlife with religions that held the possibility for rebirth.

See also: *Religion and Beliefs*: Bacchus; Ceres; Christianity; Cybele; Isis and Osiris; Magic; Mithraic Mysteries; Persephone

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OLYMPIAN RELIGION

The traditional religion celebrating the gods in Rome paralleled those in Greece. The religion was focused on the benefits of the state, not the individual. The traditional gods of Greece were the Olympian pantheon; many of the same gods appear in the Roman religion based either on direct Greek import to Rome or through the Etruscans. A central part of the religion was the sacrifice that was an outward sign by the people to the gods to appease them, in much the same way as one appeases their parents, family, or neighbors. The appeasement usually took the form of offering fruits, vegetables, or meat, often burnt to transform the substance into smoke that rose to the gods. This was reminiscent of Cain and Able in the Jewish Bible with their offerings and was common throughout the Mediterranean world. The sacrifices were meant to bring the community as a whole into a communion or association with the gods so that they do not hurt the community. In other words, it was meant to be a bribe by the community for the gods. Sacrifices required a constant supply of materials for the service to be conducted; this included wood for the fire, oil to act as a combustible, and plants or animals for the actual sacrifice. All of this required money and resources.

The public needed to make sure all the spirits or gods were appeased. To ensure this, the state built numerous temples for the gods, and these temples could be seen as their homes. Often a god had several temples for themselves because many of the gods had multiple attributes, such as Jupiter who might be the god of conservation, power, lightening, strength. Each god or temple would have priests to keep their temple in order, offer sacrifices to the gods, and collect the offerings. The priests were not for the people but rather for service to the gods. The public would give offerings, often in the form of cash, so that the priests could purchase offerings for the gods and keep the temples functioning. This would include helping the priest with food, clothing, and housing. The priests would also use the funds for their own benefit since they helped the gods. Since the temples were expensive, it was crucial for the public to constantly support the temples and gods.

Early in Rome's history, the Olympian gods became the framework for the Roman gods and their religion. The earliest group was the triad consisting of Jupiter, Mars, and Quirinus and probably predates the Etruscan takeover during the regal period. This group seems to have dated back even further according to some scholars, predating the Indo-European groups. In the Roman priestly order, the religious leaders from top to bottom were *rex sacrorum*, *flamen dialis*, *Flamen Martialis*, *flamen quirinalis*, and *pontifex maximus*. This differed from the later Roman religion where the influence and prestige followed a different



Roman mosaic, House of Aion, Nea Paphos, Cyprus, fourth century CE. The Romans continued to celebrate the Greek gods and goddesses, as labeled in this mosaic. Here Hermes presents the infant Dionysius to the Nymphs, a common Greek theme. The Olympian gods were part of the state religion and were honored in return for their protection to the Roman state. (Nathan Benn/Ottochrome/Corbis)

order. Jupiter, the god of thunder, was clearly the chief Roman deity and appears as such in nearly all religious settings. Mars was the god of war and worshipped or invoked by the soldiers. Quirinus was also a god of war, seen especially in Rome's early enemy the Sabines, whose alter was on the Quirinal Hill, one of the seven legendary hills of Rome; he was also associated with the common people. This triad was probably the chief deities of the early regal period.

The next triad was the Capitoline triad that consisted again of Jupiter and now joined by Juno and Minerva. These were Etruscan gods imported to Rome during the regal period. Juno was the sister/wife of Jupiter and mother of Mars; she was protector of the state and appeared wearing a goat skin (aegis) and carrying a spear. Her warlike stature reinforced her perception of aiding and protecting the state. Her name comes from youth and vital force and she had numerous epitaphs detailing her connection with purification, fertility, war, and childbirth and rearing. Minerva, also from the Etruscans, was the goddess of wisdom, the arts, and defense, all attributes of her Greek counterpart Athena. She was also

the goddess of poetry, medicine, and trade. Both of these triads were located on the Capitoline where temples were built in their honor. The most important in the Republican history was the Capitoline Triad, which had its chief temple to Jupiter Optimus Maximus or Jupiter Capitolinus. The temple was vowed by Rome's fifth king, Tarquin the Elder, after his victory over the Sabines. He began the process of making the Capitoline level. His son and seventh (last) king, Tarquin the Proud, completed most of the framework before his ouster. The priests or augurs were required to remove the other gods, but the gods *Terminus* (god of boundary) and *Juventus* (associated with Juno) refused and were incorporated into the new temple. The temple was dedicated in September 509 BCE, the first year of the Republic. It measured 200 by 200 feet and was the most important temple in Rome. This temple would last until 83 BCE when it was destroyed by a fire and then rebuilt.

The traditional gods of Rome were similar to the Greek gods and the historian Livy relates how the Romans celebrated the ritual dinner to the gods. He describes the scene at the beginning of his narrative on the Second Punic War when they are assembled in pairs for the banquet or *lectisternium*: Jupiter-Juno, Neptune-Minerva, Mars-Venus, Apollo-Diana, Vulcan-Vesta, and Mercury-Ceres. The *lectisternium* was a ceremony where a banquet was offered to the gods to appease them. This particular ceremony was after the Roman defeat at Lake Trasimene where the celebration lasted three days and was meant to appease the gods that they might help Rome after these defeats.

For the Romans, they believed that these gods interfered in their lives for either good or bad. Many Romans believed that to maintain good harmony with the gods, they had to offer prayers and sacrifices to them. While modern society may scoff at such ideas, it is still the basis of most religions; one offers prayers and gifts in hope that the deity will help.

See also: *Arts*: Ovid; Virgil; *Religion and Beliefs*: Hades; Roman Myths; Roman Priests; Sacrifices; State Religion; Temples; Vesta

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ABSTENTIONS OF THE PRIEST OF JUPITER

In the following excerpt from his *Noctes Atticae* (*Attic Nights*), the Latin writer Aulus Gellius (ca. 125–ca. 180 CE) describes the many actions from which the priest of Jupiter was expected to abstain. Corresponding to the Greek deity Zeus, Jupiter was the chief god of the Roman pantheon.

Ceremonies in great number are imposed upon the priest of Jupiter and also many abstentions of which we read in the books written On Public Priests. . . . Of these, the following are in general what I remember:

It is unlawful for the priest of Jupiter to ride upon a horse. It is also unlawful for him to see the classes arrayed outside the religious boundaries of the city, that is, the army in battle array. Hence the priest of Jupiter is rarely made consul, since wars were entrusted to the consuls. Also, it is always unlawful for the priest to take an oath, and likewise to wear a ring, unless it be perforated and without a gem. It is against the law for fire to be taken from the *flaminia*, that is, from the home of the *flamen Dialis* [priest of Jupiter], except for a sacred rite. If a person in chains enters his house, he must be freed, the bonds must be drawn up through a skylight in the ceiling to the roof and from there let down into the street. He has no knot in his head-dress, girdle, or any other part of his clothing. If anyone is being taken to be flogged, and falls at his feet as a suppliant, it is unlawful for the man to be flogged on that day. Only a free man may cut the hair of the priest.

(Rolfé, 1927, Vol. II)

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PERSEPHONE/LIBERA

Fertility is an aspect of the Greco-Roman religions and is associated particularly with the goddess Persephone. The various myths were often intertwined and allowed for the explanation of life, and her important role in society. The general fertility myths had the same ideas: birth, life, death, and rebirth. These ideals corresponded to the agricultural cycle of the farming communities. For the Roman peasant, it was crucial to understand that life was dependent upon the gods and that they needed to be honored.

Persephone was the Greek goddess of the underworld who enacted the curses of the dead onto their souls. In the Roman myth, she was Proserpina, daughter of Ceres. Coming from a Latin word meaning “to emerge,” it referenced the growth of plants. Like her Greek counterpart, Proserpina was abducted by Pluto (Hades) and held captive until Jupiter sent Mercury ordering Pluto to set her free; Pluto agreed but gave her three pomegranate seeds, which had the effect that she had to spend three winter months in the underworld. In Roman mythology, Persephone was taken by Pluto at Mount Enna where she was bathing. Ironically, in Roman history the governor of Sicily, Verres, stole the cult statue of Demeter, Persephone’s mother. The Greek author Pindar wrote indicating that when a person died and his soul was judged to be pure it would go to Elysium in Hades, but the soul must then travel to earth twice more and die before Persephone will release it to return once again to inhabit the body of a king, hero, or wise man when it no longer has to wander the earth but can pass to the island of the Blest.

Associated with the cult of Proserpina was Libera, the female counterpart to Liber. Her origins seem to date back to the pre-Greeks in the southern part of Italy. She became part of the Roman mythology when she entered the system with Ceres and Liber. These gods were especially close to the plebs in a temple on the Aventine Hill in 493 BCE, since the Aventine was associated with the plebs. She was officially seen as Proserpina or Persephone in 205 BCE.

Liber was the god of wine and viticulture who watched over freedom, agriculture, and fertility. As such he was one of the patron gods of the plebs and was part of the triad, Liber (Dionysius), Libera (Persephone), and Ceres (Demeter), which had a temple on the Aventine Hill, home of the plebs. Some believe that the Aventine Triad was in opposition to the patrician elites Capitoline Triad of Jupiter, Juno, and Minerva. Liber had been associated with both Libera and Ceres in separate cults and their union now on the Aventine probably meant to show the interconnection of all three agricultural deities that involved the plebs. Liber was portrayed as the phallic god (a symbol of fertility) in Campania and his name meant “free one.” After the expulsion of the monarchy, the dictator A. Postumius after his victory over the Latins at Lake Regillus promoted harmony with the plebs by vowing the Aventine Triad temple, which was completed in 493 BCE. The temple on the Aventine, often referred to as the Temple to Ceres, had in fact three separate *cellae*, one for each deity. It was where the plebs officially conducted their business, kept the records, and the *aediles* had their offices. It is possible that the promotion of the temple coincided with the need to show support and solidarity for the plebs given the demands of war and the discontent in the city. Postumius also vowed games or *ludi* in his honor. The games included drama that

corresponded to the literary type of satire, Liber becoming the patron due to the god's association with wine. As the god of "freedom," Liber promoted plebeian rights of expression and speech. His festival was on March 17. This may have been one of the causes for the clampdown on the Bacchanalia of 186 BCE when the Senate issued its decree against the foreign rights associated with Bacchus; and Liber's festival moved to coincide, at least temporarily, with that of Ceres, April 12–19. It is conceivable that the Senate desired to stop any attempt to limit its power by removing a religious ceremony and festival that was favored and promoted by the plebs. During his festival, the young men shed their clothes of youth and adopted the *toga* of a man.

One aspect of Persephone's cult was her power over the oracles of the dead, necromancy, and ghosts of the dead. Necromancy was considered dark magic, which involved summoning the ghost of the dead or even raising the dead's body, still dead. The ancients believed that it was dangerous since it could foretell the future. The earliest myth involved Odysseus who learned the art from Circe. It involved certain rites and recipes that had to be followed. Odysseus, with the help of others, supposedly was able to summon an ancient seer. The Romans, like the Greeks, believed that the ghosts of the dead did not know everything, rather, that each ghost knew only certain things. This meant that one attempted to communicate with the dead for a specific reason. In Homer's *Odyssey*, the great warrior sees the ghosts of many women sent by Persephone; he then met the ghosts of the great Greek warriors. In Roman mythology, Aeneas likewise is instructed by the Sybil of Cumae, the Oracle of the Dead, to the underworld where again Persephone (Latin Proserpine) resided.

The importance of Persephone or Libera to the Roman populace was her association with freedom. This freedom for the populace manifested itself in the plebs being able to break away from the patricians. This myth of secession and moving to the Aventine allowed the plebs to create an idea of political freedom. The cult of Persephone or Libera associated with renewal and freedom of the cares of this world promoted an alternative for most Romans to their dreary lives and existence. It was this concept that made her worship important in the mystery religions.

See also: Religion and Beliefs: Ceres; Hades; Mystery Religions

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PRIVATE WORSHIP

The average Roman viewed religion and worship different than most modern worlds. For the Romans, it was divided between the state and the private. State religion was to ensure that the nation was protected and that the gods were appeased. For the remainder of the time religion was private. The private worship can be further divided into the traditional services to the household gods and superstition/magic. Often these two were interconnected.

The household religion was overseen by the *Paterfamilias* who was responsible for ensuring that the household upheld the rituals and customs so that the family was safe. Romans believed that the spirit of the departed continued to exist in the area where the body was buried. They did not have an idea that the spirits went to a different “land.” As such this gave rise to the practice of honoring the dead with food on certain feast days. If the gifts ceased, the Romans thought that the souls would become angry and potentially disturb the living. In popular lore this was the idea of a ghost. The family members were therefore required to honor their dead and to perpetuate their family so that the dead would always be honored. It was viewed as a curse for a family to have no children since the celebrations would cease and the departed would then haunt the world. The *Paterfamilias* was therefore the high priest of the family who did the formal celebrations.

The family spirit that protected the household was the *Lars*. There were various rooms that were used for the family religion. The *sacrarium* was the household private “temple” where images of the gods were kept and the family sacrificed and worshipped. These rooms show the *Lars* as young boys dancing lightly with a bowl in one hand and a raised jug in the other. These rooms replaced the older cupboard or *Penates*, which held the family masks. These shrines allowed the family to have their own favorite gods. These shrines often had the *genius* of the father and the *juno* of the mother represented in their pictures of a man or woman with their *toga* placed over their head as seen in the sculptures and reliefs, which showed the state priests in the same pose. In the Republic, this shrine or temple was located in the atrium of the house since this was the center of the home.

The family was expected to pray in the morning at breakfast. The normal family, however, due to the hustle and bustle of the day usually held their devotions at dinner. Here an offering was made to the gods to look over the house and its family. At dinner parties, it was customary for the guests and host to have a prayer said before they sat down for dinner. Between the first and second course the *Lares* received their meal, usually salt, wine, bread, and perhaps some other part of the meal, were offered. The *kalends*, *nones*, and *Ides* were viewed as sacred to the household gods with garlands hung over the fireplace and incense was burned. If possible, and for the average Roman probably not the case, a pig was sacrificed

and the family then had meat for the next few days. These ideas were extended to the larger family community, the *gens*, which had their own celebrations.

In the family, the two most important gods were Vesta and Janus. Vesta was crucial for the family since she was the goddess of the hearth. The wife was in charge of family's hearth and Vesta ensured that the family's livelihood did not fail. Since the hearth was where the family's food was prepared, prayers to Vesta were said every day and at meals. The hearth was also where the family spent times getting warm and so prayers to her were crucial to keep the family protected. It was important to appease her since if not, the fire in the house might go out. If that happened, the family had to go to the state temple of Vesta where they could have a new light. Janus meanwhile was crucial for the family, since it represented the beginning and the end of events and the god of transitions such as doorways, life, and death.

Roman private worship promoted the concept of *pietas*, which was the sense of duty and maintaining the proper good relations with the gods and one's family. For the household, this was crucial since it ensured peace and prosperity. The individual ensured that the family not only had *pietas* but also promoted the *cultus* or how the gods were to be cultivated. This meant that the gods had to be recognized and honored through sacrifice and prayers. The prayers were meant to ensure that the family was not harmed by an act; for example, a farmer may wish to increase his family's landholding by cutting down trees and bringing the land under cultivation. To ensure that the spirits of the grove are not insulted, the farmer might sacrifice an animal to acknowledge them and please them. The prayers were meant to be "I do this so that you do that for me." In other words, it was meant to keep the gods pleased so that they might give rewards to the individual.

The family became the central part of the Roman private worship. This private worship was extended from the family to the state. Since the state was an extension of the family, the same ideas carried through to the state. The father was in control of the household religion so that the king and later the consuls, followed in turn by the emperor, were in charge of the state religion. As the wife was in charge of the family hearth, the Vestal Virgins ensured the state's hearth was maintained. The family *lares* became the state gods. For an average Roman, the state and private worships were therefore similar.

See also: *Family and Gender*: Cemeteries; Death and Dying; Funerals; *Paterfamilias*; *Housing and Community*: City Houses; *Religion and Beliefs*: Afterlife; Sacrifices

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PUNIC RELIGION

While the following entry deals mainly with Carthage, references will also be made to its precursors, especially Tyre, Sidon, and Byblos in Phoenicia. The connection between Carthage and Tyre was so strong that until its destruction by Alexander the Great, Tyre received embassies from Carthage who would send gifts to the god Melqarth. As with other Phoenician societies that practiced magic, the Carthaginians used amulets to ward off evil spirits. They would then have them buried with them when they died.

The Carthaginian or Punic religion had its origin in Phoenicia. Like other Near Eastern religions, their Pantheon was headed by a father of the gods, but goddesses were also important. In addition to the normal couple, such as Zeus and Hera in Greek mythology, here Tanit and Baal Hammon; there were others such as Astarte who was popular among many groups in the Near East. The Phoenicians adopted many deities from Egyptian, Near Eastern, Greece, and Persia. Phoenicia had sacred spaces both in natural areas such as caves or open areas and rectangular structures as temples. In Carthage, there have been excavations that have uncovered at least four temples and other sites show the Phoenician pantheon. Caves, discovered and excavated, show signs of Punic religion in Sicily and near Tunis.

The religious caste as detailed from inscriptions shows a highly organized religion with priests and others who performed different tasks and functions usually for a charge. Evidence from inscriptions indicates there were set charges for performing sacrifices. These charges were also made for the provisions of the priests and temples. The priests, unlike the normal population, were clean shaven, which set them apart from the rest of the male population. Like other pagan religions there was dancing and music. The records from Sidon and Byblos show that the priest and priestesses came from the royal family and at Carthage, they were reserved for the *sufets* (judges) and their families. The temples also employed other individuals such as singers, dancers, bakers, porters, and financial officers. At Carthage, there were 10 priests who were in charge of the city's religion and built the temples out of public funds. Certain practices were to be followed; for example, one could not enter the temple to Eshmun unless they had abstained from sex for the last three days.

The lack of documentary evidence makes it difficult to know the festivals, but it seems from the east that some were celebrated on the full or new moon. A fragmentary text from Carthage relates that a festival lasted five days. It is known that there were sacrifices of both animals and agricultural crops. And from Carthage a list details the cost payable to the priests for cattle, goats, sheep, kids, olive oil, birds, cakes, and so forth. In addition, the text also describes how much each priest and penitent received.

The cult of Tanit, the female goddess was of great importance to Carthage. It should perhaps be associated with the great Mother Goddess of the Near East. In many of the texts, she is either mentioned alone or before Baal, which indicated her preeminence. She was represented as a robed female figure and became the symbol for Carthage. She was seen as analogous to the Egyptian Isis and Asherat of Tyre, both seen as sea goddesses who were aptly viewed for her at Carthage since the city was a maritime commercial state.

In addition to Tanit, the other major gods were Baal and Eshmun. Baal originally meant lord and by the about 1200 BCE meant the chief deity. In the Old Testament, it referred to any of the chief gods of the Canaanites who were also Phoenician. Baal was the god of thunder and as chief of the gods was the one that most people viewed as having a direct influence on their lives. In Carthage, he was known as Baal Hammon and was associated with the Roman god Saturn. His temple had a fire pit where sacrifices occurred and a cult statue of Baal with his arms outstretched and hands pointing down into the pit. The god Eshmun, sometimes equated to Melqarth, was the god of healing. He was associated with the god Ares after the First Punic War, while Melqarth was seen as Heracles or Poseidon.

One of the often-cited components of the Punic religion was child sacrifice. There is great debate as to whether the Carthaginians, and indeed the Phoenicians, practiced human and especially baby or child sacrifices. There are no texts from Carthage or Phoenicia that explicitly state child sacrifice occurred. There is a relief showing a priest carrying a child apparently toward a sacrificial fire. Was the child to be sacrificed? This is difficult to determine. Literary evidence from non-Phoenician sources gives a mixed picture. The general idea is that at Carthage in the area of the Tophet, a location sacred to Tanit, there was the practice of burying children who had been given in sacrifice. The general idea of child sacrifice was the concept of offering the first born to the gods. There is some parallel in the story of Abraham and Isaac that may support this idea. At Carthage, the children were to be offered to Baal and Tanit. One theory is that the Carthaginians carried this idea from the Near East when they immigrated to Africa. Views have it that they continued the practice but probably only during times of great distress, such as war, drought, and famine when the priests demanded an offering from the city.

It appears that the child was killed at night and placed on the arms of cult statue and then rolled into the fire pit to be consumed. The remains were then placed in an urn and buried in the Tophet precinct, sacred to the gods.

It was also common for the temples to employ the holy prostitutes, a common feature in Near Eastern religions. The idea here was that the prostitutes were in the service to the gods and the proceeds they earned were for the upkeep of the temples and to provide a communion with the gods by mortals. The Punic religion differed from the Roman religion in numerous ways to ensure that distinct cultural and ethnic variations exist. The differences allowed the Roman politicians to use them to whip up support for war.

See also: Religion and Beliefs: Sacrifices; State Religion

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ROMAN FOUNDATION MYTHS

Because it came from the Greek world, Roman mythology is both the discussion of the traditional Olympic gods and their stories and the individual history of the early Roman heroes. The Olympic gods were for the most part appropriated from the Greek world during the Hellenistic Age and joined the traditional Etruscan/Roman/Latin gods developed in the Early Republic. This does not mean that the Roman and Greek myths were identical; instead, the Romans adopted what they wanted and needed to ensure a union of Roman and Greek culture and society.

The major difference between Roman and Greek myths was that the Romans related their stories from their founders and heroes of early Rome as opposed to the direct intervention of the gods in everyday life as in pre-Classical Greece. This does not mean that the gods did not play a role in Roman life; rather they were not the controlling force. Instead, the gods and their wills were in the background guiding the hero with their vision and destiny.



Statue of Capitoline wolf suckling Romulus and Remus, Rome, imperial era. Roman myths were crucial for the state and its idealized development. Here, Romulus and Remus, the twin founders of Rome, are suckled by the she wolf. This and other myths helped the Romans explain their history and justify their imperialism during the Republic. (Davidlorente78/Dreamstime.com)

The two great stories that had political ramifications were Romulus and Remus and Aeneas. The legend of Romulus and Remus began in the pre-Roman era when the king of Alba Longa, Numitor, whose brother Amulius seized power and eliminated the male heirs of Numitor and forced the king's daughter Rhea Silvia to become a Vestal Virgin and live a life of chastity. Rhea became pregnant from the god Mars and gave birth to the twins. Their uncle Amulius has them abandoned by the Tiber River to die. The twins, however, are saved and fed by a she-wolf, Lupa, and then discovered by a shepherd's family who raise the boys as their own. The two grow up and upon discovering their true identity kill Amulius and restore their grandfather Numitor to the throne of Alba Longa. The two brothers then established their own cities along the Tiber, Romulus on the Palatine Hill with Remus on the Aventine. They both agreed that an *augur*, one who has divine foresight, will decide which city will be supreme; when both claimed victory they each began to build their own city. The two brothers fight for control, with Romulus killing his brother Remus and then establishing the new city of Rome. The story of the twins shows the continual struggle between the citizens of Rome, similar to the struggle between the patricians and plebeians with the patricians

identifying with Romulus and the Palatine Hill where patricians established their residents, while Remus was identified with the plebs who resided on the Aventine. The early myth of Rome with Romulus and Remus allowed individuals, whether they were patrician or plebeian, to have a hero; both contributed to the growth of Rome.

Romulus has other stories that allowed for the story of Rome to be further developed. During the early period, Romulus rallied landless refugees, often viewed as outlaws and slaves, to help form his new city. This idea heralded the view that the Romans accepted groups without necessarily regard to their origin or birth. Since his city was mainly populated by males, Romulus convinced the Sabine tribe to celebrate with his men, in the ensuing celebration Romulus and his men seized the Sabine women forcing them to marry, and demanded the tribe's acceptance. In the end, the two groups united. This legend again showed that Rome believed it could take what it wanted and that the union of Rome and a foreign tribe was not only acceptable but also in fact desirable.

The other major myth, also associated with Romulus was the story of Aeneas, the Trojan prince who fled the sacking of Troy by the Greeks. Aeneas, the son of prince Anchises and the goddess Aphrodite, flees with his father and son Julius or Julius. The story is related by Virgil. In the story, he flees with a group of followers taking with him the gods Lares and Penates who were the guardians of the gods and the household gods, respectively. The story's first major part was the meeting of Aeneas and Dido, queen of Carthage. The two fall in love, but Aeneas is informed to leave her and Dido in despair kills herself after cursing Aeneas and his followers. This story of course would be the precursor to a great war between Rome and Hannibal. The second part concerns the story of Aeneas who has allied himself with Latinus, king of the Latins, fighting Turnus for control of Latium. Virgil's account ends with Aeneas's victory and Turnus's death. Subsequent stories had after Aeneas's death his mother Venus (Aphrodite) asking Jupiter to make Aeneas a god; Jupiter agrees and he becomes a god, Jupiter Indiges. His descendants would ultimately be Julius Caesar and his nephew Octavian, later known as Augustus, patron of Virgil.

A myth that had importance for the populace and their role in deciding justice was the case of Horatius. Livy reported that during the war with Alba Longa the three sons of Publius of the *gens* Horatii were to fight in single combat with the three sons of the Curatii from Alba Longa. In the battle, the three Curatii were wounded, while two of the three Horatii were killed; Horatius, the remaining Horatii, feigned fleeing and the three wounded Curatii pursued but were separated due to their injuries. Horatius then killed each of the Curatii and returned home with their armor as spoils. When Horatius had the armor of Curatius one of the brothers, Horatius's sister Publia, who was in love with Curatius, cried out prompting Horatius to kill his sister while proclaiming that one who mourned the enemy should die. Horatius was put on trial and appealed to the populace when his father Publius

pleaded not to leave him childless; he was acquitted, but his father was required to do expiation for the crime. The appeal to the populace shows how important the role of the people was perceived, by the Romans, even if it was not real.

The Roman myths point to the need by the population to look for ways to understand what had grown up organically. Often the actions of the people were not fully remembered or understood and the myths allowed for explanations that helped people accept the realities of their world. Roman myths reflect and seek to explain the course of Roman history. The Roman mythic narratives thus put greater emphasis on human actions than on divine intervention and often exhibit a divinely ordained sense of destiny that reflects Rome's remarkable rise from a small city, to unifier of Italy, to master of the Mediterranean world.

See also: Arts: Ovid; Virgil; Religion and Beliefs: Olympian Religion; Roman Priests; State Religion

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ROMAN PRIESTS

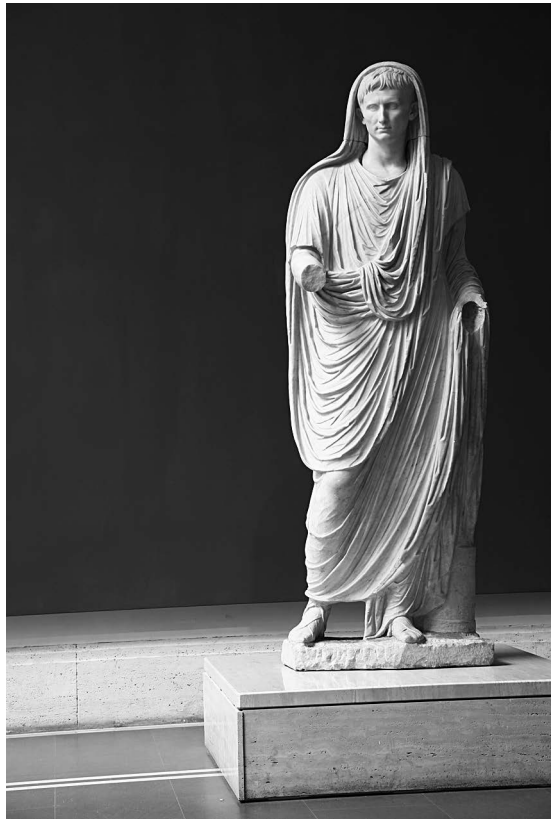
Roman religion showed the same struggle between the orders as did politics. With the expulsion of the king the religious power structure changed paralleling the political. As the consuls took political power, the *rex sacrorum* replaced the king in religious matters. Since religion and politics were so intertwined, the two can be seen as mirror images. As the struggle of the orders broke down the barriers between the patricians and plebs, so that the plebs could enter political life, the same struggle existed in religion. The patricians claimed that they held power because of their divine right from the gods; when the plebs gained political power, they then demanded access to the religious power. When the plebs gained the right to hold a consulship in 367 BCE they also claimed access to the religious priesthoods.

Although the Romans did not have professional priests as some ancient cultures did, they nevertheless had a structural system that was divided into separate *colleges* or groups. There were two major *colleges*, the *pontifices* and the *augures*, which had their own hierarchy. Their priests were usually chosen

from the aristocracy and served for life. The *pontifices* were important, since they determined what days there could be business or political meetings and days when business and politics were forbidden. Although they did not usually engage in private worship, except for the solemn traditional marriage ceremony, they were crucial for public affairs. The head of the *college* was the *pontifex maximus* who was in charge of the entire state religion. He was in charge of the other priests, probably 15 more, and although not legally in charge of the Vestal Virgins, he was there to ensure their chastity and chose their priestesses. The *pontifex maximus* had more power but less prestige than the *rex sacrorum* who was established after the expulsion of the king. The *rex sacrorum* unlike the other priests could not hold politi-

cal office and his wife, the *regina*, also was expected to perform religious tasks. The power of the priests also lay in their political power. Since Roman religion revolved around politics and vice versa, the pontiffs had immense power such as power over marriages, adoption, burials and ceremonial events. Here the pontiffs clung to their patrician powers so as not to allow the plebs a chance to move in. The power of the priests continued to exert influence over laws by continually harking back to the conservative views of earlier times.

The second *college* was that of the *augures* who were authorized to read and interpret the signs of the gods, the *auspices* called augury. Sometimes mistaken for foretelling the future, the *auspices* were really the determination of whether a



Statue of Augustus as Pontifex Maximus or High Priest, imperial era. The Roman priests were the intermediaries between the gods and mortals. The priests offered the sacrifices on behalf of the state, and not for individuals. Here Augustus, as High Priest and as Emperor, would celebrate the sacrifices for the entire Roman world. (Tinamou/Dreamstime.com)

proposed action or plan was favored by the gods. The priests usually examined the actions of captive birds such as chickens or the flight of wild birds. It was crucial to take the *auspices* before a battle or mission; therefore, to ensure that the priests could read the signs the Roman army often carried chickens with them so that they could be observed before a great battle. These priests were elected for life and were trained to know how to observe the signs. The plebeians also gained access to the *college* of *augures*. Many of the average Romans began to doubt the power of the priests in the signs from above. The plebeians had good reason to doubt the veracity of these signs, since they had seen how the patricians had previously used the power of the priesthood and religion to deny the plebs rights and access. After 304 BCE, when Appius Claudius had written down all the formulae of the pontiffs, the power of the priests began to wane, since their secrets were known. After 300 BCE, five of the 10 were to be plebeian.

Another set of priests were the *haruspices* who were not Roman but Etruscan in origin. Originally meaning “gut reader,” the *haruspices* were in charge of the observing and interpreting the prodigies. For example, the sighting of monstrous births, strange happenings, bizarre lightening, or rain of blood needed to be interpreted to ensure that the gods did not disfavor the Romans. They examined the entrails of animals to determine if there was a blemish or irregularity in the liver or other organs. Those who examined the lightning strikes were *fulgurator* who looked at the location and frequency of strikes. These prodigies and lightening were usually regarded as warnings. For example, the general Decius was told that the liver lobe showed victory but that his own future was not good; the Romans won the battle, but Decius died.

Another faction early in Rome, which decreased in power, was of the priests who kept the Sibylline Books. When the barrier of political office collapsed in 367 BCE, the plebs also gained access to one of the 10 priests of the Sibylline Books. While the prestige of the priests was strong in the early Republic, it had decreased to a virtually anachronistic setting. The books were said to have been brought back to Rome from Cumae by Numa. Originally, there were nine books, which the Sybil was selling; but when Numa refused to pay the price, she burned three; when Numa again failed to pay the price she burned three more and finally Numa paid for the final three books and took them back to Rome. The books that supposedly could predict the future path of Rome stayed in the Temple to Jupiter on the Capitoline. In 83 BCE, when the temple was struck by lightning, the books burned, although duplicates were made and again were housed in the rebuilt temple. By this time, however, most of the Romans viewed them as nothing more than nonsense, which no one hid. Even Cicero claimed that they were a joke. The priests nevertheless continued to guard them and brought them out to be consulted.

There were other priesthoods whom the patricians continued to hold, but they were not as important as the ones that the plebeians had broken into. The *rex sacrorum* continued to be patrician as were the *Flamines*, one for each of the gods, and the *Salii* or priests, continued the old customs of processions and ceremonial war dances. The average Roman probably had different views of the priesthoods; some probably viewed the priests with awe, while others probably saw the priests as hypocrites or windbags. Nevertheless, the power of priests continued throughout the Roman period.

See also: Religion and Beliefs: Sacrifices; State Religion

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SACRED GROVES

In Roman society, a holdover from the prehistoric period was the celebration of the sacred grove, a group of trees that had religious sentiment. The concept of the grove can be seen from the Ancient Near East to Britain dating from the prehistoric period to the late Roman, and even beyond. In Greco-Roman ideology, it was called a *temenos* in Greek, which meant land reserved for a king or for a god/goddess. It often meant a sanctuary or holy precinct. It is clear from the classical writers and archaeology that the term had some connection with a grove or group of trees. The debate is whether the term meant that the grove was reserved for worship of the gods in an urban setting or in the rural area undisturbed or both. From the evidence, it is apparent that the concept was used freely and could mean both an urban setting as well as a rural or pastoral area. In either case, it is clear that the state was to set aside this area from use and create a contemplative region for individuals. The Latin term for grove or forest was *lucus*, which meant that it was for religious purposes unlike a *silva*, which meant a forest. In later Roman periods, the *lucus* should be seen as a park that contained trees, perhaps streams and lakes, and often a temple. It is apparent that some groves were shrines dedicated to particular gods/

goddesses where individuals left gift offerings to appease them and guarantee their safety. The local communities usually held a festival in honor of the god/goddess.

The idea of the sacred grove is found throughout the ancient world. In the Near East examples included Abraham who planted a grove in Beersheba. The purpose was not only to establish a place for rest but also to ensure the environment of the area by preventing soil erosion and conserving the nutrients. In Judea, a famous garden that perhaps started out as a sacred grove was Gethsemane in Jerusalem where Jesus went and prayed the night of his arrest. The meaning of the word in the different Gospels and other texts could be “oil press,” garden, or estate all of which were associated with a grove of olive trees.

The sacred groves could be natural or manmade. A well-known natural grove was at Nemi outside of Rome, which was dedicated to Diana, the goddess of the hunt and forest. The name Nemi came from *nemus*, which meant a clearing surrounded by trees made for pastures. The Romans, although they had many of their own regions as sacred groves, did not always honor other tribes or nations’ groves. For example, Julius Caesar once destroyed a sacred grove in Gaul because he felt that it was a pagan practice, which meant that it was outside the bounds of what the Romans considered to be acceptable. Another sacred grove, *Lucus Vestae*, existed in the Roman Forum behind the house of the Vestal Virgins. The grove existed until the fire under Nero in the first century CE. Other groves existed to the great gods such as Jupiter in Umbria as well as in other cities.

The other Latin word for sacred grove was *lucus*. While it meant forest or woodlands, *lucus* had a religious connotation, while a *nemus* was not consecrated. In essence, the *lucus* was a cultivated place given over to religious purposes often containing a temple or shrine. Several sacred groves existed in Rome. The *Lucus Albionarum* was on the right side of the Tiber or the region across the Tiber River and was associated with the protection of the fields. Another site was *Lucus Camenae* that was associated with the fountain muses but ultimately became known for the area of a valley, grove, and temple at the Caelian Hill with a spring at the foot of the hill. The sacred grove was around and nourished by the spring and probably joined with the Via Appia, where according to legend, King Numa built a small temple. The *Lucus Esquilinus* was an extensive sacred grove that covered the majority of the hill down to the old Servian Wall. The grove during the Republic was extensive but by the time of Cicero it had all but vanished. On the Oppius Hill was the *Lucus Fagutal*, which was named for beech trees that grew there and still existed by the time of the end of the Republic. In the Campus Martius, a region that early in Rome was subject to flooding and hence very little established, there existed the *Lucus Feroniae*, which stood by the temple to the goddess Feronia. One of the more famous was the *Lucus Furrinae*, which also stood on the right side of the Tiber on the Janiculum Hill made famous where Gaius Gracchus was

killed, at his request, by his slave to avoid capture or death by his enemies. The name comes from a spring of the goddess Furrina. The *Lucus Iunonis Lucinae* was a grove sacred to Juno where a temple had been built in 375 BCE. The grove existed on the Cispius on the northern part of the Esquiline and was very ancient. A *Lucus Libitinae*, also on the Esquiline, was a grove sacred to Venus Libitina, which was a place sacred to the undertakers where the names of the dead and all provisions for funerals were kept. On the Esquiline stood another grove, the *Lucus Mefitis*, which was sacred to Mefitis. The *Lucus Petelinus* near the Porta Flumentana at the Tiber connected it with the Capitoline Hill. The grove was near the Campus Martius and appears to have been founded during the early Republic and had houses of the wealthy. The *Lucus Poetelius* was also on the Cispius. The grove *Lucus Stimulae* was associated with the goddess Stimula, which was later connected with Semele. The grove figured famously in the Bacchanalia purge of 186 BCE and lay near the Tiber and at the foot of the Aventine Hill. The *Lucus Streniae* or Sacellum Streniae was near the site of the Coliseum and the start of the Sacred Way where the grove stood next to a shrine. Outside the city on the Via Appia stood the *Lucus Martis* or sacred grove to the god Mars where a temple to Mars probably existed.

These sacred groves existed throughout the city of Rome and attest not only to the religious character but also the importance of the green space in the city. The sacred groves were parks that afforded individuals the opportunity to enjoy solace and peace.

See also: Housing and Community: Gardens; Town Planning; Religion and Beliefs: Afterlife; Magic; Private Worship

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SACRIFICES

To the Romans, sacrifice was seen as a gift to the gods, heroes, or dead, which could include private or public ceremonies. Usually the sacrifice included something that

could be consumed, for example, it could be meat (animals), wine (drink), vegetables or grain (food), or cakes (prepared food). These sacrifices could be given entirely to the gods, usually in the form of burning the gift completely, or a meal that was shared between the gods and penitents that is a normal prepared meal. There were several types of sacrifices, those that were made for a completion of a vow when the individual promised to do something if the god(s) did something for him/her, often this was the erection of an altar; those that were made for thanksgiving; sacrifices could also be made in expectation of a favor(s), for example, if a god helped the person achieve a goal a sacrifice would be made; the gods may demand a sacrifice due to divination or from an oracle; or the gods were honored on their anniversary.

The form of Roman sacrifices followed a very ritualistic format that provided the Roman religion with the necessary structure to appease the gods. For the state religion, the priests or *augures* conducted the sacrifices with the most common being the slaughter of an animal. These animals had to be appropriate for the god (male animals) and goddess (female animals) without any blemishes and even the color needed to be appropriate such as black for the gods of the underworld or white for Jupiter. Each different sacrifice was named for the type of animal,



Roman mosaic showing virgins with gifts, Ravenna, Italy, late Roman. State religions in antiquity carried out sacrifices for the state or city, not for the individual. The sacrifice usually entailed the city through its priests or priestesses offering gifts to the gods as seen in this mosaic. The most common form of sacrifices was grain or animals, with animals led to the temple, killed, and their meat cooked for the festival afterwards. (Neil Harrison/Dreamstime.com)

tauro for a bull, *suo* for a cow, and so forth. The initial part of the sacrifice was the procession toward the altar, which had both a practical reason and a religious function. The practical was that the bull, cow, ox, goat, sheep, pig, or whatever animal could travel under their own power and not have to be carried or be messy if killed earlier. The second or religious function allowed the populace to see the sacrifice and ceremony taking place. It was meant to be both a solemn process and a celebration. It also allowed the populace to be an active participant in the celebration. The system for sacrifice had the individual who wanted to make the sacrifice approach the appropriate temple custodian to make the arrangements, which included the hiring of the *popae* (one who sells the animal) and the *victimarii* (one who kills and dissected the animal). The procession was often accompanied by music players, also hired out. The sacrifice also involved a systematic set of rituals and prayers.

Upon reaching the altar the animal was slain or the *immolatio*. Carried out with skill, the killing was both ritualistic and efficient. The animal was usually dispatched quickly to prevent mess or trauma. Usually the animal was either killed by slitting the throat or for larger animals with a mallet to the skull, which stunned it and then allowed the animal to be dispatched with a knife. The blood was collected and spread out on the altar, while the animal was skinned and its meat and joints cut up. After the animal was killed, the priest would often read the bowels or entrails. The *augures* looked for distributing signs, in other words, looked to see if there were blemishes or disease. If there were irregularities, then the priest viewed the sacrifice as unacceptable. If the ceremony was crucial, then often another animal was sacrificed. The purpose of reading the entrails was often to determine if a certain policy or action was needed or allowed. The readings would give justification for the result. If it was war and there were issues, then many viewed the war as not feasible and the issue was dropped. If a magistrate wanted to manipulate the process, they could declare there was a blemish or issue and the political or social program discarded without conflict. This allowed the magistrate to read the public and determine if he wanted to fight for the issue or find a graceful way out without losing face. If the magistrate wanted to ensure something passed, he could manipulate the sacrifice so as to show it was not blemished.

The sacrifice then involved the burning of some part of the animal, usually the bones and fat to the gods. The entire animal was not burned since that was not the purpose of the sacrifices. The burning of the animal fat made sure the smoke rose toward the sky or the heavens. The second part of sacrifice was the meal, with the chief participants eating first, and if the sacrifice was extremely large, there might be a meal for hundreds or even thousands. The other parts were grilled or cooked for the meal. The meal would then be served to those lucky enough to be present. A magistrate desiring to show his wealth would give a banquet to as many individual as possible with multiple animals.

For state sacrifices, it was not uncommon for the meal to feed thousands. The victory over a feared enemy, such as Hannibal, would often lead to a great sacrifice of thanksgiving. Sacrifices varied according to the request made and the individual's resources. For private sacrifices, a commoner without much means could make an offering of only a few pieces of grain, while the state operated with much more pomp creating a liturgy or *carmina*. During the first century BCE, a law was passed, which forbade human sacrifice. Since it was necessary to pass such a law, it is possible that human sacrifice occurred. During the Second Punic War, after the loss at Cannae, two Greeks and two Gauls were buried alive. While these were rare, they probably occurred more commonly than suspected in the early monarchical and perhaps into the Republic. Most people saw sacrifices at regular times during the year.

See also: Family and Gender: Cemeteries; Funerals; *Paterfamilias*; Housing and Community: Public Architecture; Public Structures; Town Planning; Religion and Beliefs: Emperor Worship; Private Worship; Roman Priests; State Religion; Temples

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STATE RELIGION

The evolution of Roman religion corresponded to the development of the state. The two went hand in hand and there were effective changes in how the Romans worshipped and viewed their relationship with the gods. Originally, the Romans were agricultural and all aspects of their society centered on the reception of good and proper weather, harvest, protection from robbers, and general well-being. The original religion then was for survival. Individuals believed that the gods were present in all things and that it was important to satisfy and show proper reverence to them. Since the gods or *numina* (plural of *numen*) were present everywhere, it was important to not slight anything or anyone. Hence, a grove of trees, a spring, a river, or even a hill could be inhabited by gods and any discourteous behavior could be seen as an affront and liable for punishment. The central theme was to live in harmony with nature. The early Roman religion clearly centered on pleasing

nature, and sacrifices took the form of offerings, usually in the form of sacrifices of animals or vegetables, which would appease the gods. The Romans centered their worship not only on nature but also on the seasons of the year corresponding to the agricultural clock. For example, it was crucial to offer sacrifice to the gods of planting in the spring, to pray for good weather in the summer, and to the gods of harvest in the fall. For the average Roman, these sacrifices and religious services had tremendous amount of meaning, since if they failed or displeased the gods their farm might be hit by a famine or their crops may be destroyed by thieves or robbers.

As the state expanded, the religion changed to be more in line with the needs of a larger and growing urban community. The earlier ideas of individual protection naturally transferred themselves to the community. Good weather was needed not only to ensure that the harvest was successful but also to prevent flooding. Thieves and robbers had to be prevented since they could disrupt the harmony and the balance of society. Individuals naturally saw the need for the gods to protect them and their city. Out of all of these situations, society recognized that it needed a group of people who knew how to communicate with the gods on their behalf. Priests and their attendants who were led by the leader or king could speak for the community to the gods. It was important that the proper rituals and sacrifices were performed so that the gods were pleased. When the community remained small, the religion was necessarily confined to the general seasons and farming, but as the city or state grew, it was important that the entire community decisions met with the approval of the gods. To ensure this, approval before political decisions and tasks were done; and after the conclusions of policies, the gods were consulted and thanked through sacrifices.

In Roman history/mythology, the second king, Numa Pompilius, is credited with most of the religious institutions and ceremonies. Numa was of Sabine origin and was elected king after Romulus's death. The nymph Egeria became Numa's consort and provided him with support and information for ruling and dealing with the gods, including the laws and rituals needed for the running of the Roman religion. In mythology, she gave Numa information, including prophecy, in return for libations of milk (or water) at her sacred grove near Rome. Numa was credited with tempering the early Roman warlike behavior by creating new rituals to ensure that the people followed the laws and used their energy to help promote Rome and not create mayhem. These included treating the enemy respectfully, crucial if Rome wanted to incorporate their former enemies into their allies. These became part of the state religion since Numa desired that the Romans live their lives honoring the gods. He is supposed to have established the various priesthoods and authored works, which describe their institutions. Upon his death, he had requested that these works be buried with him so that his ideas and rituals

would be preserved as a living record, and not some relic. Livy and Plutarch state that his tomb was opened in 181 BCE and the books examined; the priests declared that they were not appropriate for the people and burned them (Livy XL 29, 3–14), while another author declared that they were actually kept by the *pontifices* as state secrets.

A peculiar aspect of his reign was the erection of the temple of Janus, the two-faced god representing war and peace, looking forward and backward, the new and the old, the god of doorways and transitions. The temple doors were to be shut during times of peace; and according to the legends after Numa defeated and secured peace with his neighboring enemies; he shut the doors for the remainder of his reign. Numa also desired to instill in the Romans a sense of the law and that led to the creation of the god Terminus, the god of terminals or boundaries.

UNIFORM RITUAL, NOT UNIFORM BELIEF

As Rome grew and people shared more interests in common, they appointed official priests to look after the spiritual needs of the community. Individuals still performed rites within their homes, but the state took on part of the responsibility for the “cultivation of the gods”; thus, there was less chance of a prayer or rite being forgotten. Indeed, in both private and public, the emphasis in Roman religious practices was on the correct performance of a ceremony (orthopraxy), not belief (orthodoxy) or one’s moral standing. Good or bad, a person needed to appease the gods, who were assumed to be largely indifferent to a person’s moral quality. *Pietas* (duty) and *cultus* (care, tending) were what maintained the “peace of the gods,” not one’s ethics per se. Thus, Roman religious ceremonies and rites remained largely unchanged for centuries. What worked in the beginning worked in the present. The proof, as far as the Romans were concerned, was that their success as a state seemed only to increase. Rome had steadily conquered new lands and peoples, and, by the first century BCE, the Republic ruled most of the Mediterranean region.

With the fall of the Republic, much of the religious responsibility fell to the emperor. The first Roman emperor, Augustus, took on the office of Pontifex Maximus, or chief priest, and thus oversaw the other priests. The early emperors, in addition to acting as the empire’s connection with the gods, were believed to become gods themselves upon death. When the emperors became Christian three centuries later, they were still regarded as God’s representative on earth.

Since boundaries are necessary for property rights and the respect of laws, Numa attempted to show the connection of the laws and the gods. The state religion as established by Numa promoted law and order, the hallmark of Roman power.

Associated with the state religion was the creation of the calendar. Originally, the calendars were made to ensure that the religious festivals were carried out at the correct time. The calendars that survive often have the festivals detailed for the geographic area by month. Like the home, which had the *lares* and family rituals and festivals, the state religion should be seen as an extension of this concept. The father of the family was the chief priest, while the king and later the consuls were the same chief arbitrators with the gods for the state. The father prepared their sacrifices for the family as the king/consul did for the state. The wife was responsible for the family's hearth, just as the Vestal Virgins were responsible for the state's hearth. The *lares* or family heroes/gods had their state examples especially after the fall of the Republic when the family of Caesar was worshipped.

For the average Roman, the state religion gave them a sense of belonging. It allowed them to have a purpose and place in society. The state religion was formal process which could allow the people to unite under one idea and form. While the state did not have a central concept of religion, it did have common rituals and sacrifices. The average Roman viewed the state religion as the rudder of the state that guided them in their lives and fulfilled the contract between the people and the gods.

See also: Arts: Drama; *Housing and Community*: Public Architecture; Public Structures; Town Planning; *Religion and Beliefs*: Christianity; Moral Codes; Olympian Religion; Roman Priests; Sacrifices; Temples

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TEMPLES

The purpose of the Roman temple was to provide the state and individuals a focus place for worship. Originally, a *templum* was an area that an *augur* declared acceptable for him to take the auspices. The area was then declared suitable as

a place for the erection of a building sacred to the gods. The building had to be consecrated by the *augures* and pontiffs since they knew what the gods willed and could communicate with them. If only the pontiffs consecrated a building, it was a *sacrum* or *aedes* since only humans made it sacred; the *templum* was the sacred area that was then extended to the building, which came to be known as the temple. The temple was where the god lived and was seen as the god's house. The destruction of the temple was not only seen as the destruction of a structure, but it was also viewed as an elimination of a sacred site and the personal god's home. A temple was as such a central part of an individual city's life.

Roman temples differed from Greek temples in several ways. Greek temples were usually open on all four sides with entry points from any direction. The walls were not solid but rather they were just columns. This allowed the participants to have the sense of openness and availability. The Roman temple was more in line with that of the Etruscans. These temples were more linear with the approach usually from the front, often into a temple walled on three sides with the *cella* enclosed in the rear. Temples could have one *cella*, the most common, two *cellae* and even three. An example of a double *cellae* temple, usually seen during the Empire, was the Temple to Venus and Rome or Rome and Augustus. Often the *cellae* were back to back with symmetrical approaches from two sides. Those with three *cellae* typically refer to the Etruscan Triad of Jupiter, Juno, and Minerva, the most famous being the Capitoline temple on the Capitoline.

The typical Roman temple had individuals approaching the temple complex with an altar in front. From there the individual walked up stairs to the temple podium and through the porch into a *cella*. In the back of the *cella* there were more altars before the cult statue. The statue in the *cella* could be made of wood, marble, ivory, or metal. The statue could be clothed or adorned. The outside altar was where the public sacrifice took place, usually facing the crowd. Outside, on the front of the temple there was usually a façade which included the name of deity and perhaps who constructed the building. The *cella* was not sufficient to house people not associated with the temple's priesthood.

The temple could have different numbers of columns and could include two or three rows of columns. The temple often included a pediment that often contained sculptural relief and/or statues. In addition to the cult statue(s) and the altars for sacrifice, the temple contained the votive offerings and vows. Vows were made to the gods and many individuals wrote their vows on tablets and deposited them in the temples to show that they had been fulfilled. If a vow was fulfilled, the individual making it often dedicated a votive offering to the gods in commemoration of the successful fulfillment of the vow. The offering could be as simple as some small coins to an elaborate temple or public building. Some of the offerings could be quite valuable such as a gold statue or something inexpensive as a clay figurine.

While many of the vows and votive offerings have not been found since they have perished, some have, and show interesting occurrences. For example, some of the gifts such as coins, figurines, or tablets were purposely broken. This appears to have been done to “kill” the gift in the same way that an animal was killed before its sacrifice. The gifts were sold in shops at the temple complex. A good example can be seen in the New Testament where Jesus overturns the stalls in the temple where the birds for sacrifice were sold; the tables included the moneychangers where the temple coins had to be used to buy the gifts so currency needed to be exchanged. The gifts might be made locally or transported from other regions.

Some of the chief temples in Republican Rome included the Temple of Apollo Sosianus, which was first constructed in 431 BCE and dedicated to Apollo Medicus for deliverance from the plague of 433 BCE. Since Apollo was a foreign cult its original temple, near the Tiber River, was technically outside the city wall proper. Next to it was the Temple to Bellona vowed in 296 BCE. Also nearby was a round temple dating to the second century, it was originally thought to be to Vesta but is now known to be to Hercules Victor and was the first marble temple in Rome. Nearby was the Temple to Portunus that oversaw the port and was built in the first century BCE.

In the Roman Forum, there were several temples to native gods. These included the Temple of Castor and Pollux, dedicated in 495 BCE and finished in 484 BCE in gratitude for a victory at Lake Regillus; the temple was used for the meeting of the Senate. The Temple of Concord, vowed in 367 BCE but not built until 167 BCE, showed that a temple could be built over several years; the temple was erected to commemorate the new peace between the patricians and plebs. Another ancient temple was to Janus with its famous doors, which were closed during times of peace, during the pre-Augustan period only three times. At the foot of the Capitoline was the Temple of Saturn, built in the early Republic, it housed the state treasury. The Temple of Vesta was also built in the early Republic and commemorated the goddess of the hearth. On the Capitoline above the Forum, there were temples to Juno Moneta, the first place where the Romans established their mint, and to Jupiter Maximus, the most important temple. Also overlooking the Forum was the Palatine, which had the Temple of Cybele built after the Second Punic War for the new goddess from the east. Across the Circus Maximus was the Aventine Hill, which had the temple to Bona Dea, probably dedicated in the early third century BCE; another temple of great age was built to Diana. On the Esquiline was the temple to Minerva Medica, akin to the Temple to Apollo Medicus.

These temples ensured that the populace had continual knowledge and contact with the gods. The temples provided a religious backing for the state. The temples became the centers of the state religion and private worships.

See also: *Economics and Work*: Public Works; *Housing and Community*: Public Architecture; Public Structures; *Religion and Beliefs*: Olympian Religion; Roman Priests; Sacrifices; State Religion

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VESTA

The cult of Vesta, equivalent to the Greek Hestia, was the goddess of the hearth. Although not much is known of her cult, she was important not only for the state but for the family as well. As goddess of the home fire, she was vital for the continual salvation of the family since she provided the necessary means to cook the food necessary to survive. She was often depicted with her favorite animal, the ass, in the *lararia*. As with the women of the house, she was expected to help keep the house in order and ensure that the supply of food was sufficient. Her festival was celebrated on June 9.

As goddess of the state, Vesta was in charge of the sacred fire, which again ensured the safety and protection of each home. Since she was the goddess of the home her place of residence was not the usual temple of the other gods but rather a round hut which in the historic period was a stone building representing the ancient family hut. The structure did not contain an image or cult statue the way normal temples did, but rather, it contained a fire that was always burning. This fire was originally meant for the entire city so that individual houses could obtain a fire brand to bring home and relight the family hearth, if needed. The hearth was administered by the Vestal Virgins, originally two but ultimately growing to six, who made sure that the fire was never extinguished. Chosen by the *pontifex maximus* from a group of 20 virgins who originally would come from the leading houses patricians at first, this requirement was dropped during the Republic; the priestesses initially served five years, but by the end of Republic they served for 30 years. During this time they were not under the control of their father, but rather this traditional power was transferred to the *pontifex* who could punish them for their infractions. For offenses below unchaste actions, the Vestal Virgins could be whipped or scourged by the *pontifex* but for being unchaste the ancient penalty of being buried alive was still allowed. If the hearth went out, the Vestal Virgin

on duty was liable for punishment; and the fire was lighted through the friction of wood and not by any other means available. In addition, the Vestals were charged with protecting other sacred objects such as the Palladium, an object identified with Minerva, which was supposed to protect the city of Rome. A peculiar rite was the *argei*, or bundles, representing men bound at their hands and feet and were thrown into the Tiber on May 14 as a means of purification. The meaning of the ceremony is unclear, but it may have been a substitute for human sacrifice during times of famine. The Vestal Virgins carried out the event.

Chosen from the ages of six and ten, the Vestal Virgin served for 30 years. During this time, they had to remain a virgin. After they left they could marry, although it was generally seen as unlucky and

few did. While they were a Vestal Virgin, they received special treatment including special seats at the theater and at banquets. They wore the old sacral dress, which was only worn by brides. The Vestals were said to have been created by King Numa who ordered that they be cared for by the state. The Vestals were at Alba Longa and it may be that they were imported into the city during the monarchy along this line. Numa then created the *pontifex maximus* to look after or guard the Vestals, meaning to ensure that they remained chaste. If they were found not to be chaste, they were to be buried alive. Most Romans held them in awe and accorded them respect. Sulla included Julius Caesar in his *proscriptions* or legalized murder and the Vestal Virgins interceded on his behalf to protect him; Sulla did not pursue



Statue, Roman Forum, Rome, Italy. The Vestal Virgins and their Temple of Vesta, sacred to the home and hearth, maintained the sacred fire which allowed Romans to light their home fires in the Monarchy and early Republic. They were the only female priests in the Roman system. They also kept the wills of important Romans. (Wessel Cirkel/Dreamstime.com)

Caesar out of respect for them. The Emperor Augustus made a habit of including and honoring the priestesses.

One of the main functions of the Vestal Virgins was the rite of purification. The Vestals inaugurated the New Year, March 1, with the purification of their temple; this was followed with its cleaning called the *Vestalia* on June 9. The rite of *Fordicidia* was when the Vestals created or made purificatory materials, which were given out and used in the rites of *Parilia*.

Her temple in the Roman Forum was round, probably double roofed in a dome, and covered with tiles. The double roof was probably created so that the fire was safe from extinguishment. She was honored every month at around 15th or the *Ides* of the month when the moon was full. Her special festivals were in June (the *Vestalia*), September 13 (*Ides*), and February 15 (the Lupercalia). The goddess was given cakes of spelt, the sacred grain of the gods. In addition, she was given “*mola salsa*” or a meal with salt; this may have been in the form of cakes or loose grain, which was pounded and made into meal and then mixed with salt. Her most important celebration was the *Vestalia*, which was also the feast for the bakers. Since Vesta was in charge of hearth that allowed the bakers to make their bread, her worship by them was paramount. During this festival, the donkeys that turned the mills were honored for hard work. The donkeys would have loaves of bread hung on their bodies covered with wreaths to honor them. To the Romans, the connection between grains, the donkeys that turned the mills, and the fire that baked the bread points to Vesta’s role as the giver of life. Her beneficence was crucial to the daily lives of all Romans and indeed all people. This festival, described by Ovid during the early Empire, seems not to have been celebrated during the time of Cato, 180 BCE, when he indicates that there were no holidays for donkeys, mules, or horses. The festival may have been created later, or Cato may not have believed in it. The worship of Vesta was crucial since she was important for society and the running of the state.

See also: *Family and Gender:* Family Life; Women’s Duties; *Religion and Beliefs:* Olympian Religion; State Religion; Temples

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SCIENCE AND TECHNOLOGY



INTRODUCTION

Roman science and technology represented Roman innovations and produced some of its greatest triumphs. Roman science produced a variety of creations and new philosophies. Astronomy had an important role in Rome's record keeping. While the seasons were known by everyone, they had to be recorded. The invention of the calendar ensured public festivals, elections, and commerce continued. The Romans, however, did not originally follow the solar calendar but rather the lunar, which produced shortfalls. Ultimately, it required Julius Caesar to implement his calendar reforms to reset the system. This change also had influence on Roman time keeping and how the day was calculated, divided into equal parts daytime and nighttime without regard to hours. Roman science was also important in Roman medicine, which influenced how the Romans attempted to heal the injured and cure diseases within a constrained and often superstitious belief system. For many Romans, the idea of geography was seen as the union of the practical side of science and technology, especially in the naval arena, and theoretical or philosophical areas.

The Romans had originally been more accustomed to land exploration and conquest rather than naval. During the First Punic War, the Romans began the construction of their warships to defeat the Carthaginians. After their success they continually outfitted ships and controlled the trade routes. The Romans inherited their skills in ship rigging and outfitting of ships from the Greeks. On land, the Romans excelled in construction of roads, which linked harbors, ports, and cities in a great economic system. Using carts and wagons, they were able to move materials to and from cities.

The Romans were not merely the recipients of these inventions, they in fact were known for their great achievements, especially in engineering. The Romans

created aqueducts, which transported water to their cities; using their knowledge of math and physics they used machinery to build the great public structures and improve upon the military technology for their protection. They had water inventions that made the grinding of grain and sawing of stones easier. The creation of agricultural devices, although limited, foresaw the modern farm machinery. Using their knowledge of metallurgy, they could improve upon earlier metal works, including the minting of coins. From the east, they learned how to improve upon the glass production, giving rise to the Roman glass industry, which enhanced the production of tableware.

The Romans did these accomplishments without modern power or equipment. While their use of tools may seem rudimentary, they nevertheless were able to build their cities and monuments, albeit through human labor. Most of these tools were the hand tools used in everyday life and occupations. The markets also had weights and measures to ensure honesty.

Roman science and technology allowed the Romans to create their public works and glorify their cities. Their accomplishments can be seen today in the cities of Europe, Africa, and Asia through their works.

AGRICULTURAL DEVICES

The invention of certain farming machines to help society was crucial to the Romans. Mills are discussed elsewhere, while this entry deals with farm devices used for the cultivation and reaping of produce. Since farming was the most important function in ancient society, the tools needed included a wide variety. The plough was the most important. In its simplest form, it was a stick but the Romans developed the plough into a more complex and easier tool to use. A heavy plough was often needed and used to break up the soil, especially the heavy clay soil in the north. Made of iron or steel, the plough was composed of a sharp blade that made a furrow in the soil allowing the dirt to be loosened to accept the seed and planting. The heavy plough usually required a draft animal such as a horse, donkey, or oxen to pull it. The plough or *aratrum* had in its fullest form a *vomer* or plough share attached to a *dentale* or share beam. This is the device that broke up the soil. Coming off the *dentale* were the *aures* or earth boards, wing like projections that moved the soil to either side. To steer the plough was the *stiva*, which projected upward from the rear of the *dentale* and curved parallel with the ground so that the farmer could guide it. Coming up in the opposite direction was the *buris* or plough tail attached to the animals or a wheeled cart to pull the plough.

For the cutting of hay, the traditional device was the straight-handled mowing scythe, the *falx* or *fenaria*. It had a long straight pole for a handle with a curved blade and single edge for cutting. These long scythes allowed cutting of hay with ease. For the gathering wheat, the Romans originally used the *stramentaria* and *messoria*, which were sickles. This allowed the individual to cut the grain in a controlled sweeping motion. Another type was the *denticulata*, which was a toothed sickle. It had the blade curving back more sharply with a short handle. The individual would cut in an upward motion just below the ear of grain. The Romans had used these types of sickles from their earliest period. They were probably invented by the earliest inhabitants. They would also use the reaping board (*mergae*) and reaping combs (*pectines*). The *mergae* was used to reap the grain, according to Pliny two *merga* were used together to cut the ears of grain off and gather them. The *pectines* were like a comb and were used to cut just the heads of grain leaving the stalks or straw for later cutting. During the first century CE, in northeast Gaul, an animal-operated machine for removing just the head of wheat was invented. It was a comb (*pecten*) mounted on wheels and was probably no more than the original and enlarged reaping comb put of wheels. It appears to have saved time and energy, but it was useful or effective only on level ground and in open plains where straw had no value. Pliny indicated that the machine was used on the *latifundia* of Gaul without regional attributes, but examples have been found in the area east from Reims to Trier. It appears not to have been used in Italy since straw was an important commodity for thatch used in house/roof construction. In addition, it appears not to have spread to other parts of Gaul due to the forests that broke up the plains. The machine most likely was just a local oddity in use for centuries as attested by writers but not adopted elsewhere.

The superiority of these machines and devices that separated the ears from the straw lay in the advantage of skipping one step, the threshing compared to the use of other machines. Threshing required the ears or heads to be removed from the stalks. This was traditionally done after harvesting the grain, ears, and stalks. The reaping boards and reaping combs, whether by hand or as a machine pulled by animals, avoided this step. The threshing was still done by hand or animal and required continued use of labor. The process involved treading out the grain with animals or by an animal-drawn sled, the *tribulum*, which pushed most of the straw out and while the attendant pushed it back under to make sure all of the grain was threshed. This was eliminated with the Carthaginian or Punic cart, *plostellum punicum*, which used tooth rollers to thresh better. In both the cases the straw or chaff remained.

A tool used to weed was the *irpex*, which was a heavy rake with a number of teeth drawn by oxen over the ground to tear up weeds. Another device was the

cylindrus, which was a roller drawn by oxen over the ground to level and condense the soil. It could be a tree trunk that did not rotate or a metal roller attached to struts that could rotate. The driver of the oxen would often stand on the roller to give it additional weight.

These devices were usually used on farms that were significantly larger than the traditional farm of Roman legend of about 5 acres. While most of these legendary farms had disappeared, small farms still existed and probably did not own these devices due to the cost. Instead, it was not uncommon for them to be rented by a farmer or group of farmers when needed from a nearby estate. The small farms would have relied on the traditional means of using hand tools. These agricultural devices, however, would have been owned and operated on large and medium farms. These holdings would have produced enough income to allow or encourage their use. For the common inhabitants of the countryside, it was not unusual to hire themselves out to these large farms and therefore have contact and use of the agricultural machines. The agricultural tools allowed the farmer's energy to be used on other tasks freeing him of some tedious work and increasing productivity.

See also: Arts: Agricultural Treatises; *Economics and Work*: Agriculture; *Food and Drink*: Cereals; *Science and Technology*: Hand Tools; Inventions; Machinery

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AQUEDUCTS

The Romans were able to master the conveyance of water from great distances to provide their towns, camps, and industry with needed water. The earliest water transport systems seem to have been channels dug in the ground to carry the water into a city. Later, the Romans began to develop more sophisticated systems to transport water over longer distances. The Romans built their *aquaeductus* or aqueduct as an artificial channel, often for many miles, to convey pure or nearly pure water. The earliest aqueducts were the Aquae Appia constructed in 312 BCE and the Anio Vetus in 272 BCE, which were tunneled and probably done in imitation of the earlier channels. The military also appreciated the underground

tunnels, since it would afford protection of the water supply since the channels were hard to cut or disrupt. These tunnels were cut in short lengths with vertical shafts to allow workers for access for tunneling and later for servicing the aqueduct. To cross valleys and ravines, the Romans could either use the elevated arches that supported the pipes or the inverted siphon that forced water to travel uphill through water pressure as in a U-trap in modern plumbing but on a larger scale.

The aqueduct was usually underground until it either needed to cross a valley, river, or enter into a town. In these instances the familiar arch system conveyed the channels, sometimes up to three separate streams each in their own channel, one over the other. The arches could be anywhere from one story to having as many as three tall arches reaching height over 100 feet. For example, in Rome the aqueduct constructed by the Emperor Claudius had the arches built of travertine stone. Often there was a need to store water such as at the point where it entered a city or along the way to distribute to various regions; to accomplish this storage the Romans would build a *castellum* or reservoir. Traditionally, the term was *dividiculum* that was merely a tower for the aqueduct that held a reservoir and from which water was shipped to the various parts of the city. This term was abandoned in favor of the more imposing and military term *castellum*. It was usually made of stone and



Roman aqueduct, Pont du Gard, Southern France near Nimes, first century CE. The lower level was a bridge fording the river, while the upper level carried water from its source 50 km away. Aqueducts supplied water to cities, allowing them to grow and prosper beyond their local capacity. Most aqueducts were constructed underground as pipes and not the structure seen here, which was usually only done to cross rivers, valleys, and the area just outside a city. (Isaxar/Dreamstime.com)

brick often rising three stories tall. At the point where the aqueduct entered the city, the *castellum* was often ornate with columns and statues and had a fountain for the excess waste or runoff water to flow and be collected for local use. From the *castellum*, pipes would transport water throughout the city to different buildings. Occasionally, several private individuals would come together and receive permission or a grant from the city or emperor to construct a *castellum privatum* or private reservoir to supply their homes with water. These reservoirs were paid for by the individual families. The water would be collected into one head from the main city reservoir and then distributed to the families through private pipes. These pipes, called *fistula*, were usually made of lead called *plumbum*, although one found at the Emperor Antoninu Pius's villa at Lanuvium had pipes made of pure silver. The pipes would then go into the home and into a *castellum domesticum* or household reservoir where the house's inhabitants had access to the water.

To ensure that the water was pure, the Romans would construct a cleaning tank called a *piscine limaria* either at the beginning or end of the aqueduct, or at both places. The water would enter and the sediment would get settled at the bottom to allow the water to become pure. The water would come into a chamber through which it would pass by another duct into a lower chamber. Here the sediment would settle and the water would then move through a pipe into an adjoining chamber parallel to the sediment chamber where any additional sediment would fall onto the floor. The water would rise in this chamber through a duct into an upper chamber parallel with the entry chamber before leaving through a duct to continue its course throughout the city. In the lower level chambers, doors or sluicgate (*cataracta*) existed to allow the sediment to be cleared out. The water would flow through the aqueduct and along the way there were openings or wells called *cluuiarium* to allow for a free flow of air and to clean out the canal if needed or to make repairs. The channel through which the water flowed was called the *specus*, which literally meant a cave or cavern and so described the covered water way. If it was underground, it was called a *forma*. On top of the cover were air (vent) holes or the vertical shafts dug into the underground channel, which were called *puteus*. When the aqueduct had two or more course ways, the lower one(s) had the *puteus* on the side. To control the flow of water and even stop it at the end of a pipe, the Romans would install an *epistomium* or water cock. Many of these were ornate. The valve in the water pipe or water cock was called an *assis*.

The individuals who surveyed the aqueduct were called *circitores*. They were also responsible for inspecting the different parts to make sure problems were identified and repaired. In addition, they made sure private individuals did not illegally insert pipes into the piping system and run them to their own house. The *libratores* were responsible for surveying the sources of water and for ensuring the water flow was sufficient. They made sure that the pipes from the *castellum* to

the rest of the city and the houses that legally could have pipes conformed to their proper size. They achieved this by ensuring the pipes were of the proper diameter and not larger. The individuals who actually measured the pipes from the *castellum* were the *metitores*. These individuals measured out the quantity of water to be distributed to each district, the size of the pipes, and a meter used, called a *calix*. The *calix* was a water meter, a copper cap or tube of a certain length and capacity that was attached to the end of the pipe or reservoir to determine the quantity

REPORT OF THE AQUEDUCTS OF ROME

In 97 CE, Emperor Nerva appointed the distinguished senator Sextus Julius Frontinus (ca. 40–103 CE) as water commissioner for the city of Rome. As commissioner, Frontinus wrote *De aquaeductu* (*On Aqueducts*), an extensive report on the state of Rome's aqueducts at the end of the first century CE. In the following excerpt, Frontinus describes the Claudia, an important Roman aqueduct that was begun by Emperor Caligula in 38 CE and completed by Emperor Claudius in 52 CE.

After these aqueducts, Gaius Caesar [Caligula] . . . began two others, inasmuch as the seven then existing seemed insufficient to meet both the public needs and the luxurious private demands of the day. These works Claudius completed on the most magnificent scale, [were] . . . given the name Claudia. . . . The intake of Claudia is at the thirty-eighth milestone on the Sublacensian Way, on a cross-road, less than three hundred paces to the left. The water comes from two very large and beautiful springs, the Caerulean, so designated from its appearance, and the Curtian. Claudia also receives the spring which is called Albudinus, which is of such excellence that, when Marcia [another aqueduct], too, needs supplementing, this water answers the purpose so admirably that by its addition there is no change in Marcia's quality. . . . Claudia's conduit has a length of 46,606 paces, of which 36,230 are in a subterranean channel, 10,176 on structures above ground; of these last there are at various points in the upper reaches 3,076 paces on arches; and near the City, beginning at the seventh milestone, 609 paces on substructures and 6,491 on arches.

(Sextus Julius Frontinus, 1925, Book 1, 13–14)

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of water flowing through it and thereby knowing how much water was passing through the pipe. This was especially useful to make sure no one was siphoning water off illegally.

The common inhabitants of Rome benefited from the water flowing through the aqueducts that ran into the city. Many of them would have been laborers working on the construction and maintenance of the aqueducts. Since the livelihood of the city depended upon the constant supply of fresh water, it was crucial to have individuals who could maintain and enhance the supply.

See also: Economics and Work: Public Works; Housing and Community: Public Structures; Town Planning; Recreation and Social Customs: Baths

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ASTRONOMY

Roman astronomy was the examination of the stars and planets. While some observers attempted to understand the cosmos and how it worked, others attempted to use the observations to predict events. Astronomy was therefore often closely aligned with astrology, which was the attempt to predict future events by reading signs in the cosmos. This entry will examine the more scientific observations that were often used in astrology.

The modern understanding of Roman astronomy is derived mainly from Ptolemy who wrote in Greek during the second century CE. His observations were based upon research, not only his own research but also the work of others beginning with the Greek scientists from some 500 years earlier. His work, *The Almagest*, describes how the universe is organized. His work has its beginnings in Aristotle's view of cosmology with the earth at the center of the universe, motionless surrounded by the sea of the heavens. This view would become the official state view of the Christian church for nearly 1,000 years. In this concept, the stars were also fixed motionless, while the planets revolved around the earth. Ptolemy then discussed the idea of latitude and the duration of certain events such as daylight, the movement of the sun throughout the day, as well

as seasonal events like the equinoxes and solstices. There is a discussion of the movement of the sun throughout the year that accounted for the equinoxes and the length of the year. Ptolemy then discussed the movement of the moon, and the size and distance from the earth of the sun and moon. In this part, he also described the lunar and solar eclipses. Using Hipparchus's research, which he did not credit (a common attribute), Ptolemy described the positions of the stars; their brightness based upon a logarithmic scale on which the brightest are marked as 1 and the faintest as 6 with each successive number being half of the proceeding, so that 6 was barely visible and 5 was twice as bright as 6, and 4 being twice as 5, and so forth. Ptolemy then began his discussion on the planets starting with Mercury, which he believed to be closest to Earth, then Venus, Mars, Jupiter, and Saturn. In this discussion, he described the retrograde motion as when the stars and planets appear to move in one direction and then reverse their course. He then described the stars and planets in latitude or how they deviate from the ecliptic path.

Ptolemy believed that the cosmos was a sphere and as such moved as a sphere. He viewed the Earth as a sphere at the center of the universe. The Earth does not move; and in relation to the stars of the cosmos is a mathematical point since the distance from each is so great. Ptolemy's work became the standard in part because he presented the most recent compilation of various earlier works such as those by Hipparchus. The others' works were too technical and specific, whereas Ptolemy offered a unified system of examining the cosmos. With the fall of Rome, the Greek *Almagest* was lost until the 16th century, when it was rediscovered and translated into Latin. The work and its views, however, were not lost, and during the period from 600 to 1600 CE they were retained in Arabic sources. It became the dominant view that the Earth was the center of the universe and everything revolved around it.

Ptolemy was not the only astronomer, and in fact papyri from the Greek–Roman period show that there remained a keen interest in the observations of the cosmos. Most of these observations were to record the geocentric longitudes of the planets during specific times and when the planets entered or passed through the zodiac constellations. These records were then used for astrological horoscopes or for almanacs. At the same time, the Babylonian influence on Greek and Roman astronomy is clearly visible in the papyri. This is mainly through the calculation of the Lunar month of 29 days and the predictions of lunar eclipses. The papyri are important, since they show that Ptolemy did not work in a vacuum but rather there were numerous astronomers observing and recording the movements of the planets and stars. One of the earliest observations of Jupiter is now known to have been made on December 31, 104 CE, by Menelaus of Alexandria, a scholar that Ptolemy

consulted for his later *Almagest*. Later papyri make reference to Ptolemy's work also showing how important his work had become. Many Babylonian ideas found their way into the papyri as planetary tables providing information such as their times of observations for specific months and their durations and such items as solstices. Also discovered are templates for planetary positions. All this information would allow an astrologer to be able to compute one's horoscope when supplied with the day and time of birth. These observations were therefore critical for the religion of the day.

Other astronomers wrote about the stars in connection with the Greek myths. To Hyginus is attributed the *De Astronomia* or *Poeticon astronomicon* or *Star Atlas*, which gave most of the stars in relation to Ptolemy who came after Hyginus. Although their position is difficult to translate, what is important for many are the obscure myths not recorded elsewhere that pertain to some of the constellations. An additional set of astronomers were those who knew the eclipses and could use that knowledge for political or military needs. One of the most famous was Gaius Sulpicius Gallus who predicted an eclipse of the moon the night before the great battle of Pydna against the Macedonians in 168 BCE. His prediction helped calm Roman soldiers' fear since they were prepared for it, something not done at the Battle of Syracuse by the Athenians in 412 BCE. Gallus became an expert in astronomy and was often quoted by later writers.

A shipwreck off the island of Antikythera probably in 67 BCE produced the famed bronze astronomical calculator the "Antikythera Mechanism," which had 37 gears that created a lunar calendar and could predict the planets' movements. Although probably a novelty, it was nevertheless sophisticated and indicated the importance of the cosmos and was probably used for horoscopes and festivals.

Astronomy was therefore seen as a mathematical science that had practical uses. Although many of the theories were not correct, their observations allowed the Greeks and later Romans to have an understanding of the cosmos, which was handed down to Medieval Europe.

See also: Religion and Beliefs: Astrology; Science and Technology: Inventions

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CALENDAR REFORMS

Nearly all societies have some sort of calendar to reckon time. While some may be vague, counting only the seasons, others were quite complicated. While each calendar varied according to the time of the New Year, the days of the months, nearly all had a lunar component since the phases of the moon are regular. The months were either numbered according to their location in the year, hence September coming from *septem* or seven or from a deity or festival, such as Martius from the god Mar. The calendar in Rome was said to have been introduced by Tarquinius Priscus from Etruria, seen in the month June coming from *Iunius* from the Etruscan form of Juno, *Uni*.

Originally, the Roman calendar only had 10 months running March through December, which resulted in the winter months not being counted. It appears that the month of January that had the festival *Ianuar*, the later *Agonium* of later calendars celebrated on January 9 as the god of gates or beginnings, was supposed to be the first month of the year; this was interrupted by the revolution that brought about the expulsion of the kings. March would remain the first month of the year, explaining why March 1 was the start of the new consuls' term. Ultimately, the months of January and February were added to complete the months of the year in 153 BCE. The days of the months did not conform to the modern months. The months of March, May, July (Quintilis), and October had 31 days, while February had 28 and the remainder had 29, which produced 355 days for the year. The problem with this system was that the calendar, based on the lunar months, was 10 one-fourth days off from the solar year. To fix this situation, the Romans would periodically add an additional month, the *Mercedonius* or *Intercalaris*, which was supposed to bring the calendars into parity. The intercalary month was added between February 23 and 24 and lasted 22 or 23 days. There was no particular way for this intercalary month to be determined or added and the system was very clumsy producing occasional chaos.

By the time of Julius Caesar, in 46 BCE, the calendar was out of sequence by three months with the civic calendar ahead of the solar calendar by three months. This was due to the civil wars during the last century when the state had more important details to meet than determining the position of the intercalary months. Julius Caesar being in complete control could now move to fix the calendar. As *pontifex maximus* he was entitled to bring about a solution to the calendar and so he added an intercalary month of 90 days in February so as to bring the different years into sync. This was called the "last year of muddled reckoning." Caesar is said to have consulted an Alexandrian astronomer named Sosigenes who related the history of the Egyptian calendar. The other contender was the Babylonian calendar, which assigned each day to a particular point meaning no two days

were the same, although exact and not needing leap years, but it was cumbersome and difficult for everyday individuals to understand. Caesar adopted the Egyptian calendar, and it is tempting to see Cleopatra's influence on Julius Caesar and the calendar.

Julius Caesar was now determined to make sure that the calendar was not out of sync. While the lunar calendar of 12 months each with 29 and half days equaled either 354 or 355 years, the difference of 10 days was enough to cause the need for the intercalary month every few years. This had been known for the Greeks and Romans. The Egyptians used a solar calendar of 365 days divided into 12 months consisting of 30 days each with 5 extra days at the end of the year. Calculated with the rising of Sirius, the year was off by one-fourth of a day, which meant that every four years the calendar was off by a day so that every 1,460 years it was corrected. To correct this, the proposal was to add a day every four years. Caesar therefore decided to pick the Egyptian calendar and to add the corrected leap day every four years between February 23 and 24 and called it the bissextile year, since the day before the *kalends* of March occurs twice. The idea of adding the extra day at the end of the month, February 29, is a modern invention.

The new calendar was based on the sun and the earth's revolution around it rather than on the moon and its phases. The new calendar added two days to the months of January, *Sextilis* (August), and December to bring these months to 31 days and one day to the months of April, June, September, and November to bring them up to 30 days. The remaining months of March, May, July, and October remained the same at 31 days and the month of February had 28 with leap year having 29 days. A calculation error resulted in the first few years, from 45 BCE to 12 CE with three years instead of four being counted; this forced the Emperor Augustus to make another revision. Another error was that the new calendar did not account for the exact solar year; it is slightly less than 365 and one-fourth, which means that every four centuries using leap year there are three added days. This error would not be corrected until 1582 CE with the Gregorian calendar when January 1 in the Julian calendar was really January 14. This calendar, in use now, has every four years being a leap year except for a year being divisible exactly by 100; centuries divisible by 400 are leap years. This reform means that the year 2000 was a leap year ($2000/400 = 5$) but 1900 or 2100 are not.

The New Year in the late Republic and into the Empire began on January 1, while the political calendar was now changed so that the consuls and other magistrates also began their office on January 1 beginning in 153 BCE. The tribunes began their term on December 10. With these changes, the civic and solar calendars were now in sync. Although this change was needed, it was not major and the modern calendar is still based on Julius Caesar's calendar. The calendar was

crucial for the political world. The actual seasonal calendar was more important for everyday Romans.

See also: Arts: Caesar, Gaius Julius; *Housing and Community*: Rural and Periodic Markets; *Science and Technology*: Roman Time Keeping

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CARTS

The Romans indicated that anything that carried something by land was called a *vehicululum*, or a cart, used to carry goods and supplies. The inside or body of a carriage was called a *capsus*. The body part of a two wheeled carriage or *cisium* was called the *ploxemum*, which seems to have originated in northern Italy near the Po River and represents the Celtic influence. The axle was called an *axis*, in some carts the wheels revolved around the axle, while in others both wheels and axles moved as one. In the latter case, it was necessary to have strong wooden collars or rings, which received the axle and allow the axle and wheels to turn together; this was called an *arbusculae*; in carts in which the wheels revolved around the fixed axle such as a *currus*, the collars were not needed. The pole running perpendicular from the axle to the animal pulling it was called a *temo*. It was usually permanently affixed to the axle at one end and at the other the animal was bound with a curricule bar or yoke (*jugum*) bound by a piece of leather, a *cohū* or a bolt/peg. When the animal was unhitched and the yoke removed, the carriage would tilt so that *temo* was upright and not touching the ground. A two-branch pole shaped like a fork was called a *furca*.

The wheel was called a *rota*, which had a nave or *modiolus* and was the central part of the wheel through which the axle ran; the spokes or *radii* were attached running out to the felloes or *absides* to which the tire made of a hoop of iron or bronze, called a *canthus* or *orbis* was attached. The brake was called a *sufflamen* or drag chain that locked the wheels to prevent them from running upon the animal in a descent. The *sufflamen* was in the rear wheel with two chains, one with a hook that went between two spokes and around the felloe to prevent a revolution. A solid wheel without spokes was the *tymphanum*.

The *biga* was a carriage drawn by two horses and could also be applied to a chariot for war or racing. A *quadriga* referred to a carriage drawn by a team of four horses, especially the racing chariots. The two inside horses were yoked together to the pole and termed *jugales*, while the two outside, called *funales*, were attached by ropes. The emperors Nero and Trajan are recorded with driving chariots of 10 horses abreast called a *decemjugis*. The chariot was mainly used for military and racing purposes. Roman law forbade men from driving/riding in chariots except as conquering generals or in driving in the circus. Later, it was permitted for senators to drive their chariots in the city. This ban existed until the late Empire.

Carts and carriages that had the distinction of two wheels were called *birotus*. The earliest Roman cart or carriage was called the *plaustrum*, which was usually drawn by oxen and used on the farm and their surroundings. When the Romans came across other northern tribes they borrowed similar vehicles but kept the term *plaustrum*. The vehicle was really nothing more than boards forming a strong platform placed on a pair of wheels. The wheels did not have spokes or radiate on their own, rather, they were attached permanently to an axle and both wheels and axle moved as one. The wheels called *tymphanum* were solid, like a flat drum; the load was placed on the platform. A smaller version drawn by goats was the *plotellum*. Similar to the *plaustrum* was the *sarracum*, which the Italians adopted and was employed in the rural setting. It was used to carry the farmer and his family and to transport goods to the market. It was mentioned in conjunction with the *plaustrum* and appears to be similar to it. It had the platform like the *plaustrum* but instead of a basket or tub placed on the platform, it had sides attached to it making it all inclusive. It appears that the sides could be removed to make it just a platform so as to allow the connection of several carts to make it possible to carry several poles and timbers together for building programs, sort of like a modern train. The *plotellum punicum* was a threshing machine; it was a sled with rollers that had projecting teeth and threshed out the wheat as it turned being pulled by oxen. It originated in Africa and was adopted by the Italians. The *esseda* was an uncovered two wheel cart that was opened in the front but closed in the back. Drawn by two horses it was used originally as a war vehicle in Britain and Gaul, but the Romans used it for everyday life for transporting goods.

A small vehicle was the *carrus*, which was also drawn by two or four mules/horses or oxen. The *carrus* was boarded on all sides to allow for carrying produce. It was common in Britain, Gaul, and Germania. It seems to have been used mainly for freight. This vehicle was popular with the military for carrying their supplies and could have two or four wheels. It seems to have been modeled on the Celtic war-chariot although under the Romans it did not serve this purpose. The *angaria* were the heavy post-wagons drawn by oxen to carry heavy loads on the imperial post roads. They were slow and could not cover great distances quickly and so were used for the transport of taxes and supplies from the surrounding country side

to the central stations and on to the major receiving ports. For rapid movement of passengers, there were the *cisium*, which was open and could carry two people, the driver and a passenger. There was a storage compartment beneath the seat. They were drawn by one or two animals (occasionally three) and were capable of obtaining great speeds forcing the Romans to impose speed limits. They seem to have been liable for accidents. They were known to be hired from a corporation of *cis-iarii* at town gates; that probably indicate a sort of rental car agreement according to which the renter could change carts for his use at various cities on his journey. Another small vehicle was the *covinus*, a traveling carriage driven by the owner. The poet Martial clearly differentiates it from the *carruca* and *essed*a but does not describe it anymore. An *arcuma* was a small cart with two wheels that could carry one person. A sepulchral relief has a dead body being transported by an *arcuma*.

The use of carts in the city was crucial for the everyday life of the inhabitants. With a great variety of carts used, the city and its inhabitants were guaranteed that their livelihood was secure. The constant movement of goods did cause issues such as noise and congestion, but the Romans attempted to moderate between utility and comfort for its inhabitants.

See also: *Economics and Work:* Trade; *Food and Drink:* Trade Routes; Transport; *Housing and Community:* City Traffic; *Science and Technology:* Roads; Wagons

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ENGINEERING

The Romans were recognized throughout the Mediterranean as master builders. While some have dismissed the Romans as not having ingenuity, it is clear from the archaeological remains that Rome had a penchant for buildings that were not only utilitarian but also grand. Roman engineering was closely connected with building, construction materials, and architecture. The use of practical mathematics and machines allowed the Romans to construct a variety of structures of such magnitude and sophistication not seen for centuries. While the Egyptians constructed their great obelisks and pyramids, these were based on general geometry and continual adaptation of previous designs over the course of several millennia. The

Romans by contrast created unique designs that allowed for more durability and openness over a shorter time period. Some of the major engineering feats discussed elsewhere include aqueducts, mines, and roads. Other accomplishments discussed here include dams, bridges, and mills.

The Romans built dams that allowed for water to be collected in reservoirs to supply cities with regular water. One such dam, really three in one area, was the Subiaco Dam. These dams were built for the Emperor Nero along the Aniene River. The region gave rise to the Medieval city Subiaco from *Sublaqueum* meaning “under the lake.” The dams were gravity dams with one being the highest until its destruction in 1305 CE. Gravity dams means that the weight of the material held the dam in place by its gravity and was sufficient to hold back the pressure of the water. In essence, the dam’s mass is exerted down (vertically) on the foundation that prevents the water’s thrust (horizontally) from pushing through. Using concrete and cement, the Romans were able to construct three dams in this region so as to create a lake for Nero’s enjoyment. In addition, the upper two dams supplied a regular flow of water during the reign of Trajan for the Anio Novus aqueduct since its original water supply had made the water impure or turbid. The largest dam was 40 meter high, 13.5 meter wide and 80 meter long. Another dam at Ponte di San Mauro was made with large concrete blocks.

While the Subiaco Dam was the only large dam in Italy, in Roman Spain, North Africa, and the east, there existed a large number of dams. In Spain, there were over 50 known dams including one at Montefurado, which helped expose the gold fields in the River Sil. In the late Empire the Romans built a dam creating the largest dam reservoir located near Homs, Syria, in 284 CE. The dam ran 2,000 meters long and created a reservoir of 90 million cubic meters of water. Like many other Roman dams, it was made of concrete lined by masonry on both faces, which were slightly inclined and on the crest. It was a fairly impressive dam, being 7 meters high and 14 meters thick at the central section and on the crest it was still over 6 meters wide. In Britain, the Romans preferred to create earthen dams and there is evidence that some may have been used in the industry for smelting of metals.

Like dams that held back water and aqueducts, which carried water into cities, the Romans were known for their engineering works with bridges. The numbers of bridges that still survive are staggering. Well over 900, mostly stone bridges, still exist from the Roman world. Most of the bridges were semicircular, built upon the full arch with piers sunk at periodic lengths into the water. The major drawback with this type of bridge is that the area the arch spanned was smaller than the segmented arch, which could span greater distances and thus could prevent the bridge from being washed away. In this fashion, the number of piers needed was reduced. The longest bridge was across the Danube built under Trajan by the architect Apollodorus. The bridge was 1,135 meters long (the Danube was 800

meters wide), 15 meters wide so as to ensure traffic in both directions, and 19 meters above the river. The bridge was a mixture of masonry piers with wooden arches. The arches spanned 38 meters and were on 20 concrete piers. At both ends were Roman fort camps that required passing through to enter the bridge. They were used to not only protect the bridge but more importantly to police it. Some of the bridges also carried aqueducts across the rivers in addition to pathways.

A late Roman power station was built in France just north of Arles known as the Barbegal mill. According to the evidence, water from an aqueduct was channeled to the region where it went downhill through a series of watermills; estimates had that the eight sets of two mills could grind enough grain for flour for about 15,000 inhabitants, approximately the size of Arles. In Rome, a water mill course run existed on the Janiculum similar to Barbegal and dated from the early third century CE when the state shifted from handing out raw grain to baked bread resulting in the state taking over the grinding of the grain. A relief from Hierapolis shows a water-powered stone saw mill. On the sarcophagus of a miller it appears to show the working mill cutting through stone. There are numerous examples of these saw mills throughout the Roman world. Evidence seems to show that the water mill was invented as early as the third century BCE. It is conceivable that the Roman army exported it to other areas with its conquest. Mills were also used in the mining business such as for crushing the ore into manageable sized pieces, pulverizing these pieces into powder; the washing being done with the water used in the mills. This allowed the extraction of gold and silver on a grand scale.

The Roman engineering accomplishments were spectacular and would not be seen again for over 1,000 years. Their ability to manipulate the forces of nature and in some ways conquer the environment allowed the Romans to continue their domination and pacification of the regions.

See also: *Economics and Work*: Builders; Laborers; *Housing and Community*: Surveying; Town Planning; *Science and Technology*: Aqueducts; Machinery; Military Technology; Roman Medicine

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GEOGRAPHY

The Roman concept of geography was crucial to their military, political, and economic success and domination. For the Romans, geography was a matter of practicality and control. Knowledge about the world was seen as power and avenues for potential conquests. Unlike Medieval philosophers, scientist, and theologians who were concerned with the preservation of the status quo, even if it was wrong, the Romans were known to have sent explorers and expeditions to open new lands for trade and conquest. The Romans also inherited extensive knowledge from the Greeks, Egyptians, and Carthaginians that helped them in their understanding of the world. All of this does not mean that the Romans always had a critical eye toward distant lands and were not above inventing and talking about strange creatures and customs. Many of the surviving geographical works were usually written in Greek and came in two fashions, the armchair geographer and the surveyors. The armchair geographer, for example, the Latin author Pomponius Mela, is often an ethnographic and geographic discussion of the world. Mela's work attempts to describe the world and its peoples and their customs. Another example was Tacitus's work on the Germans. Again there are geographical ideas expressed, but much of the material covered is ethnographic. These were texts written by individuals who did not necessarily travel abroad and therefore did not witness firsthand the regions they discussed.

The surveyors on the other hand had firsthand knowledge of the region and could relay information that they had seen and verify what others had said. The earliest geographers were the military scouts, surveyors, and commanders who helped plan the expeditions during the monarchy and early Republic. These individuals and their successors were responsible for determining what lay beyond the Roman frontier. One of the most important elements would have been a detailed summary of the terrain, resources, tribes, and natural communications, which could aid the advancing Romans. Some notable expeditions that are related in sources include Polybius's Spanish expedition under Scipio Aemilianus, Gallus's Arabian expedition under Augustus (a disaster), Suetonius Paulinus's expedition into the Atlas Mountains in Morocco under Claudius, an expedition up the Nile under Nero, and Agricola's expedition around Scotland under Domitian. These and other expeditions were intended to open the way for conquest and control and were often military in nature.

While maps do not survive, it is clear that the Romans had knowledge of map making and surveying. These maps would have come in handy for Roman troops and travelers to pick the best routes and what issues they would have faced. There exist itineraries that acted like modern tripticks, distances along a particular route. Although they were not extensive maps showing all regions, they nevertheless

allowed a traveler to know how far villages and cities were in relation to others. Not as cumbersome or difficult to draw as maps, these itineraries would list the cities in order on the route with distances off to the side between them. Since roads had milestones that gave the same distances it was rather easy to copy the material onto parchment so as to have it readily available. These itineraries often would also give the available stopping places. The earliest itinerary was commissioned by Julius Caesar and Marc Antony in 44 BCE. The task took 25 years and when completed the stone inscription was set up in the Campus Martius where copies could be made of the whole project or just the route one wanted to take. These itineraries could be inscribed on stone, written on paper, or even inscribed on cups. One such group of the latter has survived in four silver cups giving the distance and stations from Cadiz Spain to Rome. A late system itinerary incorporated into a general map system is the *tabula Peutingeriana* or Peutinger Table, probably first made from the itineraries of the *cursus publicus* or public roads in the fifth century CE. It is believed that it owes its genesis to the map commissioned by Agrippa under Augustus in the first century BCE and inscribed on a marble tablet and set up in the Campus Martius as well. Another famous itinerary was the Antonine Itinerary originally created under the Severans with the remaining copy from the time of Diocletian, 300 CE.

In addition to itineraries there existed the naval counterpart, the *perpoli*. These were surveyor notes or essays drawn from naval accounts. One of the most important was the work by Arrian when he was governor in Asia Minor and recounts his expedition around the Black Sea. Afterward he wrote the *Periplus of the Euxine Sea* or the Black Sea discussing his voyage. His account describes the distance between ports, the region in the countryside near the cities, and the general description of the inhabitants. Another work was the *Periplus of the Erythraean Sea* or Red Sea, which describes the routes and places for trade from Roman Egypt and northeast Africa to India. Many of the sites are identifiable, while others can only be guessed. The passages contain information about products, routes, and commercial interests. The work describes areas in Somalia, Ethiopia, southern Arabia, southern Iran, Pakistan, and India. An itinerary similar to the Antonine Itinerary was the Latin Maritime Itinerary that described the sailing distances from one port to another in the western Mediterranean. A fuller example is the Greek maritime itinerary known as the *Stadiasmus Maris Magnis*, which provides a description from Egypt west to Carthage, and then north from Egypt to Asia Minor, with a description of the southern Aegean Islands including Crete and Cyprus. The text gives distances as well as descriptions about the land as if looking from a ship toward land. In the region for Egypt and North Africa there are details about drinking water and reefs.

Finally, there are the great geographical works, most notably by Strabo. He believed that instead of just listing places, it was important for the material to

make sense in a broader context. His work describes the Mediterranean world from a pro-Roman point of view. Although the work was rarely used during his time, it was used afterward; it shaped how the Byzantine writers viewed the Mediterranean.

See also: *Arts: Geographical Treatises; Housing and Community: Surveying*

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HAND TOOLS

The Romans had a variety of hand tools used for agriculture and construction purposes. These tools may be classified as spades (shovel), hoes, cutting tools, rakes and hooks, and rollers. Many of these tools are similar to the ones used today and show a consistency of use and design over the years.

The spade or shovel was used for digging. *Pala* was the term used for a spade, made of either iron or wooden. The iron spade was not as heavy as the modern tool, having a longer and smaller blade but being more pointed. The handle tended to be long for more leverage. The wooden spade was similar in design to the iron but was often employed for winnowing grain. The laborer would take a shovel full of threshed grain and throw it a considerable distance into the air across the wind direction so that the lighter chaff was carried away leaving the grain on the floor. The *bipalium* or *vanga* was a spade that had a cross bar above the blade on the handle to place the foot to give greater digging depth and power. Typically, the bar allowed the spade to be twice the depth as a regular *pala*, or 2 feet. The depth could be altered by adjusting the placement of the bar, closer to the blade and it was shallower, further from the blade and it was deeper. The term *vanga* appears to be a later term for the same tool. A *rutrum* was a large and broad iron blade into which a pole or handle was inserted perpendicular to the blade similar to a hoe. It was said to be the tool with which Romulus slayed Remus. Like the shovel, it was used for digging, but it was also shaped to scrape, break up dirt, as well as mix and knead mortar and other similar tasks.

To measure the depth and breadth of a trench, an overseer would use a *ciconia*, which was shaped like an inverted T with a spike on the crossbar. The spike would measure the depth, while the crossbars measured the width. To prevent disputes

that arose, Columella invented the *ciconia composite*, which was an X-shaped device with a plumb line where the two bars intersected to form the X and with the bottom crossbars connected. The device could then clearly show the width all the way up and the plumb line ensured that it was straight so that the height could be clearly seen. This was more advanced than the original T-shaped *ciconia*.

The *rallum*, a contraction from *radulum*, was a scraper. Putting it on his handle or *stimulus* the ploughman would use it to scrape the dirt off his plough. It was probably used for a variety of other uses in the same way a modern scraper can. The ancient hoe had several different names. The *ligo* had a long handle with a curved inward blade with the ends notched like teeth. It appears that the *ligo* had multiple teeth since the term *bidens* meant a two-pronged hoe. This was typically a strong and heavy tool, which could be used instead of a plough. A *marra* was a broad tool with short teeth to tear up weeds and ground cover. A *sarculum* was lighter and smaller than a *ligo* and used to weed in fields and gardens. It usually was just a blade with a slight rounding. The *ascia* was a shorter hoe, one that could be wielded by one hand. The *raster* was a tool between a hoe, fork, and rake. Like a fork and rake, the *raster* head was made of heavy iron and contained teeth, two to four, and like a rake, the blade was perpendicular to the handle, rather than like a fork, which was a continuation of the handle. It was used to break up the dirt, swung like a hoe and driven into the soil. It was used in digging and clearing the soil and for chopping up large clumps of soil. It commonly had two horns or spikes. The *rastellus* was a wooden *raster* that was used to rake the ground after the seed had been planted.

The *runco* was a weeding hook to root out briars and other weeds among the young crops. It had a cutting edge and bent neck like a modern single-blade hoe. The *capreolus* was a rake to loosen the soil and was made with two iron prongs shaped like one half of an X and joined together at the crossbar and placed at the end of a pole or handle. The *pecten* was a haymaker's rake with the teeth set wide apart. Used for haying was the *furca* or the two pronged fork, hay or pitch fork. It had an iron head and was sturdy.

The *falx* was in general a cutting blade which was curved and had a single edge. There were a variety of styles depending on the use. The *foenaria* and *veruculata* was a scythe for mowing grass, which had a long and straight handle attached to a long blade. The *stramentaria* and *messoria* was a sickle used to reap the grain and was on a short handle. A *denticulata* was a toothed sickle also used in some regions for reaping. It was usually on a short handle with the blade like a saw and curved back toward the handle, more than the *stramentaria*. It was used with the point upward and cut the stalk a little below the ear. The *arboraria* was used for cutting hedges, while the *vinitoria* was a vine dresser's hook used for pruning.

A *dolabra* and the smaller *dolabella* were instruments used to cut, chop, dig, and break wood. They were used by woodsmen, agricultural workers, and soldiers. It had a double head with one side being an ax blade and a pick on the other side. The *dolabra fossoria* was used by miners and excavators and had a longer handle, while the *dolabra pontificalis* was a hatchet used by butchers to slaughter cattle at the sacrifice. The *securus* was an ax or hatchet used for cutting timber or it could also mean a pickax.

These and other tools enabled the worker to do his job mainly in the field. These were tools often created for a specific plan or duty. The tools provided relief for the worker and made their job easier. Most Romans, whether in a city or the countryside would know what one looked like and probably used them at some time.

See also: *Economics and Work:* Agriculture; Builders; Farming; Industry; Laborers; Mining; *Science and Technology:* Tools

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HARBORS

Ancient harbors were at first natural sheltered bays, coves, or stretches of beaches that allowed ships to be protected from the elements. The harbors initially were areas where sailors could beach their ships or lie at anchor and take rest. These natural sites were often located near cities that provided them with contacts with the outside world. Some of the natural harbors were located near the estuaries of rivers such as at Ostia for the Tiber River. Many of the harbors were at a distance from the city so as to remain economically neutral and promote commerce between several neighboring cities. Eventually, cities realized the importance of having a harbor attached to their city and encouraged them. With the creation of facilities a harbor could become a port. Typically, a port was a city with a harbor. The most famous harbor was near the ancient port city of Ostia called the Portus, which became the port of Rome.

Artificial harbors became more common in the Roman period and the Romans began to construct structures to help ensure the safety of ships and sailors. One of the important parts of a port was the coastal facilities to help load and unload

ships as well as to repair them. It was common for quays to be constructed so that ships could moor without the need to beach them or take them out of water. These quays were usually constructed of stone, but later the Romans with their knowledge of concrete and cement were able to make them thereby expanding their use and dissemination. Evidence for quays exists in port cities throughout the Mediterranean. In Rome, quays were built on both sides of the Tiber River for the length of the city. The quays had steps leading from the river to the houses above. The wharf proper was called the *marmoratum* where marble blocks arrived just above the Aventine Hill. There were large corbels 8 feet by 3 feet deep with a hole 1 foot in diameter to tie up and projected from the quay about every 50 feet. The ancient marble plan of Rome shows across the river a small harbor with a portico or covered colonnade. Along the wall were sculptured lions' heads with a hole for the boats to tie up. The wall was made of various materials, in some places it was tufa blocks, while in others it was concrete or brick-faced concrete.

Another component of the harbor was the facilities used to store materials to be loaded or unloaded from the ships. Large warehouses were often constructed



Roman Harbor, Caesarea Israel, first century CE. Sea travel was crucial to the ancient Romans. Throughout the Mediterranean, they built or made modifications to preexisting harbors with concrete, which they had invented during the Republic. These harbors allowed trade to flourish and extend Roman control over its possessions. (Serbysh/Dreamstime.com)

to hold the goods coming from overseas. These facilities allowed for materials to be stored for later shipment and/or to protect them from the elements. These warehouses or *horrea* were originally for grain but could be used for other goods as well. These warehouses were typically two or more stories high with ramps instead of stairs for the movement of goods from one level to another, often by cart. The grain *horrea* were usually built on pillars to prevent moisture and allow for air circulation to keep it dry and fresh. Many of the warehouses had shops attached to them, which probably acted as offices for the merchants where they could display some of their goods as samples. The courtyard at Ostia known as the Piazza of the Corporations had small offices representing goods in mosaics and probably had samples in display.

Along the quays would have been machines to load and unload the boats. These machines or cranes had multiple pulleys. A simple crane or *trispastos* with three pulleys could allow a man to lift 100 pounds easily throughout the day. Another machine had three sets of five pulleys, so a team of eight men using both sides of the winch could lift 5,000 pounds; if the winch was replaced with a treadmill wheel then four men in the treadmill could lift 10,000 pounds. With remains of larger blocks of marble and stone for buildings, the lifting capacity of cranes must have been even greater. These machines, both small and large, allowed the boats to be loaded and unloaded at the harbor either onto or from other carts or boats.

The great port of Rome near Ostia, known as the Portus also had facilities for the outfitting and building of ships. These large structures, similar to *horrea*, were 475 feet long by 200 feet wide and over 50 feet tall. Pillars, over 10 feet wide, were large enough to hold the wooden roofs of over eight bays for the ships. The facility was able to house wood, canvas, metal, and other supplies for the building of ships. This shipbuilding facility was close to the harbor.

To protect the harbor itself, the Romans constructed great moles extending into the water; at Ostia, the northern mole was 1,600 meters long, the southern 1,320 meters long. These moles allowed the port to be enlarged and ensured that the ships were protected. The greatest port was at Ostia and was built by the Emperor Claudius who used plans from Julius Caesar's time. Claudius had the two moles built to encompass about 170 acres. The area was not completely safe as storms were known to sink some ships in the Portus. The port was then enlarged by Trajan. To help ensure the safety of most of the ships, the Emperor Trajan then built a smaller harbor inland with a hexagonal shape. It enclosed about 100 acres and communicated with the outer Claudian harbor with canals. The main difficulty for succeeding generations was preventing the harbor from silting up by the Tiber River. When Rome fell, the maintenance could not be continued, and by the 20th century, the harbor had disappeared and shoreline extended into the sea by 2 miles. The main channel was 45 meters wide and communicated with the Tiber

River for ships to sail to the city. In addition, there appears to have been a straight canal along the Tiber all the way to Rome; if so, this would have provided faster service for the city, especially for the grain trade. In between the two moles built by Claudius was the great lighthouse or Pharos. Built on an island constructed of a large ship used to transport an obelisk, it was over three stories or probably 40 meters tall. The lighthouse could be seen from 20 miles away.

The harbor facilities would also employ thousands of workers, both free and slave, to ensure the city was supplied with goods. Throughout the Mediterranean other harbor facilities, not as large, but just as important, were in similar operation. The harbors often became the central part of a city and all of its inhabitants would have known its complexity and importance.

See also: Economics and Work: Trade; Food and Drink: Trade Routes; Housing and Community: Town Planning; Science and Technology: Ships; Warships

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HEALTH

Roman health and medicine derived mainly from the Greek world. The father of medicine, Hippocrates directly influenced most of the Greek and Roman world through his teaching and disciples. The Romans held that Aesculapius, the god of healing, was the god that oversaw Roman medical practice and his snake wrapped around a staff continues as a symbol of the medical field today. The Romans expanded upon Hippocrates’s knowledge, primarily with the authors Soranus and Galen who added material from other authors to the general body of knowledge. While Hippocrates indicated that it was necessary to observe and record the patients’ symptoms, which in turn would help with the treatment, the Romans believed that religion and mythology (even magic) were just as crucial. The Romans did record symptoms and results from their healing, but they were

more interested in how incantations were more effective. Doctors in ancient Rome could be differentiated between civilian and military. For those aristocrats who could afford it, they would often have doctors as servants in their home or would visit respectable physicians who charged high prices.

Civilian doctors usually received their training as apprentices working with other doctors. This practice was often trial and error and produced a wide range of expertise and competence. There were schools established, but they too varied greatly. Since there was no licensing board anyone could call himself a doctor. If they were successful they saw their patient numbers and profits rise, if they did not cure many, they usually had to move on to another city or find a new profession. Many of the doctors were freed slaves, which meant that their social standing was quite low. Given that most illnesses were not understood and revolved around viruses and bacteria, cure rates would have been low. This in turn meant that many of the doctors were viewed skeptically and probably more as death watchers rather than curers. Roman literature records a common view that physicians were quacks who charged high prices and did not help or even care about their patients.



Public latrines, Ephesus, Turkey, first century CE. The Romans were known for improving the health conditions throughout the Mediterranean world through public works such as aqueducts, latrines, and baths. The Romans promoted medicinal care through the use of doctors and scientific studies based on observation rather than experimentation. (Neil Harrison/Dreamstime.com)

The military doctors on the other hand, learned through a more structured and hands-on approach than civilian doctors. While the battle wounds did not occur all the time, they were common enough to keep the legionary doctors occupied and up-to-date with emergency care. The doctors here also learned by trial and error, but their scope was more varied given the type and severity of wounds and diseases. The doctors were part of the legion and were extensively scrutinized to ensure competence. If they did not succeed, they would be ushered out of the service.

The evolution of Roman medicine can be broken down between invasive and noninvasive treatments. The invasive treatments focused on surgery with which the Romans were well advanced. From Pompeii and other archaeological sites, numerous types of medical tools have been found. Bronze and steel scalpels used for making incisions have been discovered in various sizes. There were large scalpels that could be used for deep or long cuts, while bellied scalpels could be used for delicate and meticulous work. To help in the dissection of wounds, doctors used bone hooks, which could either be sharp or blunt. The sharp pointed hooks were good for retracting wounds and lifting up pieces of bone and tissue that might need to be extracted. The retraction of wounds helped the doctor to see more clearly what needed to be done to the wound or injury. The blunt hook, like today's probes, were better for moving tissue and bone aside to see what damage had been done. Both types of hooks are still used today as probes and retractors. The Romans also had bone levers, which were used to lever fractures into place and for help in extracting teeth. To remove pieces of bone, especially from the skull with fractures or from bones shattered by weapons, the use of a bone forceps was common. These forceps allowed for delicate work that the fingers could not do. Although the Roman authors usually recommend the doctor to use his fingers since he could gauge the injury and handle the material instinctively, sometimes the use of forceps would be required, especially on delicate and small pieces that could not be grabbed onto by fingers. To extract large foreign objects or to remove diseased bone tissue, especially from the skull, the Roman doctor would use a bone drill. This drill was shaped like a wine corkscrew. For more delicate work, tools for the rectum or a rectal speculum were used, which allowed the damaged or infected bowel to be examined. Likewise, a vaginal speculum that was a large instrument allowing for vaginal dilation has occasionally been found in archaeological excavations. Having a series of valves and screws that push open the levers, the instrument could allow for examination and treatment of disorders. Long metal tubes for catheters existed as well to open up the urinary tract and allow for treatment. These invasive treatments could cause additional issues such as infections or mistreatment.

The noninvasive treatment often involved pills and ointments. A shipwreck that occurred at around 130 BCE, revealed a wooden chest that had 130 tin-lined wooden vessels containing pills that had survived for over 2,000 years. The pills contained

extracts of parsley, nasturtium, radish, yarrow, and hibiscus, which were probably used to treat sailors and passengers for gastrointestinal problems such as motion sickness and diarrhea. Another type of treatment involved the use of ointments, which were smeared on the affected area to soothe a rash or treat an infection. For example, the use of willow as an antiseptic was common. For eye ailments it was common to use zinc-based ointments; it could also be used as an anti-inflammatory ointment. It is found in modern topical ointments as well. It was not uncommon for doctors to use a variety of means to treat their patients depending upon their clients' class and social standing. Those patients who had little money were often exposed to charlatans selling concoctions, which may have harmed the patient more than treated. Like modern infomercials that sell a variety of "drugs," the ancients also sold their goods as hucksters. The upper class had access to better trained and educated physicians. The variety of physicians and their range allowed all parts of society to have some access to medical treatment. Depending upon the class and economic background, all inhabitants could have some health care.

See also: Economics and Work: Professionals; Family and Gender: Death and Dying; Population; Pregnancy; Suicide; Politics and Warfare: Soldiers' Lives; Recreation and Social Customs: Gladiatorial Combat; Science and Technology: Roman Medicine

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INVENTIONS

Inventions always were developed and it is interesting to note that throughout the Roman period there were ideas that constantly came up to help advance the individual and society. A late Roman author writing around 375 CE proposed several inventions, which he believed would save money and revolutionize the Roman military. Some of these ideas foreshadowed other inventions. The Romans

had used horses to turn grain mills in the late Republic and into the Empire. The Emperor Caligula confiscated horses that were being used to turn the grain mills; this in turn caused a famine. The water mill could successfully alter this requirement and it began to be developed in the second century CE. This idea could also be used in reverse, that is, the development of a machine that would turn the water and thereby propel a ship, in modern times a paddle boat. The late writer proposes such a warship in which oxen would walk around in a circle and turn capstans, which would then rotate gears to turn six paddle wheels on the outside of the ship on port and starboard. Two oxen could turn three wheels on one side of the ship. The author claimed that the ship, because of its size and power, could become a formidable weapon against the enemy. Although his ship was not built at this time, the design was fundamentally unchanged and used when the steam engine could replace his proposed oxen. The idea was clearly thought out and the mechanics were available to construct such a machine.

The anonymous author also suggested and described the scythed chariots; in fact, he mentions three different kinds. One of them is drawn by two horses with only one rider, a second type by two horses each with a rider, and a third by a single horse with one rider. The scythed chariot had been used in the Ancient Near East but not in the west. Xenophon and his men had met the chariots in 400 BCE, while Alexander the Great and his successors encountered and used them. The Romans met them at the battle of Magnesia in 189 BCE against the Seleucids (successor of Alexander) King Antiochus III, while Sulla and Caesar both faced chariots in the east. The chariot had a pole projecting beyond the horse(s)' head with a spike to impale anyone who stood in the way; this ensured that the enemy did not disrupt the horses and disable the riders. The iron scythes were then fastened to each end of the axle projecting outward away from the wheels with a second one pointing down toward the ground to eliminate a soldier who either was lying down or who had fallen. The chariots were not to dispatch great numbers of the enemy but rather to create havoc and panic so that holes would be opened in the enemy lines to allow the infantry and cavalry to exploit and attack. The chariots, however, were not effective and early on the Romans were able to deal with them easily. Chariots had two issues; first, it had to be used on level ground, which either was hard to find or the enemy could disrupt by driving stakes into the ground; and second, the horses were vulnerable and could be killed outright causing panic for the attackers. It is interesting that the anonymous author attempts to revive the chariot. The author counters the weaknesses of the chariots such as suggesting a rope to raise the scythe when approaching an obstacle; it appears he has in mind that the chariot will be used in the dry eastern deserts; the use of more drivers to ensure more control; the horses are to be protected with chain mail; the chariots would have knives in the rear to protect from attacks by the enemy. Finally, the chariot is not

to be used to open the enemy ranks as previously, but when the ranks have already been broken to run down the enemy. Although chariots are impractical, they were repeatedly advanced by other writers during the next 15 centuries.

The author also proposed an inflatable bridge, something that had also been used before. Inflated skins had been used since at least the times of the Assyrian Empire and were continuously used by the Greeks and Romans. While the author does not say that his bridge is the first of its kind, he does indicate some improvements. The Roman army had used pontoon bridges before, but there were occasional issues that had to be overcome. One of which was the fast rapids, which could create difficulties in making a bridge. The author suggests throwing the bridge across the river at an oblique angle. The boat would be made out of skins with a covering of goat-hair mats. This idea had existed as far back as Xenophon but rejected because of enemy patrols that would disrupt the men crossing. The anonymous author makes an improvement by having *manuballistae* deployed to provide covering fire to protect the troops.

The author goes on to discuss two types of ballistae, the *Quadrirotis* and the *Fulminalis*. The *Fulminalis* was meant to be mounted on a city wall to provide defensive cover, while the *Quadrirotis* was an offensive weapon. While his descriptions are not clear, the *Quadrirotis* was mounted on four wheels, which were integral to the weapon, a unique idea. The trajectory of the ballista could be controlled and manipulated by a screw in front of the machine that could raise or lower the angle. The missile could be fired in any direction, another innovation. He argues that the torsion catapult be abandoned and replaced by his *foramina*, which he does not explain. It appears to have been a weapon with an iron bow and pulled back by a windlass, which when released fires a large lance or arrow. It seems the author had an idea of how they would work, but he probably had not thought it out well since all attempts to recreate it have failed.

These inventions show that the Romans did consider new approaches to improve the old ones. While they may not have been adopted, they nevertheless show progress and ideas that were often later accepted. How many other inventions were made but not put into wide dispersal can only be imagined.

See also: *Economics and Work*: Weavers; *Housing and Community*: Masonry Construction; Public Architecture; Surveying; *Recreation and Social Customs*: Musical Instruments; *Science and Technology*: Aqueducts; Engineering; Water Inventions

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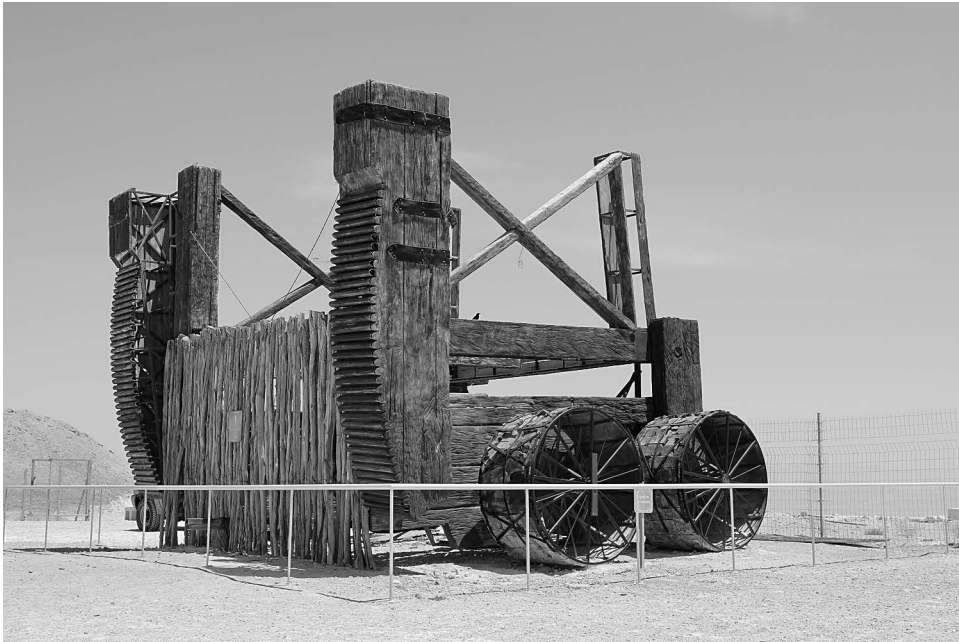
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MACHINERY

Roman machinery allowed the Romans to use their engineering skills to construct their physical structures easily and more efficiently. These machines came in a variety of forms and used various types of power. Machines allowed individuals to conserve energy by transferring the requirements to an inanimate object. For example, a block of stone from the ground to a height of 30 feet could be moved by having an individual carry the block up a ladder, or it could be lifted with a crane thereby saving some of the energy of the carrier. Machines allowed heavy and bulky materials to be transported and put in place quickly and easily. The second aspect of machinery was the energy needed and the type available for use. The Romans used human, animal, and water energy in various forms. While considered primitive by modern standards of the steam or gas-fired engines, the Romans were able to compensate and create immense and complicated structures.

One of the most important machines was the crane. While modern cranes can lift heavy stones using fossil fuels, their only advantage over ancient Roman cranes is their speed, not their power or capacity. The first invention was the single pulley, which changes the energy requirement; it uses less amounts of energy as just pulling, making it easier by changing directions. Instead of pulling the object up, one can pull the rope down, an easier task, to move the object up. By the fourth century BCE, the Greeks and later the Romans understood that if one put multiple pulleys at work using a block and tackle, one could lift heavier objects with less energy. This was called a *trispastos* and the pulleys or *orbiculi* were set in a single frame or case (*trochlea*). For example, a crane with three pulleys, two attached to the crane and one hanging down to attach to the load gives a mechanical advantage of 3 to 1, one with four gives a 4 to 1 advantage, and so forth. Therefore, if someone can lift 100 pounds by themselves, with a triple pulley they can lift 300, and with four pulleys 400, and so forth. To accomplish this one needs more rope. To lift a load 10 feet with three pulleys would require the individual to pull 30 feet of rope. The tradeoff is then more lifting power but more materials (rope). The Romans learned that a maximum of five pulleys could be used with one mechanism due to friction. If they needed more power, they would increase the number



Replica of Roman attack vehicle, Masada, Israel. The Romans developed complicated machinery for war and construction. Here a replica of an attack vehicle for the mountain fortress at Masada shows its size and complexity. The Romans used machines to construct buildings, load/unload ships, and move heavy materials such as stone. (Igor Korsunski/Dreamstime.com)

pulley sets. Using multiple men on each pulley component, the Romans were able to increase the lifting power and height.

The winch and capstan worked like a pulley to allow individuals to exert less energy for the same lifting capacity. A winch has a horizontal axis and can be powered by one or more individuals. A good example of a winch would be an old-fashioned well with a bucket; the individual winds the winch, which in turn pulls the full bucket of water up. A capstan is like a winch except that the axis is vertical. In both the cases the axle drum has slots in which spikes can be put into so as to turn the drum and axle and wind the rope so as to move the load. The mechanical advantage is the radius of the axle to the radius of the spikes. If the axle radius is 2 inches and the handspike radius is 12 inches (1 foot), the mechanical advantage is 6 to 1. Therefore, to wind up 1 foot of rope, the axle would need to be turned 6 feet. Together with the compound pulley, the winch/capstan could lift tremendous amounts of material with less energy. For example, the ancient Egyptians would need 30–60 men to pull a one-and-a-half-ton stone (3,000 pounds) up a ramp; the ancient Romans could have one man exerting a force

of 100 pounds and using a five-pulley block and tackle with a winch lift the same amount ($100 \text{ (human exertion)} \times 6 \text{ (the winch)} \times 5 \text{ (compound pulley)} = 3,000$ pounds of weight). Capstans like winches could be operated by more individuals and even animals. So using the above example, if four men operated the capstans, they could lift 12,000 pounds ($4 \times 100 \times 6 \times 5$ using the above equation). But in the above examples to lift the stone 1 foot they would need to pull in 30 feet of rope.

An even more powerful machine engine was the tread wheel. The individual would walk in the wheel using their leg muscles more powerful than arm and shoulders to lift even more. For example, a tread wheel that was 14 feet across with an axle 1 foot in diameter had a lifting power advantage of 14 to 1. So if a person had a lifting force of 100 pounds and using this wheel with a five compound pulley system, this one individual could lift 7,000 pounds ($100 \times 5 \times 14$) or three and a half tons. This would be 70 times more than if he lifted with just a simple pulley. Since the individual would be using his legs, there was less chance of injury than if he used his arms even with more power. Some tread wheels could have two people inside thus doubling the amount they could lift; in the middle ages and possibly in the Roman period, there were some cranes with two tread wheels, each capable of having two individuals; thus in the above example they could lift 28,000 pounds at once. This meant that with a 14 to 1 mechanical advantage, the individual would need to walk 14 times the distance the material was raised. To achieve raising even heavier loads, the Romans used lifting towers that combined the different types of machines. An example is described in the Renaissance where using Roman techniques 900 men and 40 capstans lowered, moved, and raised an obelisk. While there would have been some loss due to friction, perhaps 20 percent, it is clear that these machines could accomplish impressive amounts of work.

The machines used by the Romans for construction was crucial for their building programs. Using engineering techniques, the Romans were able to build monumental structures that have lasted for centuries. Compared to other ancient societies, they constructed more at a lower level of manpower. Everyday Romans could be employed in the construction industry and use these machines.

See also: *Economics and Work*: Builders; Laborers; *Housing and Community*: Public Structures; *Politics and Warfare*: Military Weapons; *Science and Technology*: Agricultural Devices; Engineering; Military Technology

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METALLURGY

Metals rarely exist in pure form, as such, it is necessary to refine the ore so that the metal could be extracted. The extraction occurred through a variety of means, depending upon the metal and ore, the processes were different.

To remove copper from the ore, it was necessary to smelt it. Smelting reduced the copper from the ore by adding carbon and heating the ore to 1,100°C. At this temperature, the copper melts and flows to the bottom of the furnace, while the impurities or slag floats on the top. Since it was difficult to maintain this temperature, the process was extremely labor intensive. Smelting produced the bloom or piece of metal which is then used in the next phase, casting for copper.

Bronze was the more usable copper alloy preferred by the ancients. Bronze is a mixture of copper and tin. Both metals are soft by themselves, but when they are mixed together they produced a strong metal easy to cast. The mixture called for 10 percent tin, anything higher would result in the metal being too brittle. The addition of antimony produced even a harder type of bronze that could be sharpened and not easily bent. Arsenic in 3 percent content also produced the same effect as antimony. These materials could make bronze tools more usable, the addition of lead, however, made it less usable for tools but better for artistic pieces.

Iron is one of the most common metals. Pure iron requires heat at 1,500°C to melt, not possible for ancient smiths, but they discovered that if they added carbon, three to five percent, it reduced the temperature needed for smelting to about 1,150°C, in line with copper. But carbon needed to be added in the right percentage or else the resulting metal will become brittle. Charcoal rather than wood allowed for hotter furnaces. Iron with high carbon results in cast iron, while iron with little or no carbon can be hammered or called wrought iron, although it is more time consuming to produce a final product. Steel is the mixture of iron above wrought but below cast iron, or containing about 1–1.5 percent carbon. The decarburizing process allowed for a metal that was less brittle and more malleable. The infant steel industry in Rome required the iron to come into contact with carbon to make it stronger. Two methods were used, cementation and crucible; cementation involved placing the iron into contact with the carbon, usually in the form of charcoal, in the absence of air, while crucible involved melting iron bars in crucibles where charcoal had been placed. Evidence from Britain show that cementation existed by the second century CE, but the percentage of carbon varied to such an extent making it unreliable or poor steel. However, in the east, the crucible method

was exploited in Damascus and steel blades from this region with its blast furnaces and forging allowed for superior steel blades.

Gold is found either alone or as an admixture of other minerals. It is soft and easily mixed without tarnishing or reacting chemically to most substances. Since it is soft, it is usually alloyed with other metals like copper or put over sturdier metals as a covering. The metal can be pounded into thin sheets and placed over molds to produce bas reliefs. The metal can even be hammered into thinner sheets or foil to make it a veneer. Silver on the other hand, was not usually found in the pure form as gold. Silver was often viewed as a by-product of smelting other ores such as lead sulfites. Since silver was rare enough, it was considered valuable and was not used as a tool but as prestige, like gold. When gold and silver were mixed together it produced electrum, a metal often viewed as more valuable than gold alone.

Smelting allowed for the removing of impurities, which in turn produced a metal blob often called an ingot. This object could then be worked into other forms. The ingot could then be melted again and reworked. Often the first stage, the production of an ingot, took place at the mine with the ingot then transported to another site where it was melted again and reworked. Once the metal is smelted, it can be further refined through hammering. The process of cold hammering, for example, copper, changes the crystalline metal structure resulting in the metal being more brittle. By annealing or heating and slowly cooling the metal, the crystalline structure was restored. Instead of hammering the cold metal, one can forge or hammer the hot metal. This was done with iron and the bloom was reheated until it is red hot and then hammered. The continual heating and hammering of the iron produce a purer and harder metal. This is done in the combination of quenching or plunging the hot iron into water to rapidly cool it. This process works on iron, which has a mixture of carbon making it stronger; it does not work on pure iron. The iron can also be shaped. Hot hammering does not work with bronze. Some metals such as bronze, but not iron, could be melted and cast into molds. This allowed the metal to be made into a variety of different shapes.

The metal ore found in the Roman world was varied and spread throughout the region. One of the most important areas was the Iberian or Spanish Peninsula. The Romans probably learned early in the second century BCE how rich the region was, especially for gold, silver, copper, and tin. Britain was also rich in metals such as gold and tin. The Balkans became an important region for iron ore and was crucial for the late Republic and early Empire military production. In the late first century CE, the Roman emperors realized that Dacia, modern Romania, was rich in gold and soon conquered it.

The process of metallurgy allowed the Romans to exploit a variety of metals, which they found or mined. The end result of their work was to create a system that provided for industrial material, especially in military matters.

See also: Economics and Work: Mining; Science and Technology: Hand Tools; Minting

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MILITARY TECHNOLOGY

Roman military technology centered on several aspects of war: offensive, defensive, and naval combat. The military technology for offensive warfare was the use of siege warfare and combat designs. When the Romans advanced on the open field, the military would employ combat designs to ensure success. This often would include the use of technology, especially ballistae to create disruption in the enemy lines. It was in the siege war craft, however, that Roman offensive technology succeeded.

The Romans used different techniques and technology to succeed in the taking of the enemy camps and cities. The first was the use of ballistae, including bolts and stones. These weapons allowed the Romans to keep the defenders at bay. The projectiles would be used to clear the enemy troops off the ramparts. This was necessary to keep the enemy away, while the Romans began their attack on the walls. The Romans used battering rams to breakdown the doors or walls. The simplest ram was a tree trunk carried by troops to smash down the door or gate. This was then modified to be more refined with such additions as metal shanks, wheeled vehicles, and torsion movements that caused momentum. A more sophisticated process had a cart with ropes hanging down from a superstructure and attached to a heavy ram on a shaft and swung back and forth to create momentum and strike the wall/gate. Covered with metal sheets to prevent attack, the machine allowed ramming at all times with suitable protection for its workers.

To help the Romans breach the walls, they also use the *testudo* or tortoise, which protected the Romans from arrows. The Romans locked their shields over their heads providing protection for them. They could also use this formation to protect others who were engaged in digging under the wall, drilling or punching holes into the wall, or even attempting to set fire to the walls. These men would attempt to weaken the enemy walls so that the Romans would be more effective with their rams.

To further help with breaching the walls, the Romans would employ sappers. These men would dig tunnels under the walls not only to break into the city but more commonly to dig dirt out from under the foundations to weaken the wall so that at the opportune time the wall without support would collapse forcing a hole or section to open up. The sappers would in essence build mines under the walls and support them with timber. When ready, they would set fire to the oil-soaked timbers allowing them to burn, which then caused them to disintegrate and collapse the wall.

Another offensive weapon was the tower. Built to either the height of the wall or even taller, the tower held offensive weapons and provided a means to allow troops to attack the top of the walls. These towers were usually used to provide a platform for ballistae to give them a larger field of fire. The towers were susceptible to fires so the Romans often covered them in sheet metal for protection.

Often the Romans had to construct ramps to allow their troops and war machines to reach the enemy. The most famous was the ramp built to allow the Romans to attack Masada and its Jewish troops after the fall of Jerusalem. For nearly two months, the Romans methodically constructed a ramp to allow their troops to attack the mountain fortress. The ramp was 375 feet high and used the natural spur of the bedrock for the foundation. When completed, the Romans moved their tower up the ramp and began to batter the wall.

To counter the offensive weapons, the Romans and others on the defensive used similar weapons. They too had ballistae mounted on the walls and towers, which actually gave them a greater fire power and field of range than the attackers due to their height. The defenders would often reuse the projectiles fired from the enemy to restock their supplies.

To counter the battering rams, the defenders often used boiling oil, which caused the ram to catch on fire. They would also drop rocks and boulders on the enemy from above to maim and disrupt the lines. The defenders would also create secondary walls that would often have dirt in between the outer wall to soften the impact and spread out the force.

To counter the sappers, the defenders would often dig their own tunnels to meet and attack the enemy. When the Persians were attacking Duro-Europus in

the third century CE, they were digging mines to undermine the Roman walls. The Romans likewise did their own counter tunnel and when they met the Persians, they attacked but were defeated. Interestingly, the bodies of the Romans were stacked to prevent more attacks and they show evidence of perhaps chemical warfare. It appears that the Persians used bitumen to start a fire in the Roman tunnel and it caused the release of poison gas which may have killed the Romans. The defenders could also dig their own tunnels to reinforce their own walls in case the enemy had already weakened the walls. To counter the offensive towers, the defenders had ballistae which could fire at the towers. With their height due to the walls the defenders had the ability to strike at higher levels more easily.

Warfare technology in the naval actions was also meant to provide a tactical advantage. First there was the creation of the plank that could fall upon the enemy ship. Having a spike-shaped beak it struck into the enemy ship and became stuck so that it could not be easily removed. The major problem with this weapon was that the plank often made the ship top-heavy and often the ship capsized. The navy also had ship mounted ballistae to help attack or repel the enemy. The ships also had rams below the water line, which when rammed into the enemy ship could punch a hole and sink the ship. The Romans used a variety of means to ensure that they could attack or defend themselves. These were well known in the Roman world and were quite effective.

See also: Arts: Polybius; *Politics and Warfare:* Military Camps; Military Strategies and Tactics; Military Weapons; *Science and Technology:* Engineering; Inventions

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MINTING

The minting of metal objects allowed the Romans to create symbols, artwork, and identifying marks on pieces of metal to endure. While most of the marks are normally seen on coins, they could be made for other purposes. Medallions were normally viewed as multiples of coins, but they could also be seen as decorations. Unlike the modern minting processes, which are mechanized and produce

nearly exact copies, Roman minting was time consuming, labor intensive, and individualistic. The process of minting can be examined to help determine how the ancients produced their coins and other metal designs.

The basic tools needed for the striking of coins were a furnace to heat the metal blanks or flans, tongs to move or handle the flans, an anvil to hold one of the dies, and a hammer to strike the other die so as to make an impression on the flan. The Republican moneyer Carisius put these instruments on his coin to show what he needed to make them. The flans would have been made by either cutting them from strips of bronze or other metal, by hammering, or casting them. In the latter, there were rows of casting flans molds connected to each other by channels or runners. The liquid metal was poured into the top and the metal would move down and cool. The sheet of flans would be reheated before being struck. The runners held the flans together and they were often passed through the dies and struck and then cut from the molded struck flans.

One of the first tasks of minting was the creation of the obverse and reverse dies. Dies could be made out of bronze, which did not rust but was more fragile, or iron which was sturdier but liable to rust as seen on some coins. The craftsman would make the dies by cutting the image into a piece of iron. This would then be annealed or heated and slowly allowed to cool so that the iron was stronger. This image would then be stamped onto the working die, which was then finished by the *celator* or die carver who would meticulously carve the images with hand tools to achieve the final design. This work was time consuming and detailed requiring artists. Once the dies were made, they could be used interchangeably with different dies to produce a variety of different designs or coins. During the Republic, the dies for silver coins were probably made by hand with only a few dies created. This was due to the mint officials changing every year which required a new set of dies to be made. In addition, the dies were probably not used after the term of office. The bronze coins probably had more permanent dies since their design was not as intricate and were constantly in use. During the Empire, the dies were more numerous since the number of mints increased. In addition, many of the portraits of the emperors were identical from mint to mint suggesting that multiple dies of the same coin may have been made, with only a few changes for local variation. The master craftsmen may have worked with an official portrait that was then copied onto the dies and sent to the different mints. The dies could have been made by casting the die or hubbing (impressing the design into the soft metal). The legend could then have been added by punch tools as well as the border with the craftsman then touching the die up by hand.

The obverse die was then positioned into the anvil, while the minter or moneyer used a hammer to strike the reverse die or punch that had been placed into a hand punch. The early dies allowed for the coins' obverse and reverse images to be

at different angles or alignment to one another because how they were held gave rise to Roman innovations. First, there was a socketed die system in which the reverse could align with the obverse and produce a clear alignment; this was then followed by a hinged die, which eliminated the irregularities. Since the obverse die was placed in the anvil, it tended to be sturdier and not to break as easily as the reverse die. The flans were then heated and placed on the obverse die by an assistant, while the striker then punched the reverse die with a heavy hammer. A typical team could strike 30 coins per minute or 20,000 coins a day. With as many as 12 workshops per mint the volume was immense.

The Roman mints were not very large. What was needed was a work room where the raw materials could be gathered and turned into coins. The space would need a furnace and room for the placement of an anvil and work benches. There is evidence that under the early Empire and at later stages, the mint traveled with the emperor. This was especially true of gold coins since they were more valuable.

One aspect of minting was the possibility of forgeries and counterfeits. Forgeries existed not only because of an attempt to swindle the government or its consumers but also more often because of a lack of “legitimate” coinage. This would result in the creation of a sub-coinage culture, one that was not necessarily legitimate and discounted by the public or even the government; this was so because ancient coinage was not fiduciary, that is, was not based on the faith of the government but rather was based on the content of the metal. The silver coin issued by the government may have had a value of X *denarii* and the forgery might have had the same metal content and size that made it hard to distinguish and had the same value. But if the central government could not supply the region with enough coins, forgeries had to be made and tolerated. Counterfeits on the other hand were specifically meant to trick individuals into believing that they had a legitimate coin. Often they were made by baking pieces of pottery and coating them with a mixture of metal to make it look like the real thing. Often the best way to see if they were real was to bite on the coins and see if they broke. The average Roman had to use money that was minted either in the capital or in the provinces. They came into contact with coins all of the time. Minting was a crucial part of the Roman economy.

See also: Arts: Art Collecting; Portraiture; *Economics and Work:* Mining; Money

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ROADS

The Romans were renowned for their roads or *via*. Throughout the Roman world evidence of the Roman road system exists. It is estimated that over 200,000 miles of roads were constructed during the Roman period. Many of these roads were crude, often nothing more than just a pathway through a forest where trees were cleared; others were a testament to their engineering ability where they still stand today. The Romans would typically determine the pathway for their roads using surveying to ensure accuracy. Across the open ways, the roads remarkably ran straight, while going through rough terrain they kept to the high ground to avoid narrow valleys. This was done not only to ensure the roads were not washed out but to prevent ambush in hostile territory. The roads were at first constructed for military and strategic reasons. The early roads consolidated much of the military conquests the Romans achieved in Italy. The *Via Appia*, one of the earliest was constructed in 312 BCE and joined Rome to Capua and then on to Brundisium in the south. The *Via Flaminia* ran from Rome to Arminium in 268 BCE and then in 187 BCE an extension known as the *Via Aemilia* ran to Bononia. A major road through the Balkans was the *Via Egnatia*, while the *Via Domitia* ran to the Pyrenees from Rhone.

Under the Republic, the censors were responsible for the construction of the roads when they let out the contracts. Under the principate, the *curatores* were responsible for their construction and upkeep. The roads were usually financed in a partnership by the state, the local communities, and the local landowners through which they passed. Under the Empire, the emperors often made substantial financial gifts to help fund them.

The *via* was usually seen as a major roadway or highway between one major region and another. It usually did not indicate a small back way or side road. The major roadway had the cart or carriage way in the middle, the so-called *agger*. This was properly the road and was intended for wheeled traffic and animals. It was paved and laid into several strata with stones imbedded into cement at the top. It was slightly curved with the center at the highest and running down to the sides so that water could drain. The *agger* was often used interchangeably with *via*. This was paved with large blocks of basalt or basaltic lava called *silex*. These were usually hard stone cut by a mason into polygonal blocks and then dovetailed together systematically. It was imbedded into the three layers that formed the substratum. The Romans would first lay down small stones and gravel over the hard rock or tamped down soil to provide for drainage. This was crucial since they did not want water to pool or erode the substratum. Next a layer of broken stones and lime was put down to provide leveling and support for the top layer. The top layer was 6 inches deep of fragments of brick and pottery mixed with cement to provide the sturdy support for the basalt blocks. On each side of the *agger* was a raised



Roman road, Paestum, Italy, Republican era. The hallmark of Roman engineering was their construction of roads, such as the one seen here at Paestum in Southern Italy. Composed of a series of levels beginning with gravel and ending with cut blocks on top, many Roman roads survived and continue to be used. (Adreslebedev/Dreamstime.com)

footpath called the *crepido*, which were flanked by curbstones or *umbones*, which sometimes were interspersed by wedge-shaped trusses or *gomphi*. The *crepido* was high enough to prevent the traveler from having his feet soiled with refuse or water. The *umbo* (*umbones*) was to ensure that the wheels did not jump the roadway onto the *crepido*. The *gomphus* would prevent the pressure of the curbstones and foot stones from forcing up and dislodging them.

A small roadway or narrow pathway, even a footpath was called a *semita*. It usually referred to the town's narrow lane as opposed to the *via* or broad street. It could also mean the same as *crepido* or footpath on the *via*. The *platea* was a broad or a principal street in a town or city as opposed to the back street or *angiportus*. This latter term could mean just a small back street or a court that had no thoroughfare or *fundula*, which can be seen as a cul-de-sac usually terminating in a house. The backstreets were often so narrow that one could step from one building across to another without touching the ground. In a city, a cross path that formed a shortcut through a region to avoid detection was called a *trames*. In a city or village where houses lined a street, it was usually called a *vicus*; this later could also mean a district or quarter of a town with streets and houses.

The place where two or more major roads intersected one another in the country was called a *compitum* as opposed to the *trivium* for the city or town. Where these roads intersected, it was common to erect altars or shires, the *Lares Compitales*, to the gods who presided over the crossroads. The local inhabitants would perform the rites to them often called the *compitum*. Where two roads branched off into forks was called a *bivium*. Usually, in the city or town a fountain was erected where the fork occurred. Where three streets met from opposite directions, it was called a *trivium* and had special reference to cities or towns and not the country. This distinction, however, was not always followed and it could be used in the countryside. A place where four streets met was called a *quadrivium*.

The Romans would erect *milliarium* or milestones to indicate the distance from or to a city. They were set at intervals of 1,000 Roman paces or a mile apart. Introduced by C. Gracchus in 123 BCE, they had the numeral at the top to indicate how far it was from the city. Many of the *milliarium* could have the name of the individual or later emperor who restored or built the road. The most famous mile stone was the *milliarium aureum* or golden milestone, which Augustus erected at the top of the Roman Forum to mark where all the great military roads terminated in Rome. It lay near the northeast side of the Forum, near the current arch of Septimius Severus. Roads were the central means by which most people traveled. While it took longer than sailing, it could be safer and most people used this mean.

See also: Economics and Work: Trade; Food and Drink: Trade Routes; Transport; Housing and Community: Surveying; Town Planning; Politics and Warfare: Soldier's Service; Science and Technology: Engineering; Geography

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ROMAN GLASS

The history of glass making puts its creation to the time of Ancient Egypt; and it spread throughout the Near East. Roman glass making expanded during the late Republic and early Empire. Glass had several advantages over pottery as it was light, nonporous, odorless, and transparent/translucent therefore they were used

for making drinking cups and replaced pottery within a short time. The growth of Roman glassmaking coincided with the invention of glassblowing; and both were probably connected. The invention of glassblowing allowed glass to be put on par with ceramics and metal making. Glassblowing increased the variety and size of objects made. Within a few generations, by the time of the end of Augustus's reign, glass had replaced native Italian pottery cups, at least for the elites. The Romans came into contact with glassmaking since they were situated throughout the Mediterranean world. When the Romans conquered the east, they were able to enslave the skilled workmen and returned them to the west. The growth of Roman glassmaking in the west was built upon the slave and poor laborers.

Originally, glass cups and bowl were produced by casting. This involved the use of molds in which the liquid glass was poured into. This process was the major type of production before the first century BCE. After glassblowing became common, the cast mold was still in use for tableware during the first century CE, especially those that used the lathe cut system. Here a glass beaker mounted on a lathe was scribed with a wheel or point. Glassblowing seems to have developed in the first century BCE in Phoenicia, where a glass tube open at both ends was sealed at one end and heated, the individual could blow into the open end and create a bubble or the beginning of a jar. The creation of glassblowing seems to have occurred in Jerusalem when a craftsman sealed the end of one glass tube and blew in the other and produced a bottle. Later, a separate blowpipe was introduced, which allowed greater control; originally, the tube was made of clay. It was then replaced by iron, as still used today. The Romans probably brought back the knowledge to Italy with their annexation of the region by Pompey in 64 BCE. No longer bound by the stilted and laborious process of casting the molds, glassblowers could now allow their creativity to grow and produce imaginative shapes. The creativity now allowed individuals to create bottles shaped in a variety of forms unseen such as sandals, helmets, or even fruit. In addition, it made possible the production of glass quickly.

Glass became common in most peoples' life after the first century BCE. It was present in nearly every aspect of daily life. In the morning, it was present in the woman's makeup, at lunch it would be used to serve meals, in the afternoon merchants would sell glass objects, and at dinner the table had different types of glass tableware. There were glass flasks, boxes, plates, beads, cameos, earrings, bracelets, and other objects found in everyday life. An important aspect of life was the transportation of goods across the Mediterranean world in glass containers such as bottles, jars, and pots. This allowed the Romans to import costly and delicate materials from regions outside the Roman world. These included oils, spices, foods, and drinks. Glass could also be used in such things as the production of tesserae for mosaic floors, strong enough to walk on, or for window panes to see through. Although most houses in Italy did not have windows due to the mild

climate, some houses did have them for insulation and were made from molds or blown. Glass of course was also used in the making of mirrors.

To achieve the necessary production of glass, the Romans used skilled slave labor from the east. The major elements needed were silica, soda, and lime which came mainly from beach sand which contained silica and lime. The materials were heated to about 750°C, which melted them producing *frit* a granular substance that could be stored until needed and then remelted at a higher temperature, 1,150°C into a fluid. The Romans were able to change the color of glass by adding different elements, for example, malachite for green. In addition to adding chemicals and elements for color, the amount of oxygen present also determined its color. Magnesium-rich materials produced a purple color. It appears that glassmaking was organized in a sizeable fashion in the west where great furnaces have been discovered. Here it appears that the furnaces produced glass ingots that were transported to other parts of the Roman world for the actual production of goods. The glassmakers would also use *cullet* or broken glass shards that would be remelted and used for new glass objects. Glass peddlers were known to travel about and they would have had blowpipes, pincers, shears, and stocks of glass that could be sold.

To make the glasses of different colors, it was necessary to add outside ingredients. Natural glass has a green tinge with the occasional black spots from iron ore. Different materials such as malachite for green are heated with the glass to the melting point to allow fusion, which in turn provides the glass with different colors. Manganese would make the glass purple in an oxygen-rich climate or colorless in oxygen deprived or reducing furnace. If sulfur was added, it would make glass yellow. Copper also makes the glass green and presence of cobalt will make it blue. It can be red in color if iron is added in a reducing environment. They realized that adding antimony makes glass white and if antimony and lead are added it turns bright yellow.

The slaves who established the glass industry in the west soon gave way to their freed sons and later generations of family craftsmen. The system of freedmen allowed the creation of glassmaking industry, which employed both slave and free Romans working in shops throughout the city and provinces.

See also: Economics and Work: Industry; Food and Drink: Roman Dinnerware

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ROMAN MEDICINE

The Romans inherited much of their science from the Greeks, especially physics, geography, and math. While the life sciences, especially human anatomy was also heavily influenced by Aristotle, the Romans would contribute some important information, especially from the Romanized Greek Soranus who lived in the first century CE, and Galen, who lived in the second century CE. Both propelled Roman understanding of medicine, human anatomy, and physiology. Several scientific schools grew up, which permeated Roman and Greek society. The oldest was the Dogmatic school taking their name from dogma meaning tenets deriving them from Hippocrates. This school indicated that one had to know the hidden causes of the disease or illness and the background of the patient. They viewed that the body was composed of the four elements: earth, water, air, and fire; and it was important to know how they were working at the time of the disease. While not denying the role of the experiment, they said that they had to take place through reason. They viewed that one needed to understand the internal workings of the body and that any cure had to come from the workings of the internal body. The next school was the Empiric school, which said that one had to understand the experiences of the disease and their evident causes but that the hidden causes were not necessary. It was important to treat the patient with known remedies that had succeeded in the past. This was accomplished through experiments since in early times the sick had no physician but rather learned what was successful through trial and error. It did not matter what caused the disease or illness but rather what cured it. It did not matter why or how the treatment, such as an herbal concoction, worked but only that it did work. The youngest were the Methodic school where the physician only needed to observe the disease and from this it was known how they should be treated. They did not need to know the life history of the patient. Their view rested on the idea that one did not need to know the background of the patient or what caused the disease but rather that the manifestation of the disease was what was important and how to treat it. Like the Empiricist, they did not need to know the background of the patient but like the Dogmatist their knowledge is from reason. Unlike the Empiric and Dogmatic schools, the Methodic believed knowledge is firm and certain without the need for revision. Soranus, who practiced in the first century CE, wrote extensively with his works on gynecology and the *On Acute and Chronic Diseases* and was a member of the Methodic school. His work on gynecology is preserved as is a Latin translation of his *On Acute and Chronic Diseases*. His ideas were an early attempt to understand how pregnancy worked and what could be done by the doctor to help his patients.

Galen was a second century CE philosopher and physician. Coming from an elite family in Asia Minor, he was appointed physician to the gladiators allowing

him access to human bodies for observations. He did not perform dissections of the human body as that was viewed as immoral. Instead, he performed dissections and vivisections on animals, which gave him access to mammalian organs and nerves. He explained the movement of blood through the body without detailing the body's true circulation but did describe correctly the concept of arteries and veins. While he did not figure out how the heart pumped blood through the body, he did figure out that the arteries and veins nourished the body. He incorrectly viewed that food in the stomach was transferred to the liver and made into blood. In the area of neurology he made important discoveries. Galen showed how the laryngeal nerves from the brain to the throat allowed for voice. By severing the spinal nerve at different spots, he produced different types of paralysis. As shown in his works, he used experimentation and observation to explore his ideas rather than relying on suppositions and myth. Given that he did not have sophisticated instruments, it is amazing how accurate his work was. Galen also explored the eyes, fetal development, and reproductive organs. His major ideas centered on three areas, the liver and veins that nourished the body, the heart and arteries that created energy (life), and the brain and nerves for sensation and thought.

Galen believed that diseases could be located within a particular organ. This allowed for the treatment to be localized and more detailed. Dividing the body into four humors, air (blood) and its opposite earth (black bile), fire (yellow bile) and its opposite water (phlegm), Galen believed that by using contrasting humors, either by increasing or decreasing the opposing humors, the disease could be treated. While it seems simplistic, evidence from neurons shows that Galen may not have been far off. He developed drugs from herbs he collected throughout the Roman world. Galen began the view that proper dosage was crucial, still being practiced today.

One of the most important areas that the Romans were concerned with was the spread of diseases. It is clear that the Romans were subjected to malaria in the region around Rome. The marshes, especially when the Campus Martius flooded could cause the mosquitoes to have a perfect breeding ground. The Roman elites often knew to flee the city in the hot summer months. A more virulent disease was simply called the plague (not the bubonic plague of later eras), which hit Rome during the reign of Antoninus Pius. Several attempts have been made to identify it. The leading candidate seems to be small pox, but it could have been measles as well. Galen described its symptoms as fever, diarrhea, inflammation of the pharynx, and skin eruptions on the ninth day. Coming from the Near East where these diseases were endemic, the Roman troops would have brought them back to the Roman world unaccustomed to the diseases providing an unprotected population.

As Roman medicine developed, many advances increased, which would be used during the next 1,000 years. While the Roman medicine was not completely

CELSUS ON MEDICINE

Aulus Cornelius Celsus (ca. 25 BCE–ca. 50 CE) wrote a large encyclopedic handbook covering the subjects of agriculture, medicine, military art, oratory, philosophy, and Roman law, of which only the books on medicine have survived. *De Medicina* (*On Medicine*) is a major source for information about ancient medicine, particularly medical theory and early Greek medicine. Scholars during the medieval period rediscovered Celsus and prized him for his elegant Latin as well as his medical knowledge.

Little is known about Celsus. He was likely a member of the Roman upper class, but whether he was an *eques* or of senatorial rank cannot be determined. Given his obvious medical knowledge and that he refers to his own surgical experience at times, it is possible that he was a doctor, though the subject has been widely debated. Because his work includes of a wide array of medical views and approaches, Celsus cannot be identified with any particular medical school.

Celsus divided his discussion of medicine into eight books: the history of medicine (book 1), pathology and therapeutics (book 2), special treatments (books 3 and 4), pharmacology (books 5 and 6), surgery (book 7), and skeletal anatomy (book 8). The first book provides invaluable information about the history of Greek medicine. The rest display the traditional division of medical therapy into dietetics, pharmacology, and surgery. Celsus was influenced by Hellenistic medical texts, drawing upon them in part for his section on medical plants.

The date and circumstances of Celsus's death are unknown. His work may have survived into late antiquity but was then lost until the Middle Ages, when only the medical books were rediscovered.

accurate and many of the views were not altered because of Christianity and the Church, until the Renaissance Roman medicine prevailed.

See also: *Arts*: Pliny the Elder; *Housing and Community*: Surveying; *Politics and Warfare*: Military Camps; Military Weapons; Soldiers' Training

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ROMAN TIME KEEPING

As with modern society, the ancient world struggled with keeping time and how to represent the day. Modern society has traditionally solved time keeping by determining it as a day, week, month, and year; these delineations, however, are not clear cut and exact. While a day is typically seen as 24 hours, they also are viewed as daylight and nighttime. These in turn give difference concepts of day and night depending upon geographic location and time of year. For example, in areas above the Arctic Circle in the months of June, July, and August nighttime is nonexistence, while in the same areas during the months of December, January, and February daylight is nearly extinct. For areas in the temperate zone, the amount of daylight and nighttime also vary but not as great, while at the equator there is no or little variation. The days of the months depend upon which type of calendar is being used. If one uses a lunar calendar there are 29 and half days per month, while a solar year has 365 and one-fourth days, both of which are not exact and require changes year to year.

Modern time is often characterized by both a unit of length and a point in time. An hour is composed of 60 minutes or a day is 24 hours, these are lengths in time. Saying that it is 3:30 is a point in time. The ancients did not use either term precisely; rather they saw time as duration, a short time, or a long time, or no time. The concept of the day also depended on a series of factors. The idea of a 24-hour time was known by the Babylonians who had 12 double hours; this concept was not used by the Greeks until the Hellenistic Age when they used it for scientific creations such as clocks. The Romans viewed day and night divided into 1/12 periods each, that is, the daylight had 12 hours and the nighttime had 12 hours. This meant that depending on the location and the season of the year, the two periods may have been unequal. During the winter when nighttime may account for 16 hours (in our system), there were 12 hours of one and one-third hours each; during the daylight of 8 hours each hour would have been 40 minutes long. The Romans counted day-to-day periods from midnight to midnight. It was therefore common to reckon time during the day based on the hour of daylight, so for example, noon which is when the sun is at its height and not casting a shadow, would be the sixth hour, regardless of how long the day was. The timing of meals, work, and even politics was based upon amount of sunlight that remained and not the actual point in time.

The collection of days into a system of regular repetition gave rise to the week. In antiquity the seven-day week was part of astrology with each day corresponding to a planet/heavenly body which governed that day. Judaism, not believing in astrology, nevertheless had the collection of days centered around the Sabbath or Saturday which was followed by the Christians who had the regular week starting on Sunday. The concept of a seven-day week becomes more common and

universal under the late Empire. More important to society were the market days, which functioned on the system of every eight days.

Months were based on the lunar cycle in Rome, which meant that each month was 29 and half days. This meant that some months had 29 days, while others (usually the next one) had 30 days. With 12 lunar months, this meant that 354 or 355 days were accounted for out of the 365 and one-fourth solar year. To counter this discrepancy, it was necessary to add an intercalary month every so often. Since the lunar calendar did not coincide with the solar calendar, it often led to issues, especially with political times since the elections were held at certain times and the magistrates were to take office.

While the political leaders often wrangled about the calendar and how it should be constructed, the farmer and agricultural owners knew how to handle the seasonal work. While the calendar might indicate that it was summer due to a failure in providing a political solution, the farmer knew it was actually spring, which meant that planting had to take place. The local farmers often had a calendar that would keep time based on the season. The summer and winter solstices were crucial since they determined not only the amount of daylight and nighttime existing for either day but also indicated the time of the season since the day with the most daylight (June) was summer and the day with the least (December) was winter. Some authors used seasons as well; for example, Thucydides explains that something will take place in spring or winter and seemed to mean early March and early November, respectively. It is probable that the idea of seasons had broad meanings to the ancients. The Romans viewed sailing during the winter months to be dangerous and often they would put these dates in as inhospitable dates.

The Romans used the year of consuls or from the beginning of the city to reckon their time as well. This was important since it allowed individuals to link events chronologically. While the days were important, it was crucial for a Roman family to remember when their ancestors were consuls, censors, dictators and so forth since this often determined their lineage. This was usually with the abbreviation AVC meaning either *A(nno) V(rbis) C(onditae)* or *A(b) V(rbe) C(ondita)*, both meaning the year from Rome's foundation, said to have begun in 753 BCE. Later chronographers would also use the time of the emperors' reign. An example of this is found in the New Testament when Jesus's ministry is said to have begun in the 15th year of the reign of the Emperor Tiberius (Luke 3.1).

The keeping of time was crucial to everyone since it determined such things as work times, holidays, festivals, and political/religious events. As the concept time developed under the Romans, it was important to be able to record days and fix events to them. The development of time recording allowed for individuals to

understand their environment and the needs of society. Every Roman therefore understood the importance of keeping time.

See also: *Arts:* Caesar, Gaius Julius; *Science and Technology:* Calendar Reforms

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SHIP RIGGING

The outfitting of ships with sails allowed sailors and merchants to bring materials across the Mediterranean Sea and other waterways more efficiently and quicker than oar powered. This in turn allowed everyday inhabitants of the Roman world to stay in communication with the outside world and to enjoy the advantages of the international commerce and peace. For merchant ships, it was common for individuals to hire on as sailors and to man the ships. How ships were outfitted often determined the type of voyage and their success.

The mast or *malus* was usually made of fir and a single pole. Most vessels that hugged the coastline had only one mast, while larger merchant ships had two masts of the same height or the second one was of considerably smaller size at the fore and made to rake. The mast was put into a *modius* or socket to fix it to the hull. On top of the mast above the yard arm was the *carchesium*, so named because it looked like a cup. This apparatus was where part of the tackle was held; it allowed a seaman to climb into and keep a watch, manage the sails, and if necessary, defend the ship with arrows, slings, or spears. The yard arm or transverse beam across the mast was the *antenna*. For small vessels, it was made of fir and in one piece, while for larger ships two pieces were braced together. To keep the yard-arm level, ropes called *ceruchi* or lifts ran from each arm of the sail-yard to the top of the mast. This allowed the yard-arm to not move; on large ships there were multiple lifts, while smaller vessels only had one pair. The yard-arm was attached to the mast by a collar, or *anquina*, or the truss in 19th-century ship language. While it was seen as a circular band of wood or metal, it was usually made of rope, while on larger ships, it was called a double collar, which meant that the rope was of double thickness to bear the weight of the larger yard-arms. At the extreme ends of the yard-arm was the *cornu* where the square sail was attached,

it was used in the plural since there were two, one on each end. To raise and lower the yard-arm, ropes called *chalatorius funis* corresponding to the modern halyard were employed. Fastened on the middle of the yard-arm, it was run through a block fixed to the mast and hung down to the deck where sailors could raise and lower the yard. These wooden components were the superstructure of the ship. The wood for these ship parts was felled throughout the Roman world providing employment for countless numbers of woodsmen and craftsmen who made the components. When rough weather occurred, it was necessary for the sailors to secure the yard if they did not lower it. To do so they attached *opiferae* or ropes to the ends of the *antenna* down to the deck to brace it; multiple sailors were often required to brace the ropes on each side of the deck. Modern sailors call this the brace.

To sail *before*, *on*, or *by* the wind it was necessary to position the sail accordingly. Ropes attached to the clew or lower corner of the square sail to place or set the sail to the wind were called *pes veli*. The lower end of the *sheet* was called the *pes*. Each sail had two *sheets*, one on the larboard, while the other on the starboard clew. To sail *before* the wind it was necessary to have the sail straight across the deck with each *sheet* braced at the same length. To sail *on* a wind or *by* the wind it was necessary to have the sail at an angle so that one *sheet* was shorter or slanted. When the wind was coming from an unfavorable direction, it was necessary to bring one of the *sheets* forward and brace it; when the wind was favorable, the sail was expanded to catch the wind. The rope that was attached to the lower end of the *pes* was the *propes*. This rope was fastened



Marble tablet, Roman trireme, Pozzuoli, Italy, first century BCE. The Romans constructed their ships using a variety of means and designs. Here a Roman warship is presented. Many of the ships were standardized by the Romans so that they could be mass produced as detailed in the literary sources for the First Punic War. (Leemage/Corbis)

to the quarters of the boat and allowed the sail to be stretched to the wind. The general rigging of the vessel was called *rudens*, which meant a rope. It tended to designate the lighter cordage and was employed to raise the sails about the mast as opposed to the other ropes which were heavier and used to brace the yard, mast, and sails.

The general term for a sail was *velum*, and it was especially used for the large square sail or mainsail as opposed to the foresail (*dolon*), the topsail (*supparum*), and others. It was attached to the yard-arm or *antenna* and was made from square pieces of cloth sewed together. When the vessel arrived in port or when there was bad weather, the yard was lowered about half way and the sail reefed or clewed up to shorten the sail. The sail was tied up on the yard securely. Conversely, when the weather was good or when the ship set sail, the yard was raised to the top of the mast and the sail let down or the clew lines loosened with the corners or sheets of the sail down to the deck and the corners or *pes* tied down to the deck. The sail could also be let down on the sides and tied up in the middle to provide partial sails and therefore decrease the ship's speed. The *dolon* was a small foresail over the prow and attached to the foremast; if the ship had three masts and three sails, then the *dolon* was always the smallest. When there were more than one mast and sail, the mast/sail closest to the stern, even if it was the mainsail, was called the *epidromus*. A sail with only one sheet, similar to the lateen sail, with its base attached to the yard and used when there was a need to catch what air existed was called the *supparum*; this term also meant the topsail over the *velum* or mainsail. To help steer the larger vessels, a sail across the stern may have been used and was called the *artemon*. A light sail and mast used for speed was termed the *acatium* and seemingly was used by pirates.

The rigging of ships allowed for the vessels to travel throughout the Roman world. Everyday Romans throughout the Mediterranean would have seen the various types of ships and their rigging. While they may not have known their exact terms, like modern individuals, they would have come into contact with them.

See also: *Economics and Work*: Shipbuilding; *Science and Technology*: Ships; Warships

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SHIPS

Roman ships or boats, generally, called *navigium* or *navis*, could be powered with rows, sails, or both. The Romans classified their ships based upon their purpose, size, and theater of operations (sea or river). A small boat or row boat was known by the Greek term *epicopus*. This was used in contradiction to the *navis*. The *navis oneraria* was a ship of burden used by the military as transport or as a merchant vessel. It was a heavy ship but did not have the *rostrum* or beak of a warship and was used with sails. Having a round hull and usually with a whole deck, it was the major ship of the merchant class. As a sailing ship it was not built for maneuverability but rather to carry load.

A *ratis* was simply a raft joined by several planks or spars to make it float. It could also be a flat bottom boat pushed by a pole. Some boats on the Tiber, called *caudicarius*, were large boats made of coarse planks roughly joined; they apparently were done so since the current made them difficult to row back up, so they were dismantled when they reached its mouth. A similar vessel on the Moselle River was called a *caudicius*. They were also used on the Rhone River until the modern era due to the same reason.

An *alveus* was a primitive boat or canoe hollowed from a single tree; and the Romans indicated that a boat that was carved from a trunk was called a *monoxlyus* and could be a *linter*, *alveus*, or *scaphula*. The Roman soldiers used them to make bridges to cross rivers. From Trajan's Column it is clear that the army had a certain number with them that they transported on carts. A small boat made of wicker and covered with raw hides was a *carabus*, the hides were sewn together to create a covered area about half way from the stern, it was a late creation. A *musculus* was a small sailing vessel with a short dimension between stem and stern. A *scapha* was a long boat or skiff that was carried on larger boats and could be lowered into the water and used to ferry passengers or cargo or pull the larger boats like a tug boat; it could also mean a one-person boat used for fishing in rivers or along coasts. Likewise, a *barca* was a boat used to discharge cargo to transport it to shore from a large boat; it was loaded onboard the ship and used to bring the cargo to and from the shore. A *cymba* was a small riverboat used for fishing. A *lembus* was a small multipurpose boat used in a variety of situations. A similar term for a Gallic *lembus* was a *caupulus*. A *linter* was a boat used in the shallows or marshy area to transport produce, soldiers, cattle, or other goods. It could also be used for supporting a bridge made of boats. It was powered by oars; it was not a flat-bottomed boat and so it swayed as Cicero remarked to an orator who swayed his body like a *linter*. A *ponto* was a large flat-bottomed boat usually found in Gaul and used on rivers to transport cattle, soldiers, or civilians. A *rataria* was viewed as a small ship, but it was not well defined. Some sources indicated it was a flat-bottomed

raft, while others mentioned it as a small ship propelled by oars. It appears that *rataria* probably was a catch all word for a small ship. A *celes* or *celox* meant a ship in which a single rower used an oar on just one side (meaning the need for multiple rowers) as opposed to a single rower using two oars, one of each side or several men working one oar.

A merchant ship, the *cercurus*, was invented by the Cyprians and propelled by oars. It was fast and was mainly used to transport goods rapidly. Some believe that the oars ran only from prow to mid-ship so that the aft part served as storage. This idea is based on an image on a bronze medal. The Romans had a series of terms used for specific pirate ships. One was *hemiolia*, which was like the *cercurus* except that it had part of its sides devoid of oars so that a plank or balcony could be mounted to allow for boarding of enemy ships. The *acatium* was a small but fast ship belonging to the *acturaiae* class and worked by oars. It was a Greek pirate ship with an armored beak and a rounded stern. The *camara* was a small vessel, also used by Greek pirates, holding about 30 men; it had a peculiar construction with a sharp forward and aft but a large, round, and full center with ribs rising up to form a kind of roof over the vessel, hence its name. A Saxon pirate craft was called a *myopara*, which was made of wicker and covered with raw hides and known for its fast sailing. A *gaulus* was a Phoenician merchant and pirate ship since it had a broad beam, capacious hold, and a round build. It was capable of holding a large quantity of goods. A *biporus* meant a craft with a double prow meaning it could go in either direction without tacking or going about. A *corbita* was a large sailing vessel, which usually transported grain. It had a *corbis* or sack on top of the mast. A *stlata* was a sea-going vessel that had an unusual breadth of beam and lay low in the water. No examples on monuments can be determined so it is hard to imagine what it was like.

A boat peculiar to Egypt was the *faselus* so named because it looked like a kidney bean. It was made of papyrus, wicker, or even baked earth, which of course made them fragile. They seem to be fast on the Nile River. They came in different sizes from a row boats to large sail boats and were employed in warfare and used even away from Egypt. They even seem to have been used as actual warships but probably only in the capacity as transport. Also from Egypt was the *baris*, which was a flat-bottomed boat used to carry goods across the river, especially the body of the dead in a funeral procession. In Egypt, the state barge was called a *thalamegus*, which was outfitted in splendor and regal bearings. It had numerous suites or *thalami* and was seen as a pleasure ship for the king.

These ships allowed goods and personnel to be transported throughout the Roman world. Using rivers, lakes, and the sea, the Romans were able to ensure that goods made it to market. The use of water transport was usually more efficient. Most Romans, even in the city, would have been familiar with the different boats used in trade, transport, or even in the military.

See also: *Economics and Work*: Shipbuilding; Trade; *Food and Drink*: Amphorae; Trade Routes; Transport; *Science and Technology*: Harbor; Ship Rigging; Warships

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TOOLS, WOOD AND STONE

The Romans used a variety of tools in their various professions. Some of the tools that helped professions are given in separate entries; this entry will examine the wide variety of different tools used in wood and stone. Most of the tools discovered are from archaeological remains. Many of the tools continued to be used well into the modern era. The Romans also developed the system of casting metal to make their tools. This included the casting of hammers that were then used for construction and metalworking. One of the earliest tools cast was the scythe, which was used in farms for cutting wheat and other vegetation.

For working in wood there were axes or *ascia*, *dolabra*, or *securus*, which often had the sharp blade on one end and a pick on the other. There was the edging tool, the adzes or *ascia*, here the head is mounted perpendicular to the handle and not parallel like an ax. They could either be short handled and swung with one hand or long handled and used with both hands to give more power. Looking like a hoe, the blunted adzes used in breaking up the ground was the mattock. To provide finer chipping of wood one used a chisel or *scalprum*. These came in various sizes and widths. To bore holes through wood one used a drill or *terebra*, which was powered by a bow and string. Moving the bow back and forth with the drill wrapped around the string provided the bit with the power needed to bore a hole. To turn the wood so as to make the cutting and shaping, the Romans would use a lathe, *tornus*, powered by rope and a bow. They also developed a lathing rod from stone that was turned using a treadle press to move the gears and ropes. This turning allowed the wood to be made into table legs and spokes. A variety of saws or *serra* existed to cut large and small pieces of wood. The different types included the bucksaw, crosscut saw, and keyhole saw. The *runcina* or planes allowed the wood to be shaped, smoothed, and thinned. Accompanying planes were files that allowed more detailed work. Most of the

woodworking would be done to construct furniture such as tables, chairs, and chests to be used in houses.

Stone working tools were important Roman tool types. These included percussion tools or those that were struck against the stone. The most common and important was the pick. It typically had a wooden handle about 30 inches long and had a head with a point at one or both ends. The handle allowed the user to exert force so that the head, acting like a chisel, had more energy when striking the stone than by using a chisel held in one's hand. A smaller version, the sculptor's pick, had a handle about a foot long and a smaller head that allowed for more delicate and detailed work. To split stones, the Romans used wedges made of wood and metal. The wooden wedges could not be used directly to split the stone, rather, they were put into holes cut with the pick and then saturated with water, which expanded and thereby broke apart the stone along its stress lines. The metal wedge was used to directly split the stones. A finer tool was the point that was a metal shaft about a foot long and pounded into the stone. For working with marble and limestone, it had a point, while for granite it was blunt. The opposite end had a flat head used for receiving the blows from the hammer. For heavy stone-like granite, the point was held perpendicular to the stone so as to break it, while for marble, the point was struck at 90° to shatter or break apart large pieces. To cut smaller pieces, the point was held at 70°. Depending on the angle and method, the stone could be controlled. The stone worker would also use a tooth chisel where on one end a wide plane with several teeth would be used to cut the stone. It was used between the roughing and finishing phase in stone masonry. The flat chisel was typically smaller and was used for finer work. A curved end produced the roundel that was used for delicate work on either rough or finished edges. The channeling tool was used for delicate work, for example, cutting hair in the stone for fine details. To hit these tools, the Romans used a wooden mallet or metal hammer. Some had small handles, while others had longer ones to provide more force. Tools that required abrasion included the saw that was used to cut the large stones. These tools did not leave many marks. Typically, very thin and long the saw blades were effective tools. It seems from reliefs that water or some other abrasion was poured onto the stone and then it was cut with the saw. The Romans also used the drill powered by an apprentice who pulled the cord that was wrapped around the drill. A rasp or file was used to manipulate the stone.

For work in wood and stone, it was important to measure the material. This was done with a variety of tools. A straight edge was simply a piece of metal or wood that allowed the user to accurately measure the length, while a square, an L-shaped tool still in use, allowed for the material to be accurately check the angle and flatness. Calipers were used to measure and determine the proportions of statues and buildings. They could also be used as a compass to incise lines on

the wood or stone. These tools allowed for the builder to determine the size and proportion needed for the construction. Most Romans would have contact with these tools in some form. Most Romans would have been familiar with some of these tools, especially if they lived in the rural regions.

See also: *Economics and Work*: Builders; Farming; Laborers; Leather Making; Mining; Shipbuilding; Weavers; *Housing and Community*: Building Techniques; Masonry Construction; *Science and Technology*: Hand Tools; Metallurgy; Military Technology

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WAGONS

As opposed to the smaller carts, which often carried a few passengers or smaller loads, the Romans constructed more complicated wagons to carry more people, heavier loads, or more complicated loads. Some of the other types of vehicles used were *carpentum*, which was a covered two-wheeled wagon that could carry two or three passengers. It was covered and had a curtain in the front. This allowed the driver to sleep in and to protect his goods from the elements. The cart had seats for two or three and could be drawn by mules, horses, or even oxen. Unlike the smaller carts this one could be used for more extended journeys or for more comfort. In the city of Rome, matrons were allowed to use this type of vehicle to travel in the city. The *carpentum* was also used by the Roman postal service and even emperors. A four-wheel version was the *pilentum*, which was used for religious ceremonies such as weddings and funerals. It was also used by women of the upper class. It had cushions and was ornate. It appears to have been raised higher than most so as to give it a stately appearance. A jewelry gem shows a two-wheeled *pilentum* pulled by lions holding the Empress Faustina. This representation may have been artistic license, but it is possible that lions did pull the cart given that under the Empire these types of exotic uses were not uncommon.

For the lower classes, especially slaves, the *petoritum* was an open four-wheeled carriage to transport servants and attendants of wealthy individuals on the household journey. The *harmamaxa* came from the east and was a four-wheeled carriage drawn by four horses. It had a cover overhead and side curtains to protect the travelers. It was used mainly to carry women and children.

A larger cart for heavier items such as luggage and supplies was the *raeda*, which developed in the late Republic. This cart had four wheels and had bench seats and a canvas covering that could accommodate heavier loads. The late Roman law codes allowed this cart a maximum load of 1,000 pounds for this vehicle versus 200 pounds for the two-wheel cart. The cart required more mules, often up to 20, and was therefore more expensive to use. The imperial post had stations that allowed for supplies to be available so that the cart could be refitted, usually with eight to ten mules at regular stops. During the Republic, the *raeda* was often used by a wealthy individual to transport his entire family to and from his rural villa since it could hold more people and their entire luggage.

For the aristocrats, the *carruca* was an ornate version of the *raeda*. Typically, it had smaller front wheels and was covered with bronze and ivory ornaments. It was often drawn by two or four mules or horses and was a common vehicle for emperors. It appears to have been introduced during the first century CE. Sources show that it was an expensive carriage and very highly ornamental. An *epirhedium* may have been a *raeda* enclosed on four sides, which was square or oblong; some believe it to refer to the decorations of the *raeda*.



Bas relief, Roman wagon, Avignon, France, third century CE. While land transport could be costly compared to sea voyages, it was crucial to Roman towns throughout their Empire. Here a four-wheel wagon, carrying people, is pulled by horses; note that the horse collar did not exist, making the total load less than later eras. (Steve Estvanik/Dreamstime.com)

A *plaustrum majus* was a wagon of larger dimensions than a *plaustrum*, which had four wheels and was drawn by two or more horses. It was similar to the *clabulare* or *clavulare*, which was a large open cart with sides made of rails (*clavulae*) that could carry passengers or produce. Under the Empire, it was used to transport troops hence the name *cursus clabularis*. These vehicles were more complex and larger to accommodate the varying needs of the merchant or the wealthy.

The *arcera* was a large wooden wagon with four wheels drawn by two or more horses. It was covered with canvas and was often used to carry the sick. The individual could lie fully out. It had cushions and pillows inside. The outside wood was often covered with drapery to give it a more pleasant appearance.

It is clear that the Romans realized the need to carry people in a variety of circumstances. For example, a *chiramaxium* was an invalid's chair or cart on wheels, which could be pushed or pulled by people. It was on wheels and served the same function as a modern wheelchair. A *basterna* was wheel-less vehicle in which a mule in front and one behind carried the cart on shafts like a litter. A *benna* was a Gallic vehicle made of wicker that could carry several people and had four wheels drawn by several horses. A *lectica* was a litter that had a wooden case with low sides and had four uprights that supported a roof or *pluteus* that was covered with leather and had curtains (*vela*, *plagae*, *plagulae*) that were suspended and so could be drawn for privacy. It had a soft bed or mattress, which the traveler reclined with a support for the back so the person could sleep, read, or write, and was carried by slaves or *lecticarii* numbering anywhere from two to eight depending upon the wealth of the owner. For the carrying of large objects such as columns or heavy blocks of stone, the vehicle used was called a *chamulchus* coming from the Greek words meaning "ground and to draw." It was probably had a sturdy design.

The *tensa* was used in sacred ceremonies and was drawn by horses or even elephants. It was used in the Circensian games to carry the sacred images or cult statues of deities. It appears to have been fairly substantial. The law of Oppius from the tribune Gaius Oppius in 215 BCE who enacted the sumptuary measure prohibited carriages in Rome during the daytime. It is probable that other towns had the same practice or law. Unlike the other sumptuary laws, this one was observed down into the Empire. While it fell into disuse during the Empire as it concerned the rich and powerful, it was still cited as precedent. One aspect of the law was to move the delivery of goods by carts from the daytime to the nighttime. It became common for magistrates and emperors to constantly remind people, especially the merchants that delivery of goods by cart only occurred at night. Caesar decreed that wagons could not enter the city until after 4 p.m. since they congested the city. Of course, relegating them to the evening caused noise and that became a major complaint from those trying to sleep.

The use of large carts allowed the inhabitants to move heavy objects in and out of the city. Local inhabitants would always need to take into account their movement as these carts could lead to noise, congestion, and even accidents. Without the large carts, however, the building program could not be accomplished and the food supply would have been in danger.

See also: *Economics and Work:* Trade; *Food and Drink:* Trade Routes; Transport; *Science and Technology:* Carts; Roads

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WARSHIPS

The Roman navy existed from the early Republic but was usually seen as a minor component of the Roman military. The fleets that Rome produced varied according to their needs and location. By the late Republic and early Empire, the Roman fleets patrolled the Mediterranean and Black Seas, the rivers, mainly the Danube and Rhine, the North Sea, the English Channel, and Atlantic Ocean. The Romans needed large sea going ships and smaller patrol crafts for the rivers, lakes, and coastal regions. During the Punic Wars, the Roman navy was confined mainly to the large military warships and troop transports to carry their men across the sea to Africa and Spain.

The *navis actuatoria* or *actuatorius* was a ship that had both sail and sweeps (oars), which the fleet employed as reconnaissance, transport. They were also used by pirates. They were not proper ships of the line or warships, meaning they did not engage the enemy outright. It had at least 18 oars and could be powered by the wind. Warships were often more sleek and propelled by more oars. The *actuariolum* was a smaller version of the *actuatorius* with no more than 18 oars, but they could have sails. The *navis longa* was a long sharp-keeled ship with a single bank of oars on either side. It was an intermediary between the *navis actuatoris*, which served as a less powerful warship, and the multibanked oar ships, which could travel faster. Often these ships had banks of 25 oars on each side. The *navis longa* was also a general term for a warship. The ships could be open or closed



Relief, warship, France, imperial age. The Romans developed their navy during the Republic, especially during the First Punic War, and ultimately controlled the Mediterranean by the end of the Republic. This control led to the establishment of Roman peace or Pax Romana. (Photogolfer/Dreamstime.com)

meaning having a deck or not. Those ships with one bank of oars, even if worked by multiple rowers using a false handle, were the *moneris*. A *navis aperta* was an open vessel without a deck or only having a half deck. A decked ship was called a *navis tecta*, *strata*, or *constrata*. Agrippa, Augustus's admiral, introduced the *navis turrita*, which was a warship with a tower on it so that Roman troops could discharge their missiles. The *liburna* or *liburnica* was a warship modeled after the Illyrian pirates and brought into Roman service during the Empire. It was built sharp, both fore and aft, and had one or more banks of oars with a Levantine instead of a square sail. The smaller ships were usually tenders to support the line ships, but larger *liburna* were used on the line. These warships had the capacity to engage and destroy large enemy ships, for example, how Agrippa defeated Antony at Actium.

The Romans often used a term to describe two different aspects. For example, the boat called a *biremis* could be a row boat with two oars or it could mean a ship

with two banks (*ordines*) of oars on each side. The latter was the more commonly used term. A three-bank warship was the *trireme*. The oars were placed diagonally over each other. Each oar was powered by one rower who sat on his own seat (*sedile*) fixed against the side of the boat. Those on the top had the longest oar and hence the most work; they usually received the most pay. The *quadrimemis* had four banks of oars, not four rowers to one oar, like the *trireme* with three. During the Second Punic War, the Roman navy often deployed the *quinqueremis* or five-banked warship. The oars were probably arranged diagonally over each descending oar so that the five banks could give sufficient power at each part of the ship. Beyond the five banks arrangement, it would have been hard for the rower to manage his oar. This leads to the issue as to how to deal with the *hexeris*, which had six banks. If the sixth or upper rower dipped his oar into the water, it would have been at such an angle so that the oar would be above his head making it impossible to row; or if it was long enough to reach the water without this angle, the handle would have been too long to manage. The most plausible idea is that ships with six or more banks now referred to a situation where there were five vertical banks with the oar ports placed diagonally, like the *quinqueremis*, but the number (six or more) now meant the number of rows on each side from stem to stern. For the *hexeris* (meaning six) there would have been five vertical and six horizontal totaling 30 rowers on each side. For the *hepteris*, there would have been seven rows horizontally or 35 oars and so forth to *decemremis* or ten rows with 50 total oars. This would account for the angle and still provide for the terms to allow for more rowers.

A specialty military boat was a *catascopus* and its diminutive, *catascopium*. Both meant a small spy ship used to keep a watch or to reconnoiter. A larger sea-going spy ship was the *prosumia*, which probably was a ship used to shadow the enemy fleet and report back to the commander of the fleet where the enemy was located and their general route. A *dromo*, unknown as to its design, was said to be swift. A *hippagines* was a horse transport ship used to carry cavalry across water. These specialty boats ensured that the navy was well managed and equipped.

The Romans did not use slaves to power their boats but rather employed and paid the poor citizens of Rome. In the Republic, the rowers were free citizens who did not have the property qualifications to serve in the army. This meant that the sailors typically came from the lower classes, especially from the city. This practice continued into the Empire. The idea of galley slaves rowing is a modern invention, first occurring during the Medieval and Colonial periods and modern fiction. These ships allowed the Roman navy to control the seas ridding them of the Carthaginian, Macedonian, Syrian, Cilician (pirates), and Egyptian threats. The Romans established a variety of fleets and were successful in keeping the

POMPEY AND THE PIRATES

In the following excerpt from his “Life of Pompey,” Plutarch (ca. 46–120 CE), a Greek biographer of prominent Greeks and Romans, describes how the Roman general Pompey (106–48 BCE) destroyed piracy in the Mediterranean in 67 BCE. The pirates, whose base was in Cilicia (in southeast Asia Minor), were threatening Roman authority and the safety of Roman citizens in coastal areas; they were also endangering Rome’s maritime trade. As Plutarch describes, Pompey rapidly defeated the pirates and restored order to the region.

The greater part and the most powerful of the pirates had deposited their families and wealth, and their useless people, in garrisons and strong forts among the heights of the Taurus; but manning their ships the pirates themselves awaited the approach of Pompeius near Coracesium in Cilicia, and a battle was fought in which they were defeated and afterwards blockaded. At last sending a suppliant message they surrendered themselves and their cities and the islands of which they had possession and in which they had built forts that were difficult to force and hard to approach. Accordingly the war was ended, and all the pirates were driven from the sea in no more than three months. Pompeius received by surrender many ships, and among them ninety with brazen beaks. The pirates, who amounted to more than twenty thousand, he never thought of putting to death, but he considered that it would not be prudent to let them go and to allow them to be dispersed or to unite again, being poor, and warlike and many in number. . . . [He therefore] determined to transfer the men to the land from the sea and to let them taste a quiet life by being accustomed to live in cities and to cultivate the ground.

(Stewart and Long, 1892, 227)

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peace. The Romans after their victory over Cleopatra controlled the seas until the 250s BCE with the arrival of the Goths.

See also: *Economics and Work:* Shipbuilding; Trade; *Food and Drink:* Trade Routes; *Politics and Warfare:* Navy; Punic Wars; *Science and Technology:* Harbors; Ship Rigging; Ships

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WATER INVENTIONS

While the story of the aqueduct is well known, there were other inventions and tools that used water. The aqueducts supplied Rome and other cities with water; in addition to consumption, baths, and fountains, water could also be used for other things. This entry examines the use of water throughout the Romans period for a variety of cases. While the water from the aqueducts varied as to their quality, some like the Aqua Marcia and Aqua Virgo were of high quality since they came from springs. Other sources came from lakes and were not considered very potable. To get rid of the impurities, the aqueducts would often provide for settling where the load or impurities would settle to the bottom to be removed later. They would also aerate their water, usually the entire distance, which would also allow for the quality to improve.

The water from the aqueducts was used by the inhabitants to also provide for other cares. The first was the need to get rid of waste. The Romans had constructed their great sewer line early in their history during the monarchy to provide a means to rid the city of waste. While it is easy to see that the sewers are not perfect, they did allow the potential of disease to escape from the lines by the large openings in the street. The sewer empties into the Tiber River and while the sewer system was inefficient, it does show an achievement not reached again until the 19th century. The amount of water used by the average Roman was considerably less than that used by the modern American. While it is difficult to determine how much water the aqueducts actually carried into Rome, the amount was clearly less than modern consumption, only about one-third. This should not surprise us since the Romans could go to the communal baths instead of having private baths/showers as today. In addition, the Romans had local access to other communal sites such as fountains. Of course, the rich and powerful would have received more water than the poor.



Terracotta water pipe, York, England, imperial era. The Romans developed numerous devices for the use of water. The most common devices were for the transport of water such as terracotta pipes, and less commonly lead pipes. Other inventions included mills and saws powered by water. (Wellcome Images, London)

While it is common to suppose that there was a possibility of lead poisoning due to the use of lead pipes, the scientific evidence is lacking. First, lead poisoning would be found in the bones of remains, something that is not out of the norm with other regions and time periods for those that did not use lead pipes. Also, the calcium from the water would have been deposited on the lead pipes and effectively insulated the pipes preventing lead contamination. Finally, the running water would not have been effective in carrying lead off.

The Romans would also use water for other things such as a water pump, water organ, and water clock. A water pump described by Pliny and Vitruvius, the *siphos*, was discovered in a Roman copper mine in Spain in excellent condition. It was invented in 250 BCE by Ctesibius of Alexandria. It had two identical

cylinders called *modiolus* where water would enter into the tubes through *asses* or valves in the bottom. Each of these cylinders had a piston or *emboli* connected by a transverse tube each with a valve that could open and close to allow water in and out. The water could then move up a vertical tube. The pistons were connected to vertical bars called *regulis*, which in turn were connected to a horizontal bar or *vectibus*, which was moved up and down to move the pistons up, sucking water through the bottom of the cylinders and then down to push water out and through a tube rising up. This pump appears to have been used not to get the water out of the mine but rather to spray heated rocks with cold water so as to make them easier to break or to put fires out in the mines.

Ctesibius also employed the same idea to create an organ where water was used to push air through pipes to make the necessary noise. By varying the size of the pipe, its height and volume, the sound could be varied accordingly. Unlike modern organs where bellows allow air to be stored, the water organ required a constant use of bellows to pump the air into the organ. Water clocks or *clepsydras* also existed where water held in a cylinder would drip through a hole at a constant rate into a tub below that was marked showing the amount of time had passed. They probably were used for both day and night. The Romans improved upon this Greek model by adding devices to ensure constant pressure and provide for more elaborate ways to mark the passage of time with bells, dials, or moving objects.

These inventions using water were not typical devices found in Roman homes. While pumps might be used by workers, they were not commonly seen. Nevertheless, these inventions would have been known by most people. The inventions show that the Romans were not technologically stagnant but in fact were continually exploring opportunities of change and advancement. What limited the Romans were therefore not inventive desires but probably the lack of communication and advertising.

See also: *Recreation and Social Customs:* Baths; Musical Instruments; *Science and Technology:* Aqueducts; Engineering; Inventions

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WEIGHTS AND MEASURES

All societies that engage in commerce need to have an accurate means to determine the size, weight, and other dimensions of goods to ensure that the consumer does not get cheated. The average Roman therefore needed to understand the variety

of weights and measures to function in society. The need for measuring distance allowed individuals to work as laborers, give and receive directions, and travel. In addition to distances, the farmer, construction worker, engineers and others needed to understand how to compute area. The need to understand volume was crucial for consumers and sellers as well as shippers and producers.

The unit of measure for distance was based on the foot or *pes* (*pedes* plural). Debate on the exact length of the Roman foot has ensued for centuries, but it seems to have been 296 mm. The Roman foot was then subdivided into the Greek *digitus* with each being 1/16th of a foot and in Latin *uncia* or inches at 12 to a foot. The Romans then had additional terms for multiples of the foot such as the *cubitus* or cubit at one and half *pedes*; the *gradus* for two and half *pedes*, while the *passus* or pace being five *pedes*. The cubit, coming from elbow, was the length from the elbow to the tip of middle finger; the *passus* was the distance from the heel of one foot, which rose until the position of the same heel when it struck the ground. The *passus* was also called a double pace since it required two *gradus* or steps. This was seen as the distance of a full stride or a pace. The *actus* or 120 *pedes* were commonly used in land measurements. The *stadium* was 625 *pedes* in Rome, while in Greece the ancient historian Herodotus said it was 600 feet; the mile (*milliarium*) or *mille passuum* was 1,000 *passuum* or 5,000 *pedes*. The Gallic *leuga* or the modern league was 7,500 *pedes* or one and half miles. These distances were important for nearly all aspects of life from measuring wood to measuring distances the soldiers marched.

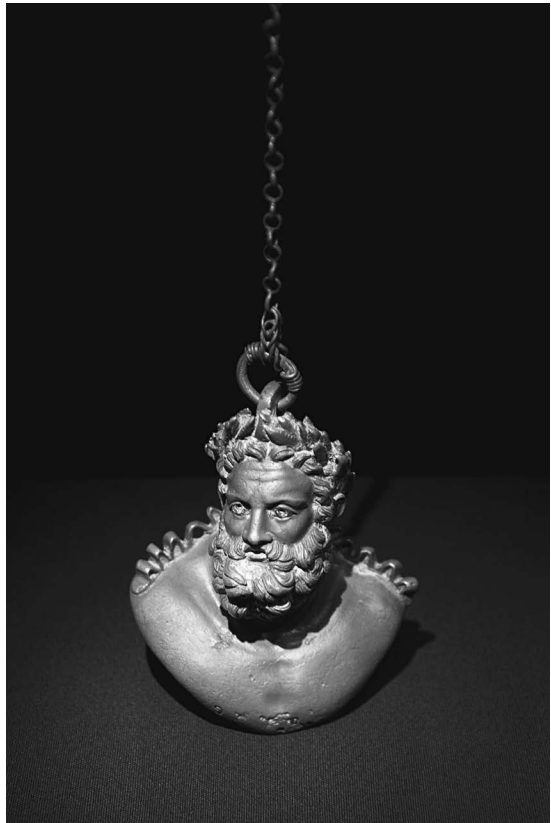
Area was most commonly used by farmers and surveyors. Here the Roman agronomist Columella gave examples of the more common measurements. The most important and basic form of land which all others seemed to derive and were allocated was the *iugerum*. This unit was 240 *pedes* by 120 *pedes*, which contained 28,800 *quadratus pedes* (square feet). It was double that of an *actus quadratus*. *Actus* meant the term to define the path that a single ox could walk, while *iugum* meant yoke so that *iugerum* would mean the distance two oxen (yoked together) could walk. When *actus quadratus* later became used for a unit of square measurement, *iugerum* meant double that. Pliny said that the *iugerum* was what a pair of oxen could plough in one day, while an *actus* was what one ox could do in one day. This latter concept was probably the original term; and Columella then applied to it the later measurements of actual distance. The *centuria* originally meant 100 *iugera*, but later it meant 200 *iugera* and became one of the standards for land surveying and important for setting up of colonies and cities.

Volume was measured either as liquid or dry and all were based on the unit known as the *sextarius*. Since the *sextarius* seems to have varied in size with no general agreement, it is often difficult to give modern comparisons; the standard size,

however, seems to have been about 546 milliliters or just over a half a liter. The *sextarius* was the building block by which other units were computed. The amphora *quadrantal* or amphora, the major vessel for transporting and storing liquid and dry goods, was equal to 48 *sextarii*, the equivalent to one cubic feet. The *congius* was equal to six *sextarii*, the *urna* (urn) had four *congi* (24 *sextarii*), the amphora had two *congi* (48 *sextarii*), and the *coleus* had 80 amphorae or 3,480 *sextarii*. Dry measures were also based on the *sextarius* with common units being the *cotyla* or half *sextarius*, the *quartarius* at a fourth, the *cyathus* at 1/12th and the *ligula* at 1/48th like the liquid measures. A *semimodius* had eight *sextarii*, while a *modius* had 16 and became a common unit for measuring grain. There were other versions of the *modius*, which

seems to have been at different capacities as well. These capacities were crucial for merchants since wine, oil, and grain were measured, stored, and transported in containers that needed to be known. For example, the *modius*, the major unit for dry measures also had the “camp *modius*,” which was either one and half or two times a *modius*.

Like distance and volume, weight also was divided into units of 12. Similar to the inch, the ounce or *uncia* was the standard unit. The Latin term for weight was “*libra*,” which meant pound where 12 *uncia* equaled a pound and in coins 12 *uncial* equaled an *as*. The Roman pound was equal to about 329 grams or 11.6 modern ounces. The *uncia* was equal to 27.4 grams. The *uncia* was 1/12th of a



Counter-weight in form of Hercules, Istanbul, Turkey, second century CE. Cities throughout the Roman world had different standards of weights and measures. To ensure protection of its inhabitants, city officials had sanctioned weights and measures to check merchants' scales. Often weights were in the form of amulets such as this one. (Robert Landau/Corbis)

pound, the *sextans* was one-sixth, the *quadrans* one-fourth, and the *semis* was half a pound. The *uncia* could also be subdivided and these subdivisions were used for monetary units, especially with gold, in the late Empire; the most common were the *scrupulum* at 1/24th an *uncia*; the *obolus* 1/48th, and the *siliqua* at 1/144th an *uncia* or 0.19 grams. Since the original Roman coin was a pound of bronze, it was called the *as*. When the *as* was reduced in weight, the corresponding subdivisions were also reduced in weight but the same proportion remained, hence the *semis* continued to a half of an *as* even though its weight was less than six ounces.

The Roman units of measurement and weights continued to be used throughout the Mediterranean world, especially in the west well into the medieval period. In the east, it was common for the units of measurements to be in Greek, which were similar but did not exactly correspond to the Latin units. The use of these measurements was common and needed for society to function.

See also: Economics and Work: Markets; Trade; Housing and Community: Surveying

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Primary Documents

ARTS

The Size and Components of a Villa: Columella, *De Re Rustica* (On Agriculture) (First Century CE)

Introduction

Columella (4 BCE –ca. 70 CE) intended his work as a practical manual on how to run a working and profitable farm. This section details the orientation of the manor house and its rooms for both summer and winter, showing an estate with apartments for both seasons. Followed by a description of the stables, the passage provides the greatest detail concerning the storerooms, describing how they are to be dried and freed of vermin. There is a section on the oil and wine presses as well as a section on the placement of baths and other parts of the villa, including ovens, ponds, mills, and orchards.

The size of the villa and the number of its parts should be proportioned to the whole inclosure, and it should be divided into three groups: the villa urbana or manor house, the villa rustica or farmhouse, and the villa fructuaria or storehouse. The manor house should be divided in turn into winter apartments and summer apartments, in such a way that the winter bedrooms may face the sunrise at the winter solstice, and the winter dining-room face the sunset at the equinox. The summer bedrooms, on the other hand, should look toward the midday sun at the time of the equinox, but the dining-rooms of that season should look toward the rising sun of winter. The baths should face the setting sun of summer, that they may be lighted from midday up to evening. The promenades should be exposed to the midday sun at the equinox, so as to receive both the maximum of sun in winter and the minimum in summer. But in the part devoted to farm uses there will be placed a spacious and high kitchen, that the rafters may be free from the danger of

fire, and that it may offer a convenient stopping-place for the slave household at every season of the year. It will be best that cubicles for unfettered slaves be built to admit the midday sun at the equinox; for those who are in chains there should be an underground prison, as wholesome as possible, receiving light through a number of narrow windows built so high from the ground that they cannot be reached with the hand.

For cattle there should be stables which will not be troubled by either heat or cold; for animals broken to work, two sets of stalls—one for winter, another for summer; and for the other animals which it is proper to keep within the farmstead there should be places partly covered, partly open to the sky, and surrounded with high walls so that the animals may rest in the one place in winter, in the other in summer, without being attacked by wild beasts. But stables should be roomy and so arranged that no moisture can flow in and that whatever is made there may run off very quickly, to prevent the rotting of either the bases of the walls or the hoofs of the cattle. Ox-stalls should be ten feet wide, or nine at the least—a size which will allow room for the animal to lie down and for the oxherd to move around it in performing his duties. The feed-racks should not be too high for the ox or pack-animal to feed from without inconvenience while standing. Quarters should be provided for the overseer alongside the entrance, so that he may have oversight of all who come in and go out; and for the steward over the entrance for the same reason, and also that he may keep close watch on the overseer; and near both of these there should be a storehouse in which all farm gear may be collected, and within it a closet for the storing of the iron implements.

Cells for the herdsmen and shepherds should be adjacent to their respective charges, so that they may conveniently run out to care for them. And yet all should be quartered as close as possible to one another, so that the diligence of the overseer may not be overtaxed in making the rounds of the several places, and also that they may be witnesses of one another's industry and negligence.

As to the part devoted to the storage of produce, it is divided into rooms for oil, for presses, for wine, for the boiling down of must, lofts for hay and chaff, store-rooms, and granaries, that such of them as are on the ground floor may take care of liquid products for the market, such as oil and wine; while dry products, such as grain, hay leaves, chaff, and other fodder, should be stored in lofts. But the granaries, as I have said, should be reached by ladders and should receive ventilation through small openings on the north side; for that exposure is the coolest and the least humid, and both these considerations contribute to the preservation of stored grain. The same reason holds true in the placing of the wine-room on the ground floor; and it should be far removed from the baths, oven, dunghill, and other filthy places which give off a foul odour, and no less so from cisterns and running water, from which is derived a moisture that spoils the wine.

And I am not unaware that some consider the best place for storing grain to be a granary with a vaulted ceiling, its earthen floor, before it is covered over, dug up and soaked with fresh and unsalted lees of oil and packed down with rammers as is Signian work. Then, after this has dried thoroughly, it is overlaid in the same way with a pavement of tiles consisting of lime and sand mixed with oil lees instead of water, and these are beaten down with great force by rammers and are smoothed off; and all joints of walls and floor are bound together with a bolstering of tile, for usually when buildings develop cracks in such places they afford holes and hiding-places for underground animals. But granaries are also divided into bins to permit the storage of every kind of legume by itself. The walls are coated with a plastering of clay and oil lees, to which are added, in place of chaff, the dried leaves of the wild olive or, if these are wanting, of the olive. Then, when the afore-said plastering has dried, it is again sprinkled over with oil lees: and when this has dried the grain is brought in. This seems to be the most advantageous method of protecting stored produce from damage by weevils and like vermin, and if it is not carefully laid away they quickly destroy it. But the type of granary just described, unless it be in a dry section of the steading, causes even the hardest grain to spoil with mustiness; and if it were not for this, it would be possible to keep grain even buried underground, as in certain districts across the sea where the earth, dug out in the manner of pits, which they call *siri*, takes back to itself the fruits which it has produced. But we, living in regions which abound in moisture, approve rather the granary that stands on supports above the ground and the attention to pavements and walls as just mentioned, because, as I have said, the floors and sides of store-rooms so protected keep out the weevil. Many think that when this kind of pest appears it can be checked if the damaged grain is winnowed in the bin and cooled off, as it were. But this is a most mistaken notion; for the insects are not driven off by so doing, but are mixed through the whole mass. If left undisturbed, only the upper surface would be attacked, as the weevil breeds no more than a palm's breadth below; and it is far better to endanger only the part already infested than to subject the whole amount to risk. For it is easy, when occasion demands it, to remove the damaged portion and use the sound grain underneath. But these latter remarks, though brought in extraneously, I nevertheless seem to have introduced not unseasonably at this point.

The press-rooms especially and the store-rooms for oil should be warm, because every liquid is thinned with heat and thickened by great cold; and if oil freezes, which seldom happens, it becomes rancid. But as it is natural heat that is wanted, arising from the climate and the exposure, there is no need of fire or flame, as the taste of oil is spoiled by smoke and soot. For this reason the pressing-room should be lighted from the southern side, so that we may not find it necessary to employ fires and lamps when the olives are being pressed.

The cauldron-room, in which boiled wine is made, should be neither narrow nor dark, so that the attendant who is boiling down the must may move around without inconvenience. The smoke-room, too, in which timber not long cut may be seasoned quickly can be built in a section of the rural establishment adjoining the baths for the countryfolk; for it is important also that there be such places in which the household may bathe—but only on holidays; for the frequent use of baths is not conducive to physical vigour. Storerooms for wine will be situated to advantage over these places from which smoke is usually rising, for wines age more rapidly when they are brought to an early maturity by a certain kind of smoke. For this reason there should be another loft to which they may be removed, to keep them from becoming tainted, on the other hand, by too much smoking.

As for the situation of the villa and the arrangement of its several parts, enough has been said. It will be necessary, next, that the villa have the following near it: an oven and a gristmill, of such size as may be required by the number of hands that are to be employed; at least two ponds, one to serve for geese and cattle, the other in which we may soak lupines, elm-withes, twigs, and other things which are adapted to our needs. There should also be two manure-pits, one to receive the fresh dung and keep it for a year, and a second from which the old is hauled; but both of them should be built shelving with a gentle slope, in the manner of fish-ponds, and built up and packed hard with earth so as not to let the moisture drain away. For it is most important that manure shall retain its strength with no drying out of its moisture and that it be soaked constantly with liquids, so that any seeds of bramble or grass that are mixed in the straw or chaff shall decay, and not be carried out to the field to fill the crops with weeds. And it is for this reason that experienced farmers, when they carry out any refuse from folds and stables, throw over it a covering of brush and do not allow it to dry out or be burned by the beating of the sun.

The threshing-floor is to be so placed, if possible, that it can be viewed from above by the master, or at least by the farm-manager. Such a floor is best when paved with hard stone, for the reason that the grain is threshed out quickly, since the ground does not give under the beating of hoofs and threshing-sledges, and the winnowed grain is cleaner and free from small stones and clods which a dirt floor nearly always casts up during the threshing. Adjoining this there should be a shed (and especially in Italy, because of the changeableness of the weather), in which the half-threshed grain may be stacked under cover if a sudden shower comes up. In certain districts across the sea, where there is no rain in summer, this is unnecessary. The orchards, too, and the gardens should be fenced all around and should lie close by, in a place to which there may flow all manure-laden sewage from barnyard and baths, and the watery lees squeezed from olives; for both vegetables and trees thrive on nutriment of this sort too.

Source: Columella. *On Agriculture*. Vol. 1. Translated by H. B. Ash. Loeb Classical Library. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1941, pp. 66–79.

ECONOMICS AND WORK

Description of a *Latifundia*: Pliny the Elder, *Naturalis Historia* (Natural History) (ca. 79 CE)

Introduction

Pliny the Elder (23–79 CE) wrote in his encyclopedia, Natural History, the history of farm development in Rome. Through historical examples, he encouraged his readers to be careful as to its placement so that the farm was sufficient to provide income. He gives instructions as to the type of soil the farm should be located on and its general environment for health. He also warns of the great estates, which he believes ruined Italy. He encourages the owner to be judicious in selecting his steward, employing one who is competent, and to take care not to over-cultivate the soil.

The proper plan to be pursued is this: the farm-house must not be unsuitable for the farm, nor the farm for the house; and we must be on our guard against following the examples of L. Lucullus and Q. Scævola, who, though living in the same age, fell into the two opposite extremes; for whereas the farm-house of Scævola was not large enough for the produce of his farm, the farm of Lucullus was not sufficiently large for the house he built upon it; an error which gave occasion to the reproof of the censors, that on his farm there was less of ground for ploughing than of floor for sweeping. The proper arrangements for a farm-house are not to be made without a certain degree of skill. C. Marius, who was seven times consul, was the last person who had one built at Misenum; but he erected it with such a degree of that artistic skill which he had displayed in castrametation, that Sylla Felix even made the remark, that in comparison with Marius, all the others had been no better than blind.

It is generally agreed, that a farm-house ought neither to be built near a marsh, nor with a river in front of it; for, as Homer has remarked, with the greatest correctness, unwholesome vapours are always exhaled from rivers before the rising of the sun. In hot localities, a farm-house should have a northern aspect, but where it is cold, it should look towards the south; where, on the other hand, the site is temperate, the house should look due east. Although, when speaking of the best kinds of soil, I may seem to have sufficiently discussed the characteristics by which it may be known, I shall take the present opportunity of adding a few more

indications, employing the words of Cato more particularly for the purpose. “The dwarf-elder,” says he, “the wild plum, the bramble, the small bulb, trefoil, meadow grass, the quercus, and the wild pear and wild apple, are all of them indicative of a corn land. The same is the case, too, where the land is black, or of an ashy colour. All chalky soils are scorching, unless they are very thin; the same, too, with sand, unless it is remarkably fine. These remarks, however, are more applicable to champaign localities than declivities.”

The ancients were of opinion, that before everything, moderation should be observed in the extent of a farm; for it was a favourite maxim of theirs, that we ought to sow the less, and plough the more: such too, I find, was the opinion entertained by Virgil, and indeed, if we must confess the truth, it is the wide-spread domains that have been the ruin of Italy, and soon will be that of the provinces as well. Six proprietors were in possession of one half of Africa, at the period when the Emperor Nero had them put to death. With that greatness of mind which was so peculiarly his own, and of which he ought not to lose the credit, Cneius Pompeius would never purchase the lands that belonged to a neighbour. Mago has stated it as his opinion, that a person, on buying a farm, ought at once to sell his town house; an opinion, however, which savours of too great rigidity, and is by no means conformable to the public good. It is with these words, indeed, that he begins his precepts; a good proof, at all events, that he looks upon the personal inspection of the owner as of primary importance.

The next point which requires our care is to employ a farmsteward of experience, and upon this, too, Cato has given many useful precepts. Still, however, it must suffice for me to say that the steward ought to be a man nearly as clever as his master, though without appearing to know it. It is the very worst plan of all, to have land tilled by slaves let loose from the houses of correction, as, indeed, is the case with all work entrusted to men who live without hope. I may possibly appear guilty of some degree of rashness in making mention of a maxim of the ancients, which will very probably be looked upon as quite incredible—“That nothing is so disadvantageous as to cultivate land in the highest style of perfection.” L. Tarius Rufus, a man who, born in the very lowest ranks of life, by his military talents finally attained the consulship, and who in other respects adhered to the old-fashioned notions of thriftiness, made away with about one hundred millions of sesterces, which, by the liberality of the late Emperor Augustus, he had contrived to amass, in buying up lands in Picenum, and cultivating them in the highest style, his object being to gain a name thereby; the consequence of which was, that his heir renounced the inheritance. Are we of opinion, then, that ruin and starvation must be the necessary consequence of such a course as this? Yes, by Hercules! and the very best plan of all is to let moderation guide our judgment in all things. To cultivate land well is absolutely necessary, but to cultivate it in the

very highest style is mere extravagance, unless, indeed, the work is done by the hands of a man's own family, his tenants, or those whom he is obliged to keep at any rate. But besides this, even when the owner tills the land itself, there are some crops which it is really not worth the while to gather, if we only take into account the manual labour expended upon them. The olive, too, should never be too highly cultivated, nor must certain soils, it is said, be too carefully tilled, those of Sicily, for instance; hence it is, that new comers there so often find themselves deceived.

Source: Pliny the Elder. *The Natural History*. Translated by John Bostock and H. T. Riley. London: Taylor and Francis, 1855, Chap. 7 (6).

FAMILY AND GENDER

The *Paterfamilias*—the Story of Publius Horatius: Livy, *The History of Rome (Ab Urbe Condita)* (Late First Century BCE)

Introduction

Livy (59 BCE–17 CE), Rome's master storyteller and moralist, describes the influence of the father or *Paterfamilias* on society. The passage begins with the legend of the Romans and Albans settling their differences not by total war but by individual combat between two sets of three brothers, with the Romans under Horatius being victorious. Livy then details how Horatius's sister, who was betrothed to one of the Albans, saw her dead betrothed and burst into grief, thus annoying her victorious brother, who killed her. Horatius was found guilty of treason but appealed to the people, who followed his father's pronouncement that his son was justified in killing his sister. Indeed, if Horatius had not done so, the father, as *Paterfamilias*, would have used his authority to execute his son.

[1.25]On the conclusion of the treaty the six combatants armed themselves. They were greeted with shouts of encouragement from their comrades, who reminded them that their fathers' gods, their fatherland, their fathers, every fellow-citizen, every fellow-soldier, were now watching their weapons and the hands that wielded them. Eager for the contest and inspired by the voices round them, they advanced into the open space between the opposing lines. The two armies were sitting in front of their respective camps, relieved from personal danger but not from anxiety, since upon the fortunes and courage of this little group hung the issue of dominion. Watchful and nervous, they gaze with feverish intensity on a spectacle by no means entertaining. The signal was given, and with uplifted swords the six youths charged like a battle-line with the courage of a

mighty host. Not one of them thought of his own danger; their sole thought was for their country, whether it would be supreme or subject, their one anxiety that they were deciding its future fortunes. When, at the first encounter, the flashing swords rang on their opponents' shields, a deep shudder ran through the spectators; then a breathless silence followed, as neither side seemed to be gaining any advantage. Soon, however, they saw something more than the swift movements of limbs and the rapid play of sword and shield: blood became visible flowing from open wounds. Two of the Romans fell one on the other, breathing out their life, whilst all the three Albans were wounded. The fall of the Romans was welcomed with a burst of exultation from the Alban army; whilst the Roman legions, who had lost all hope, but not all anxiety, trembled for their solitary champion surrounded by the three Curiatii. It chanced that he was untouched, and though not a match for the three together, he was confident of victory against each separately. So, that he might encounter each singly, he took to flight, assuming that they would follow as well as their wounds would allow. He had run some distance from the spot where the combat began, when, on looking back, he saw them following at long intervals from each other, the foremost not far from him. He turned and made a desperate attack upon him, and whilst the Alban army were shouting to the other Curiatii to come to their brother's assistance, Horatius had already slain his foe and, flushed with victory, was awaiting the second encounter. Then the Romans cheered their champion with a shout such as men raise when hope succeeds to despair, and he hastened to bring the fight to a close. Before the third, who was not far away, could come up, he despatched the second Curiatius. The survivors were now equal in point of numbers, but far from equal in either confidence or strength. The one, unscathed after his double victory, was eager for the third contest; the other, dragging himself wearily along, exhausted by his wounds and by his running, vanquished already by the previous slaughter of his brothers, was an easy conquest to his victorious foe. There was, in fact, no fighting. The Roman cried exultingly: "Two have I sacrificed to appease my brothers' shades; the third I will offer for the issue of this fight, that the Roman may rule the Alban." He thrust his sword downward into the neck of his opponent, who could no longer lift his shield, and then despoiled him as he lay. Horatius was welcomed by the Romans with shouts of triumph, all the more joyous for the fears they had felt. Both sides turned their attention to burying their dead champions, but with very different feelings, the one rejoicing in wider dominion, the other deprived of their liberty and under alien rule. The tombs stand on the spots where each fell; those of the Romans close together, in the direction of Alba; the three Alban tombs, at intervals, in the direction of Rome.

[1.26] Before the armies separated, Mettius inquired what commands he was to receive in accordance with the terms of the treaty. Tullus ordered him to keep

the Alban soldiery under arms, as he would require their services if there were war with the Veientes. Both armies then withdrew to their homes. Horatius was marching at the head of the Roman army, carrying in front of him his triple spoils. His sister, who had been betrothed to one of the Curiatii, met him outside the Capene gate. She recognised on her brother's shoulders the cloak of her betrothed, which she had made with her own hands; and bursting into tears she tore her hair and called her dead lover by name. The triumphant soldier was so enraged by his sister's outburst of grief in the midst of his own triumph and the public rejoicing that he drew his sword and stabbed the girl. "Go," he cried, in bitter reproach, "go to your betrothed with your ill-timed love, forgetful as you are of your dead brothers, of the one who still lives, and of your country! So perish every Roman woman who mourns for an enemy!" The deed horrified patricians and plebeians alike; but his recent services were a set-off to it. He was brought before the king for trial. To avoid responsibility for passing a harsh sentence, which would be repugnant to the populace, and then carrying it into execution, the king summoned an assembly of the people, and said: "I appoint two duumvirs to judge the treason of Horatius according to law." The dreadful language of the law was: "The duumvirs shall judge cases of treason; if the accused appeal from the duumvirs, the appeal shall be heard; if their sentence be confirmed, the lictor shall hang him by a rope on the fatal tree, and shall scourge him either within or without the pomoerium." The duumvirs appointed under this law did not think that by its provisions they had the power to acquit even an innocent person. Accordingly they condemned him; then one of them said: "Publius Horatius, I pronounce you guilty of treason. Lictor, bind his hands." The lictor had approached and was fastening the cord, when Horatius, at the suggestion of Tullus, who placed a merciful interpretation on the law, said, "I appeal." The appeal was accordingly brought before the people.

Their decision was mainly influenced by Publius Horatius, the father, who declared that his daughter had been justly slain; had it not been so, he would have exerted his authority as a father in punishing his son. Then he implored them not to bereave of all his children the man whom they had so lately seen surrounded with such noble offspring. Whilst saying this he embraced his son, and then, pointing to the spoils of the Curiatii suspended on the spot now called the Pila Horatia, he said: "Can you bear, Quirites, to see bound, scourged, and tortured beneath the gallows the man whom you saw, lately, coming in triumph adorned with his foemen's spoils? Why, the Albans themselves could not bear the sight of such a hideous spectacle. Go, lictor, bind those hands which when armed but a little time ago won dominion for the Roman people. Go, cover the head of the liberator of this City! Hang him on the fatal tree, scourge him within the pomoerium, if only it be amongst the trophies of his foes, or without, if only it be amongst the tombs of the Curiatii! To what place can you take this youth where the monuments of his

splendid exploits will not vindicate him from such a shameful punishment?” The father’s tears and the young soldier’s courage ready to meet every peril were too much for the people. They acquitted him because they admired his bravery rather than because they regarded his cause as a just one. But since a murder in broad daylight demanded some expiation, the father was commanded to make an atonement for his son at the cost of the State. After offering certain expiatory sacrifices he erected a beam across the street and made the young man pass under it, as under a yoke, with his head covered. This beam exists to-day, having always been kept in repair by the State: it is called “The Sister’s Beam.” A tomb of hewn stone was constructed for Horatia on the spot where she was murdered.

Source: Livy (Titus Livius). *The History of Rome*. Vol. 1. Edited by Ernest Rhys. Translated by Rev. Canon Roberts. London: J.M. Dent and Sons, 1905, 1.25, 1.26.

FASHION AND APPEARANCE

Emperors Augustus (Octavian) and Nero Shave Their Beards:
Dio Cassius, *Roman History (Historia Romana)* (ca. 229 CE) and
Suetonius, *The Lives of the Twelve Caesars (De Vita Caesarum)*
(ca. 121 CE)

Introduction

The emperors Augustus (63 BCE–14 CE) and Nero (37–68 CE) have been viewed as opposites. Augustus was the consummate politician, capable of reading the crowd while Nero was the spoiled child indulging his whims and vices. Dio Cassius (ca. 155–235 CE), however, describes how Augustus (called Caesar) was not immune to criticism; in this passage he held a great party when he came of age (shaving his beard). Suetonius (ca. 69–122 CE) describes Nero’s raucous lifestyle, including his shaving of his first beard, which he commemorated with a great sacrifice and by putting the hair in an expensive golden box to be dedicated to the gods. Although different, both stories show the importance the Romans placed on ceremonies and coming of age.

Dio Cassius

These were the events of the two years; the next year, when Lucius Marcius and Gaius Sabinus held the consulship, the acts of the triumvirs from the time they had formed their oligarchy received ratification at the hands of the senate, and certain further taxes were imposed by them, because the expenditures proved far greater than the budget made in the time of the former Caesar. For though they were expending vast sums for themselves and especially upon the soldiers, the only thing

they were ashamed of was that the expenditures they were making were contrary to precedent. For example, when Caesar now for the first time shaved off his beard, he held a magnificent entertainment himself besides granting all the other citizens a festival at public expense. He also kept his chin smooth afterwards, like the rest; for he was already beginning to be enamoured of Livia also, and for this reason divorced Scribonia the very day she bore him a daughter. Since the expenditures, then, were growing far greater than before, and the revenues, which were in any case insufficient, came in at this time in even smaller amounts by reason of the factional discord, they introduced certain new taxes; and they enrolled ever so many men in the senate, not only from among the allies, or else soldiers, or sons of freedmen, but even slaves. At any rate, one Maximus, when about to become *quaestor*, was recognized by his master and haled away; and while in his case immunity was granted him for having dared to stand for office, yet another slave who was detected while serving as a praetor was hurled down the rocks of the Capitol, having first been freed, that his punishment might take on the proper dignity.

Source: Dio Cassius. *Roman History*. Vol. V. Edited by Herbert B. Foster. Translated by Earnest Cary. Loeb Classical Library. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1917, pp. 292–293.

Suetonius

These plays he viewed from the top of the proscenium. At the gladiatorial show, which he gave in a wooden amphitheatre, erected in the district of the Campus Martius within the space of a single year, he had no one put to death, not even criminals. But he compelled four hundred senators and six hundred Roman knights, some of whom were well to do and of unblemished reputation, to fight in the arena. Even those who fought with the wild beasts and performed the various services in the arena were of the same orders. He also exhibited a naval battle in salt water with sea monsters swimming about in it; besides pyrrhic dances by some Greek youths, handing each of them certificates of Roman citizenship at the close of his performance. The pyrrhic dances represented various scenes. In one a bull mounted Pasiphae, who was concealed in a wooden image of a heifer; at least many of the spectators thought so. Icarus at his very first attempt fell close by the imperial couch and bespattered the emperor with his blood; for Nero very seldom presided at the games, but used to view them while reclining on a couch, at first through small openings, and then with the entire balcony uncovered.

He was likewise the first to establish at Rome a quinquennial contest in three parts, after the Greek fashion, that is in music, gymnastics, and riding, which he called the Neronia; at the same time he dedicated his baths and gymnasium, supplying every member of the senatorial and equestrian orders with oil. To preside

over the whole contest he appointed ex-consuls, chosen by lot, who occupied the seats of the praetors. Then he went down into the orchestra among the senators and accepted the prize for Latin oratory and verse, for which all the most eminent men had contended but which was given to him with their unanimous consent; but when that for lyre-playing was also offered him by the judges, he knelt before it and ordered that it be laid at the feet of Augustus' statue. At the gymnastic contest, which he gave in the Saepta, he shaved his first beard to the accompaniment of a splendid sacrifice of bullocks, put it in a golden box adorned with pearls of great price, and dedicated it in the Capitol. He invited the Vestal virgins also to witness the contests of the athletes, because at Olympia the priestesses of Ceres were allowed the same privilege.

Source: Suetonius. *Lives of the Caesars*. Vol. II. Edited and Translated by J. C. Rolfe. Loeb Classical Library. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1914, pp. 105–107.

FOOD AND DRINK

The Banquet of Trimalchio: Petronius Arbiter, *Satyricon* (ca. 50s–60s CE)

Introduction

Although most Romans would not have the opulence of the fictional Trimalchio presented in this passage from the fictional work Satyricon, the author, Petronius (ca. 27–66 CE), sought to show how the dinner party was representative of some Romans. The lavish experience detailed how the wealthy lived, from extravagant personal service to a meal with several courses served on exquisite table pieces readily showing one's wealth. The different courses, like the dormice, century-old wine, or peahen eggs, were rare; and the way they were served was meant to show Trimalchio's wealth and panache for the dramatic.

At last we went to recline at table where boys from Alexandria poured snow water on our hands, while others, turning their attention to our feet, picked our nails, and not in silence did they perform their task, but singing all the time. I wished to try if the whole retinue could sing, and so I called for a drink, and a boy, not less ready with his tune, brought it accompanying his action with a sharp-toned ditty; and no matter what you asked for it was all the same song.

The first course was served and it was good, for all were close up at the table, save Trimalchio, for whom, after a new fashion, the place of honor was reserved. Among the first viands there was a little ass of Corinthian bronze with saddle bags on his back, in one of which were white olives and in the other black. Over the ass were two silver platters, engraved on the edges with Trimalchio's name,

and the weight of silver. Dormice seasoned with honey and poppies lay on little bridge-like structures of iron; there were also sausages brought in piping hot on a silver gridiron, and under that Syrian plums and pomegranate grains.

We were in the midst of these delights when Trimalchio was brought in with a burst of music. They laid him down on some little cushions, very carefully; whereat some giddy ones broke into a laugh, though it was not much to be wondered at, to see his bald pate peeping out from a scarlet cloak, and his neck all wrapped up and a robe with a broad purple stripe hanging down before him, with tassels and fringes dingle-dangle about him.

Then going through his teeth with a silver pick, “my friends,” quoth he, “I really didn’t want to come to dinner so soon, but I was afraid my absence would cause too great a delay, so I denied myself the pleasure I was at—at any rate I hope you’ll let me finish my game.” A slave followed, carrying a checkerboard of turpentine wood, with crystal dice; but one thing in particular I noticed as extra nice—he had gold and silver coins instead of the ordinary black and white pieces. While he was cursing like a trooper over the game and we were starting on the lighter dishes, a basket was brought in on a tray, with a wooden hen in it, her wings spread round, as if she were hatching.

Then two slaves came with their eternal singing, and began searching the straw, whence they rooted out some peahen’s eggs, and distributed them among the guests. At this Trimalchio turned around—“Friends,” he says, “I had some peahen’s eggs placed under a hen, and so help me Hercules!—I hope they’re not hatched out; we’d better try if they’re still tasty.” Thereupon we took up our spoons—they were not less than half a pound weight of silver—and broke the eggs that were made of rich pastry. I had been almost on the point of throwing my share away, for I thought I had a chick in it, until hearing an old hand saying, “There must be something good in this,” I delved deeper—and found a very fat fig-pecker inside, surrounded by peppered egg yolk.

At this point Trimalchio stopped his game, demanded the same dishes, and raising his voice, declared that if anyone wanted more liquor he had only to say the word. At once the orchestra struck up the music, as the slaves also struck up theirs, and removed the first course. In the bustle a dish chanced to fall, and when a boy stooped to pick it up, Trimalchio gave him a few vigorous cuffs for his pains, and bade him to “throw it down again”—and a slave coming in swept out the silver platter along with the refuse. After that two long-haired Ethiopians entered with little bladders, similar to those used in sprinkling the arena in the amphitheater, but instead of water they poured wine on our hands. Then glass wine jars were brought in, carefully sealed and a ticket on the neck of each, reading thus: “Opimian Falernia, One hundred years old.”

Source: Davis, William Stearns, ed. *Readings in Ancient History: Illustrative Extracts from the Sources*. Vol. II: *Rome and the West*. Boston: Allyn and Bacon, 1912–1913.

HOUSING AND COMMUNITY

Pliny the Younger and the Emperor Trajan Discuss the
Need for Fire Departments: Pliny, *Letters of Gaius Plinius
Caecilius Secundus* (ca. 110–113 CE)

Introduction

The following exchange between the Governor Pliny the Younger (61–112 CE) and the Emperor Trajan (53–117 CE) on the formation of a fire brigade in Nicomedia is instructive for several lessons. It is clear that fires were a major concern in all ancient cities and that they spread easily. It is also interesting that many cities, and Nicomedia that was a decent size community, did not even have the basic firefighting equipment. Pliny proposes to change this situation by creating a firefighting force, a reasonable idea. The emperor is not too keen on this creation and warns him that such groups have caused troubles in other cities. Instead, Trajan suggests a middle ground—purchase/build firefighting machines and let the owners be responsible for putting out fires.

XLII

To the Emperor Trajan

While I was making a progress in a different part of the province, a most extensive fire broke out at Nicomedia, which not only consumed several private houses, but also two public buildings; the town-house and the temple of Isis, though they stood on contrary sides of the street. The occasion of its spreading thus far was partly owing to the violence of the wind, and partly to the indolence of the people, who, manifestly, stood idle and motionless spectators of this terrible calamity. The truth is the city was not furnished with either engines, buckets, or any single instrument suitable for extinguishing fires; which I have now however given directions to have prepared. You will consider, Sir, whether it may not be advisable to institute a company of fire-men, consisting only of one hundred and fifty members. I will take care none but those of that business shall be admitted into it, and that the privileges granted them shall not be applied to any other purpose. As this corporate body will be restricted to so small a number of members, it will be easy to keep them under proper regulation.

XLIII

Trajan to Pliny

You are of opinion it would be proper to establish a company of firemen in Nicomedia, agreeably to what has been practised in several other cities. But it is to be remembered that societies of this sort have greatly disturbed the peace of the

province in general, and of those cities in particular. Whatever name we give them, and for whatever purposes they may be founded, they will not fail to form themselves into factious assemblies, however short their meetings may be. It will therefore be safer to provide such machines as are of service in extinguishing fires, enjoining the owners of houses to assist in preventing the mischief from spreading, and, if it should be necessary, to call in the aid of the populace.

Source: Pliny the Younger. *Letters of Gaius Plinius Caecilius Secundus*. Translated by William Melmoth. Revised by F.C.T. Bosanquet. New York: P.F. Collier, 1909.

POLITICS AND WARFARE

The Reforms of Tiberius Gracchus: Plutarch, *Lives* (Late First Century CE)

Introduction

In his biography of Tiberius Gracchus (168–133 BCE), Plutarch (45–120 CE) attempts to explain why the young tribune challenged the wealthy, his own social class, an act that led to Civil War. The background to Tiberius's reforms was clear—the rich began to create large estates run by slaves, which displaced small farmers, who then neglected having families, the sons of which supplied the army with recruits. For Tiberius, this process was dangerous because he realized that the decline of the army was directly a result of this policy. He sought to fix the situation by reasserting an ancient law providing for limited ownership of public land by the wealthy. To Tiberius, this was not a liberal law but a conservative reading of the ancient laws.

Of the territory which the Romans won in war from their neighbours, a part they sold, and a part they made common land, and assigned it for occupation to the poor and indigent among the citizens, on payment of a small rent into the public treasury. And when the rich began to offer larger rents and drove out the poor, a law was enacted forbidding the holding by one person of more than five hundred acres of land. For a short time this enactment gave a check to the rapacity of the rich, and was of assistance to the poor, who remained in their places on the land which they had rented and occupied the allotment which each had held from the outset. But later on the neighbouring rich men, by means of fictitious personages, transferred these rentals to themselves, and finally held most of the land openly in their own names. Then the poor, who had been ejected from their land, no longer showed themselves eager for military service, and neglected the bringing up of children, so that soon all Italy was conscious of a dearth of freemen, and was filled with gangs of foreign slaves, by whose aid the rich cultivated their estates, from which they

had driven away the free citizens. An attempt was therefore made to rectify this evil, and by Caius Laelius the comrade of Scipio; but the men of influence opposed his measures, and he, fearing the disturbance which might ensue, desisted, and received the surname of *Wise* or *Prudent* (for the Latin word “sapiens” would seem to have either meaning). Tiberius, however, on being elected tribune of the people, took the matter directly in hand. He was incited to this step, as most writers say, by Diophanes the rhetorician and Blossius the philosopher. Diophanes was an exile from Mitylene, but Blossius was a native Italian from Cumae, had been an intimate friend of Antipater of Tarsus at Rome, and had been honoured by him with the dedication of philosophical treatises. But some put part of the blame upon Cornelia the mother of Tiberius, who often reproached her sons because the Romans still called her the mother-in-law of Scipio, but not yet the mother of the Gracchi. Others again say that a certain Spurius Postumius was to blame. He was of the same age as Tiberius, and a rival of his in reputation as an advocate; and when Tiberius came back from his campaign and found that his rival had far outstripped him in reputation and influence and was an object of public admiration, he determined, as it would seem, to outdo him by engaging in a bold political measure which would arouse great expectations among the people. But his brother Caius, in a certain pamphlet, has written that as Tiberius was passing through Tuscany on his way to Numantia, and observed the dearth of inhabitants in the country, and that those who tilled its soil or tended its flocks there were barbarian slaves, he then first conceived the public policy which was the cause of countless ills to the two brothers. However, the energy and ambition of Tiberius were most of all kindled by the people themselves, who posted writings on porticoes, house-walls, and monuments, calling upon him to recover for the poor the public land.

Source: Plutarch, *Lives*. Vol. X. Translated by Bernadotte Perrin. Loeb Classical Library. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1921, pp. 161–63.

RECREATION AND SOCIAL CUSTOMS

Description of the Circus Maximus: Dionysius of Halicarnassus, *Roman Antiquities* (Late First Century BCE) and Seneca’s Disgust with the Audience at the Gladiatorial Games: Seneca’s Letter to Lucilius (50s–60s CE)

Introduction

Two important spectator events were the circus races and the gladiatorial combats. In the first excerpt below, Dionysius of Halicarnassus (60–7 BCE), writing at the end of the Republic, describes the layout of the Circus Maximus,

which could hold 150,000 people. The facility was not only for watching the races but also provided shopping options for the spectators. The gladiatorial games, however, were different in that the crowd loved the butchery. In the second excerpt, Seneca (4 BCE–65 CE), writing during the reign of Nero, expresses the disgust that some felt for the bloodshed. The two events provided Rome with different types of entertainment, which became standard for the city and even some of the provinces.

Dionysius of Halicarnassus

Tarquinius also built the Circus Maximus, which lies between the Aventine and Palatine Hills, and was the first to erect covered seats round it on scaffolding (for till then the spectators had stood), the wooden stands being supported by beams. And dividing the places among the thirty curiae, he assigned to each curia a particular section, so that every spectator was seated in his proper place. This work also was destined to become in time one of the most beautiful and most admirable structures in Rome. For the Circus is three stades and a half in length and four plethra in breadth. Round about it on the two longer sides and one of the shorter sides a canal has been dug, ten feet in depth and width, to receive water. Behind the canal are erected porticos three stories high, of which the lowest story has stone seats, gradually rising, as in the theatres, one above the other, and the two upper stories wooden seats. The two longer porticos are united into one and joined together by means of the shorter one, which is crescent-shaped, so that all three form a single portico like an amphitheatre, eight stades in circuit and capable of holding 150,000 persons. The other of the shorter sides is left uncovered and contains vaulted starting-places for the horses, which are all opened by means of a single rope. On the outside of the Circus there is another portico of one story which has shops in it and habitations over them. In this portico there are entrances and ascents for the spectators at every shop, so that the countless thousands of people may enter and depart without inconvenience.

Source: Dionysius of Halicarnassus. *Roman Antiquities*. Vol. II. Translated by Earnest Cary. Loeb Classical Library. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1939, pp. 242–243.

Seneca

I turned in to the games one mid-day hoping for a little wit and humor there. I was bitterly disappointed. It was really mere butchery. The morning's show was merciful compared to it. Then men were thrown to lions and to bears: but at midday to the audience. There was no escape for them. The slayer was kept fighting until he could be slain. "Kill him! flog him! burn him alive" was the cry: "Why is he such a coward? Why won't he rush on the steel? Why does he fall so meekly? Why

won't he die willingly?" Unhappy that I am, how have I deserved that I must look on such a scene as this? Do not, my Lucilius, attend the games, I pray you. Either you will be corrupted by the multitude, or, if you show disgust, be hated by them. So stay away.

Source: Davis, William Stearns, ed. *Readings in Ancient History: Illustrative Extracts from the Sources*. Vol. II: *Rome and the West*. Boston: Allyn and Bacon, 1912–1913.

RELIGION AND BELIEFS

Description of Roman Priests and Vestals: Plutarch, *Life of Numa* (ca. 110 CE)

Introduction

The King Numa, as Plutarch (45–120 CE) relates, is credited with creating the religious orders of the pontifices, which is derived from pons, meaning “bridge.” The meaning is perhaps anarchistic to show the bridge between the gods and the state or people. The chief priest or pontifex maximus was in charge of interpreting the divine law and rules for public ceremony. This passage relates how he was also guardian of the vestal virgins, who were not only in charge of the hearth or community fire, but also had tremendous amounts of freedom. The virgins, however, were required to remain chaste and could have severe punishments meted out to them by the pontifex maximus for any violations.

The original constitution of the priests, called *Pontifices*, is ascribed unto Numa, and he himself was, it is said, the first of them; and that they have the name of *Pontifices* from *pons* [“bridge”], or, thus, “bridge-makers.” The sacrifices performed on the bridge were among the most sacred and ancient, and the keeping and repairing of the bridge attached, like any other public sacred office, to the priesthood. It was accounted not simply unlawful, but a positive sacrilege, to pull down the wooden bridge; which moreover is said, in obedience to an oracle, to have been built entirely of timber and fastened with wooden pins, without nails or cramps of iron. The office of *Pontifex Maximus*, or chief priest, was to declare and interpret the divine law. . . . he not only prescribed rules for public ceremony, but regulated the sacrifices of private persons, not suffering them to vary from established custom, and giving information to everyone of what was requisite for purposes of worship or supplication. He was also guardian of the vestal virgins, the institution of whom, and of their perpetual fire, was attributed to Numa, who, perhaps, fancied the charge of pure and uncorrupted flames would be fitly entrusted to

chaste and unpolluted persons, or that fire, which consumes but produces nothing, bears an analogy to the virgin estate.

Some are of opinion that these vestals had no other business than the preservation of this fire; but others conceive that they were keepers of other divine secrets, concealed from all but themselves. Gegania and Verenia, it is recorded, were the names of the first two virgins consecrated and ordained by Numa; Canuleia and Tarpeia succeeded; Servius Tullius afterwards added two, and the number of four has been continued to the present time. The statutes prescribed by Numa for the vestals were these: that they should take a vow of virginity for the space of thirty years, the first ten of which they were to spend in learning their duties, the second ten in performing them, and the remaining ten in teaching and instructing others. Thus the whole term being completed, it was lawful for them to marry, and leaving the sacred order, to choose any condition of life that pleased them. But, of this permission, few, as they say, made use; and in cases where they did so, it was observed that their change was not a happy one, but accompanied ever after with regret and melancholy; so that the greater number, from religious fears and scruples forbore, and continued to old age and death in the strict observance of a single life.

For this condition they were compensated by great privileges and prerogatives: as that they had power to make a will in the lifetime of their father; that they had free administration of their own affairs without guardian or tutor; when they go outside, they have the *fascēs* carried before them; and if in their walks they chance to meet a criminal on his way to execution, it saves his life, upon oath being made that the meeting was accidental, and not concerted or of set purpose. Any one who presses upon the chair on which they are carried is put to death.

If these vestals commit any minor fault, they are punishable by the Pontifex Maximus only, who whips the offender, sometimes with her clothes off, in a dark place, with a curtain drawn between; but she that has broken her vow of chastity is buried alive near the gate called *Collina*, where a little mound of earth stands inside the city reaching some little distance, called in Latin *agger*; under it a narrow room is constructed, to which a descent is made by stairs; here they prepare a bed, and light a lamp, and leave a small quantity of victuals, such as bread, water, a pail of milk, and some oil; that so that body which had been consecrated and devoted to the most sacred service of religion might not be said to perish by such a death as famine. The culprit herself is put in a litter, which they cover over, and tie her down with cords on it, so that nothing she utters may be heard. They then take her to the Forum; all people silently go out of the way as she passes, and such as follow accompany the bier with solemn and speechless sorrow; and, indeed, there is not any spectacle more appalling, nor any day observed by the city with greater

appearance of gloom and sadness. When they come to the place of execution, the officers loose the cords, and then the Pontifex Maximus, lifting his hands to heaven, pronounces certain prayers to himself before the act; then he brings out the prisoner, being still covered, and placing her upon the steps that lead down to the cell, turns away his face with the rest of the priests; the stairs are drawn up after she has gone down, and a quantity of earth is heaped up over the entrance to the cell, so as to prevent it from being distinguished from the rest of the mound. This is the punishment of those who break their vow of virginity.

Source: Davis, William Stearns, ed. *Readings in Ancient History*. Vol. II: *Rome and the West*. Boston: Allyn and Bacon, 1912–1913, pp. 9–15.

SCIENCE AND TECHNOLOGY

The Romans Build a War Fleet to Defeat Carthage: Polybius, *The Histories* (Late Second Century BCE)

Introduction

Polybius (ca. 200–ca. 118 BCE) describes how the Romans, who were inexperienced at naval warfare, undertook a plan to build a fleet during the First Punic War (264–241 BCE) against Carthage. After capturing a Carthaginian warship, the Romans merely duplicated it 200 times, while having the rowers practice on land before going to sea. In some ways, this was the first production line, since each piece was duplicated and then placed together, similar to modern car production. While the Romans would ultimately be successful, their inexperience was often seen in naval battle, where their lack of seamanship resulted in great losses.

When the news of what had occurred at Agrigentum reached the Roman Senate, in their joy and elation they no longer confined themselves to their original designs and were no longer satisfied with having saved the Mamertines and with what they had gained in the war itself, but, hoping that it would be possible to drive the Carthaginians entirely out of the island and that if this were done their own power would be much augmented, they directed their attention to this project and to plans that would serve their purpose. As regards their land force at least they noted that all progressed satisfactorily; for the Consuls appointed after those who had reduced Agrigentum, Lucius Valerius Flaccus and Titus Otacilius Crassus, seemed to be managing Sicilian affairs as well as possible; but as the Carthaginians maintained without any trouble the command of the sea, the fortunes of the war continued to hang in the balance. For in the period that followed, now that

Agrigentum was in their hands, while many inland cities joined the Romans from dread of their land forces, still more seaboard cities deserted their cause in terror of the Carthaginian fleet. Hence when they saw that the balance of the war tended more and more to shift to this side or that for the above reasons, and that while Italy was frequently ravaged by naval forces, Libya remained entirely free from damage, they took urgent steps to get on the sea like the Carthaginians. And one of the reasons which induced me to narrate the history of the war named above at some length is just this, that my readers should, in this case too, not be kept in ignorance of the beginning—how, when, and for what reasons the Romans first took to the sea.

When they saw that the war was dragging on, they undertook for the first time to build ships, a hundred quinqueremes and twenty triremes. As their shipwrights were absolutely inexperienced in building quinqueremes, such ships never having been in use in Italy, the matter caused them much difficulty, and this fact shows us better than anything else how spirited and daring the Romans are when they are determined to do a thing. It was not that they had fairly good resources for it, but they had none whatever, nor had they ever given a thought to the sea; yet when they once had conceived the project, they took it in hand so boldly, that before gaining any experience in the matter they at once engaged the Carthaginians who had held for generations undisputed command of the sea. Evidence of the truth of what I am saying and of their incredible pluck is this. When they first undertook to send their forces across to Messene not only had they not any decked ships, but no long warships at all, not even a single boat, and borrowing fifty-oared boats and triremes from the Tarentines and Locrians, and also from the people of Elea and Naples they took their troops across in these at great hazard. On this occasion the Carthaginians put to sea to attack them as they were crossing the straits, and one of their decked ships advanced too far in its eagerness to overtake them and running aground fell into the hands of the Romans. This ship they now used as a model, and built their whole fleet on its pattern; so that it is evident that if this had not occurred they would have been entirely prevented from carrying out their design by lack of practical knowledge. Now, however, those to whom the construction of ships was committed were busy in getting them ready, and those who had collected the crews were teaching them to row on shore in the following fashion. Making the men sit on rowers' benches on dry land, in the same order as on the benches of the ships themselves, they accustomed them to fall back all at once bringing their hands up to them, and again to come forward pushing out their hands, and to begin and finish these movements at the word of command of the fagle-man. When the crews had been trained, they launched the ships as soon as they were completed, and having practised for a brief time actual rowing at sea, they sailed along the coast of Italy as their commander had ordered. For the

Consul appointed by the Romans to the command of their naval force, Gnaeus Cornelius Scipio, had a few days previously given orders to the captains to sail in the direction of the Straits whenever the fleet was ready, while he himself, putting to sea with seventeen ships, preceded them to Messene, being anxious to provide for all the urgent needs of the fleet. While there a proposal happened to be made to him with regard to the city of Lipara, and embracing the prospect with undue eagerness he sailed with the above-mentioned ships and anchored off the town. The Carthaginian general Hannibal, hearing at Panormus what had happened, sent off Boödes, a member of the Senate, giving him twenty ships. Boödes sailed up to Lipara at night and shut up Gnaeus in the harbour. When day dawned the Roman crews hastily took refuge on land, and Gnaeus, falling into a state of terror and being unable to do anything, finally surrendered to the enemy. The Carthaginians now set off at once to rejoin Hannibal with the captured ships and commander of the enemy. But a few days later, though Gnaeus' disaster was so signal and recent, Hannibal himself came very near falling into the same error with his eyes open. For hearing that the Roman fleet which was sailing along the coast of Italy was near at hand, and wishing to get a glimpse of the numbers and general disposition of the enemy, he sailed towards them with fifty ships. As he was rounding the Cape of Italy he came upon the enemy sailing in good order and trim. He lost most of his ships and escaped himself with the remainder, which was more than he expected or hoped.

Source: Polybius. *The Histories*. Vol. I. Translated by W.R. Paton. Loeb Classical Library. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1922, pp. 54–60.

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